Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean

Comparative Perspectives

Edited by

Alexander Beihammer, Stavroula Constantinou and Maria Parani



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The editors
Nicosia, February 2013

LIST OF MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Marsham

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Rapti

Shepard

Maguire

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Panagiotis A. Agapitos is Professor of Byzantine Literature at the University of Cyprus. His research interests are the critical edition of Byzantine texts and the theory of editorial method, the history of manuscripts and education in Byzantium, the theoretical interpretation of Byzantine literature, Byzantine rhetoric and poetics, the representation and literary function of death in Byzantine literature. He has published *Narrative Structure in the Byzantine Vernacular Romances* (Munich, 1991), *The Study of Medieval Greek Romance* (Copenhagen, 1992), *Theodoros Metochites on Greek Philosophy and Ancient History* (Gothenburg, 1996), the first critical edition of the thirteenth-century verse romance *Livistros and Rhodamne* (Athens, 2006), and most recently *Between History and Fiction: Medieval Narratives between History and Fiction: From the Centre to the Periphery of Europe, 1100–1400* (Copenhagen, 2012), a volume edited with L. B. Mortensen.

Christine Angelidi is Research Director emerita at the Institute for Historical Research in Athens. She has written on hagiography, literature, cultural history, icons and cult, and Byzantine interpretation of ancient art. She has published *Pulcheria. La castità al potere* (Milan, 1998), has collaborated in A. Kazhdan's, *A History of Byzantine Literature*, vols. 1–2, (Athens, 1999, 2006), and has edited the volume *Byzantium matures: Choices, Sensitivities and Modes of Expression [Eleventh to Fifteenth Centuries]* (Athens, 2004).

Stefan Burkhardt is research fellow at the Academy of Sciences and Humanities and Visiting Professor at the University of Heidelberg. His research interests include political culture, political structures and forms of interaction between lay and ecclesiastical authorities in the Early and High Middle Ages, the Medieval Mediterranean and the history of technology and science. He has published *Mit Stab und Schwert. Bilder, Träger und Funktionen erzbischöflicher Herrschaft zur Zeit Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossas. Die Erzbistümer Köln und Mainz im Vergleich*, Mittelalter-Forschungen 22 (Ostfildern, 2008) and is currently preparing the publication of his second monograph *Mediterranes Kaisertum und imperiale Ordnungen. Das lateinische Kaiserreich von Konstantinopel.*

Antonia Giannouli is Assistant Professor of Byzantine Literature at the University of Cyprus. Her research interests focus on hymnography and religious poetry, theological commentaries and homiletics, rhetoric, textual criticism and editorial practice. She is the author of a study on the Commentaries of Andrew of Crete on the Great Canon and co-editor of the collective volume *From Manuscripts to Books. Proceedings of the International Workshop on Textual Criticism and Editorial Practice for Byzantine Texts* (Vienna, 2011). She is currently preparing a critical edition of the *Exegetical Didascalies* of Leon Balianites.

Eric J. Hanne is Associate Professor of History, Florida Atlantic University, and conducts research on the development and manifestation of power and authority in the eleventh- and twelfth-century central Islamic lands. The author of *Putting the Caliph in His Place: Power, Authority, and the Late Abbasid Caliphate* (Fairleigh-Dickinson University Press, 2007), he is currently working on a project involving the Mazyadid dynasty of Hilla.

Martin Hinterberger is Associate Professor of Byzantine Literature at the University of Cyprus. His research focuses on emotions in Byzantine literature, the language of Byzantine texts, autobiography and hagiography. His has recently published a book on *Phthonos* in Byzantine literature and is currently working on a study of the learned Byzantine language.

Maria Kantirea is Assistant Professor of Ancient History and Epigraphy at the University of Cyprus. She is the author of *Les dieux et les dieux Augustes. Le culte impérial en Grèce sous les Julio-claudiens et les Flaviens* (Athens, 2007). Apart from her studies on the Roman imperial cult, her current research focuses on religion and urban development in the Eastern Roman provinces and she is preparing a book under the title *Lieux sacrés en Orient romain* (with the first volume referring to the *provincia Asiae*). She is also co-editor (with Daniela Summa) of the forthcoming IG XV.2 (*Inscriptiones Graecae insulae Cypri: Inscriptiones Cypri alphabeticae*).

Henry Maguire is Emeritus Professor at the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. His most recent book is *Nectar and Illusion: Nature in Byzantine Art and Literature* (Oxford University Press, 2012). Among other topics, his research has concerned relationships between Byzantine art and literature, Byzantine secular art, and Byzantine attitudes to nature.

ANDREW MARSHAM is Lecturer in Islamic History at the University of Edinburgh. His publications include *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy: Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire* (Edinburgh, 2009) and various chapters and articles focusing on late antique and early Islamic political culture and on Arabic historiography. At present he is working on a history of the early Islamic world, *The Umayyad Empire*, to be published by Edinburgh University Press in 2014.

MARGARET MULLETT is Director of Byzantine Studies at Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection in Washington, D.C. Previously she was the Professor of Byzantine Studies at the Queen's University Belfast. Her research interests focus on literary practices, the literary process in Byzantium, performance, dream, court culture and ceremony, muses and the monasteries. She is the author of *Theophylact of Ochrid: Reading the Letters of a Byzantine Archbishop* (Aldershot, 1997) and *Letters, Literacy and Literature in Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2007). She is also the editor of *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.

WALTER POHL is Professor of Medieval History at the University of Vienna and Director of the Institute for Medieval Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. He has taught at UCLA (Los Angeles, USA), Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, CEU Budapest and at the University of Ishevsk (Russia). He is fellow of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and has been awarded the Wittgenstein prize (2004) and the ERC Advanced Grant (2010). His fields of study cover the transformation of the Roman world and early medieval history, especially the role of ethnicity, migration and identity formation, the history of Eastern Central Europe and of the Eurasian steppe peoples, Italian cultural and political history and early medieval historiography and its manuscript transmission. Books: *Die Awaren* (2002^2), *Die Germanen* (2000), *Werkstätte der Erinnerung—Montecassino und die langobardische Vergangenheit* (2001), *Die Völkerwanderung* (2005^2), *Visions of Community in the Post-Roman World* (ed. 2012).

IOANNA RAPTI is currently Newton Fellow in the Centre for Hellenic Studies & Department of Classics at King's College, London with a project on Armenian Cilicia during the Crusades. Her research interests are Armenian and Eastern Christian art, manuscript production and illumination in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia and its cultural interactions with the Christian and Islamic world. She has published on

illuminated manuscripts as well as the material culture, architecture and topography of Armenian Cilicia, and co-edited the exhibition catalogues *Armenia Sacra* (2007) and *Sainte Russie* (2010) at the Louvre.

Jonathan Shepard was for many years University Lecturer in Russian History at the University of Cambridge, a Fellow of Selwyn College and Peterhouse, and is Doctor Honoris Causa at St Kliment Ohrid University in Sofia. He is co-author with Simon Franklin of *The Emergence of Rus* (London, 1996), with whom he also edited *Byzantine Diplomacy* (Aldershot, 1992). His edited volumes include *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe* (Aldershot, 2007) and *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, 2008). He recently published a collection of studies in *Emergent Elites and Byzantium in the Balkans and East-Central Europe* (Farnham, 2011) and is currently working on a general European history of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Jo Van Steenbergen is Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the Department of Languages and Cultures of the Near East and North Africa at Ghent University, Belgium. His research interests concern the history of the Islamic middle period (ca. 1000–1500 CE/400–900 AH), mainly focusing on (semi)Turkic dynasties and social systems in Syria and Egypt (Seljuqs, Zengids, Ayyubids, Mamluks), Islamic political culture, prosopography, and urban history, including comparative, trans-regional/-cultural perspectives. He was awarded a prestigious European Research Council Starting Grant and is author of *Order out of Chaos: Patronage, Conflict and Mamluk Socio-Political Culture, 1341–1382*. He is currently working on the history of the Mamluk Empire to be published by Edinburgh University Press.

Björn Weiler is professor of history at Aberystwyth University. Research interests centre on the history of kingship, and on the historical culture of high medieval Western Europe. Key publications include *King Henry III of England and the Staufen Empire* (2006), *Kingship, Rebellion & Political Culture* (2007), *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III* (edited with Ifor Rowlands, 2002), and *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany* (edited with Simon MacLean, 2006). He is currently completing a study of kingship in the high medieval Latin West. *Political Culture in Three Spheres: Byzantium, Islam and the West* (edited with Jonathan Shepard, Catherine Holmes and Jo Van Steenbergen) will appear in 2015.

COMPARATIVE APPROACHES TO THE RITUAL WORLD OF THE MEDIEVAL MEDITERRANEAN

Alexander Beihammer

Pleased to meet you
Hope you guess my name
But what's puzzling you
Is the nature of my game
(M. Jagger/K. Richards, Sympathy for the Devil)

Modern ritual studies, a very young discipline going back to the late 1970s, define their research subject very broadly as "all kinds of symbolic acts."[1] In contrast to older concepts which usually regarded rituals as secondary phenomena of specific social and psychological contexts, recent empiric and theoretical approaches examine them as entities *sui generis* embedded in a great variety of cultural milieux and social subsystems, such as politics, law, science, art, education, economics, and religion.[2] They are by no means merely ornamental ingredients of social relations, but very essential modes of human expression creating and confirming cultural meaning. Consequently, they are nowadays viewed in close connection with the notion of performance, which in this context refers to the conscious projection or ritualization of social acts.[3] A second key aspect in the study of ritual behaviour is its relevance for human communication, a perspective that resulted from the so-called linguistic turn in humanities and social sciences. A case in point is what is known as performative speech, i.e., strictly formalized forms of speech, as occur in greetings, oaths, formulas of investiture, prayers and so on and serve as tools to display concepts of order and to create social relations.[4] All in all, we may speak of rituals as culturally standardized and repetitive forms of action of symbolic character, which aim at exerting influence on human affairs and allow a better understanding of man's position in the universe. In

[1] D. J. Krieger and A. Belliger, "Einführung," in *Ritualtheorien. Ein einführendes Handbuch*, ed. A. Belliger and D. J. Krieger, 3rd ed. (Wiesbaden, 2006), p. 7.
[2] Ibid., pp. 8–9.
[3] Ibid., pp. 9–17.
[4] Ibid., pp. 18–23; R. A. Rappaport, "Ritual und performative Sprache," in ibid., pp. 191–211.

this sense they fulfil an essential function in creating or securing emotional and symbolic coherence, harmony, identity, and memory among members of a community, they mark ruptures and thresholds in a community's social structure, they provide mechanisms for overcoming crises, and, not least, they help people communicate with a transcendent sphere of supernatural forces.

Of crucial significance for all topics discussed in the contributions of the present volume is the question as to what role rituals play in political life. On the basis of a broad and disparate set of cases extending from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, the anthropologist David I. Kertzer laid the theoretical foundation for understanding rituals as mechanisms producing and maintaining solidarity through a constant process of renewal engendered by people acting together. On a functional level, he argues, rituals serve as symbolic tools enabling individuals to identify with political regimes and supporting rulers to legitimate themselves and to maintain their grasp on power. Ritual, therefore, because of its neutrality regarding political ideologies, is a very efficient resource and weapon in political struggles.[5] Another direction in modern sociology and political sciences applies theories of semiotics to the analysis of modern political systems by focusing on language as a form of political action and on the way political institutions and processes are organized as spectacles through dramaturgical elements and highly stylized and schematic forms of communication.[6]

It is well known that, in the framework of a general trend towards anthropological approaches and a re-interpretation of political mechanisms and practices,[7] from the 1980s onwards the role and function of rituals in premodern societies has become a very prominent research topic among medievalists, producing an impressive range of studies related to aspects of verbal and non-verbal symbolic modes of expression and ritual forms of action during the Middle Ages. An early attempt to bring historians

[5] D. I. Kertzer, *Rituals, Politics, and Power* (New Haven, 1988); see also the review of M. S. Kimmel, *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (1989), 1272–74.

[6] See, for example, M. Edelman, *Politik als Ritual: Die symbolische Funktion staatlicher Institutionen und politischen Handelns*, trans. H. Fliessbach, 3rd ed. (Frankfurt, 2005), pp. vii–xviii.

[7] For especially influential anthropological approaches, see, for instance, V. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1967); idem, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (Berlin, 1969); C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York, 1973); R. A. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge, 1999).

and anthropologists together in an interdisciplinary discussion on rituals of royalty consciously ignored the boundaries of geographical areas and traditional periodizations, juxtaposing case studies as dispersed in time and space as ancient Babylon, imperial Rome, tenth-century Byzantium, Carolingian France, China, Nepal, Madagascar, and present-day Ghana.[8] It became clear, thus, that the two disciplines, despite their different angles and methodological approaches, basically envisage very similar phenomena regarding the functional significance of rites and ceremonies for the legitimization, stabilization, display and ideological underpinning of royal authority and complement each other with respect to the analysis of symbolic forms of expression in the framework of their political context. The starting point and theoretical presupposition of all of these studies is the (supposedly) archaic character of medieval societies, which in contrast to the egalitarian thinking of modern systems is based on concepts of a strict hierarchical order in both worldly and transcendental spheres.[9] These, in turn, were framed and consolidated by a wide range of signs, symbols, gestures, and formalized patterns of action, which, as Jean-Claude Schmitt put it, give this strange and far removed society a "profoundly ritualized character," enabling each individual to ascertain his belonging to a certain group and to project hierarchical relations within a group.[10] Specialists also emphasize the crucial role of ritual acts in a society which, apart from a narrow elite of educated monks or court officials, did not show much sensibility for the subtleties of the written word and its validating force.[11] Another aspect to be taken into account is the nature of political power and authority in the Middle Ages, which in many respects differs from modern concepts of statehood and centralized mechanisms of control. Medieval political entities did not dispose of the means to impose their will and exert full authority in all parts of their realm. The degree of a monarch's actual power very much depended upon the equilibrium and consensus among the members of the ruling elite, as well as upon his ability to contain conflicts. The norms defining public authority and kingship certainly differed from those regulating the modern central state. It has been sufficiently demonstrated that under these circumstances rituals and

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[8] D. Cannadine and S. Price, eds., *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1987).

[9] H. Fichtenau, *Lebensordnungen des 10. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1984; repr. Munich, 1992), pp. 11–110.

[10] J.-C. Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1990), p. 19.

[11] Ibid., p. 15: "La 'faiblesse de l'écrit' fournirait une première explication de l'importance des gestes au Moyen Âge."

symbolic forms of communication proved to be a highly efficient means of facilitating the functioning of political and social processes in general and the creation of cohesion and solidarity among political players in particular. These phenomena, therefore, form key features for a better understanding of the particularities of the exertion and manifestation of power in the Middle Ages.[12]

It is remarkable, however, that the overwhelming majority of these studies are centred on medieval western and central Europe, i.e., the territories of the Carolingian Empire, the kingdoms of France and England, the Holy Roman Empire, and some of the surrounding peripheries. In addition there is a strong focus on the high Middle Ages from the ninth to the thirteenth century; much less has been done in this respect on the period of the barbarian migrations and the early Middle Ages,[13] while studies on the late Middle Ages, most likely because of the abundance of source material, are quite unevenly distributed in terms of geographical and thematic variety.[14] Therefore, although the scholarly interest in ritual practices and forms of expression within the past two decades became something like standard knowledge and an indispensable prerequisite for further investigations of manifestations of power and political authority, it seems that most of the available results have been developed on the basis of high medieval European societies.

It would go beyond the task of this introductory chapter to provide a complete list of the theoretical approaches, diverging views, and stunning results brought forth by individual scholars and schools of thought over the past decades. Despite the fact that the areas of interest in stud-

[12] G. Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale. Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2003), pp. 14–15.

[13] J. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986); F. Theuws and J. L. Nelson, eds., *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2000); P. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, 2001), pp. 88–157 (on Gregory of Tours [chapter three] and the use of rituals in the presentation of early Christian martyrdom [chapter four]). Althoff, *Macht der Rituale*, pp. 32–38, supports the view that the Merovingian kings made only limited use of ceremonial and rituals as means to exert power, the other members of the ruling elite being reduced to a more or less passive stance without strong interaction with the ruler. For the most recent approaches, see now C. Pössel, "The Magic of Early Medieval Ritual," *Early Medieval Europe* 17/2 (2009), 111–25.

[14] G. J. Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik. Herrschereinzüge im spätmittelalterlichen Reich* (Cologne, 2003); G. Schwedler, *Herrschertreffen des Spätmittelalters. Formen, Rituale, Wirkungen* (Ostfildern, 2008); S. Rüther, ed., *Integration und Konkurrenz. Symbolische Kommunikation in der spätmittelalterlichen Stadt*, Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme, Schriftenreihe des SFB 496, 21 (Münster, 2009).

ies on medieval rituals widely differ and many opposing views have been expressed about the nature and actual significance of ritual acts in the framework of pre-modern political life, there certainly is a general consensus that the traditional way of describing medieval legal systems, institutions, and political processes can no longer be considered appropriate for an adequate interpretation of these phenomena. Instead of applying modern concepts of political leadership, public authority, and constitutional law on the Middle Ages, one has to analyze patterns of political behaviour against the conceptual and ideological background of the time in which they occur. Rituals, in one way or another, certainly formed an important aspect of the whole complex. Geoffrey Koziol, in his review article of Philippe Buc's *The Dangers of Ritual*, points out that the latter, despite his scepticism towards the use of the term "ritual" and his insistence on literary reconstructions, still discusses and interprets rituals just as many other historians do.[15] Rituals, thus, have gained solid ground in conceptualizations and categorizations of medieval social and political realities.

The most rigorous revision of principles and working assumptions of political processes in the Middle Ages is certainly owed to Gerd Althoff and the school of thought he has inaugurated.[16] In his view, ritual forms of behaviour constitute the key to a radical paradigm change from the German concept of "*Verfassungsgeschichte*" based on the analysis of legal principles and feudal institutions to new interpretative patterns grounded in the idea of a set of unwritten "norms, rules and customs" regulating the smooth functioning of structures of power as well as core elements of political life, such as the escalation and development of conflicts, the termination of hostilities, and the creation of consensus through counselling and negotiations. All these phenomena are closely connected with the specific characteristics of public communication, as expressed on the occasion of diets and other political assemblies. The mental and ideological framework of these processes is set up by a pronounced sense for rank and honour among the members of the ruling elite and by a strong

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[15] G. Koziol, "Review Article: The Danger of Polemic: Is Ritual still an Interesting Topic of Historical Study?," *Early Medieval Europe* 2002 (4), 367–88, at p. 375.

[16] A comprehensive overview of his work is provided by a collection of articles originally published between 1989 and 1996 in G. Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter. Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt, 1997), and idem, *Macht der Rituale* (see above, n. 12). In addition, see idem, "Zur Bedeutung symbolischer Kommunikation für das Verständnis des Mittelalters," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 31 (1997), 370–89; idem, "Inszenierung verpflichtet. Zum Verständnis ritueller Akte bei Papst-Kaiser-Begegnungen im 12. Jahrhundert," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 35 (2001), 61–84.

network of interpersonal ties based on bonds of friendship and kinship.[17] In a somewhat overstated manner, thus, political power is conceived of as working "in the absence of state," which is substituted by unwritten rules and generally accepted forms of behaviour with a ritual character. In this context communication plays a crucial role for both the secret process of decision making and the publication of political decisions.[18] This latter aspect of communication, which is the best evidenced in the narrative sources, is closely related to the key concept of staging political decisions and agreements by the aid of forms of behaviour, signs, and gestures. This procedure entails a certain degree of self-assurance as to the existing *status quo* as well as the obligation to abide by publicly projected accords and, therefore, essentially contributes to a stabilization of the existing order through public control. To a great extent, political authority is exerted through and on the strength of its public representation.[19]

As has been pointed out by Walter Pohl in his contribution to this volume, there is an ongoing discussion about how rituals or ritualized actions should be defined in the context of late antique and medieval political practices. Both qualitative and functional features of rituals, such as formality, repetition, reference to supernatural authorities, transformation, affirmation, etc., certainly do play an important role in the public manifestation of political acts and the strengthening of loyalties, as Althoff and his school have convincingly demonstrated, but it has to be further clarified to what extent all these constituents actually engendered or determined the outcome of political decisions. Was it the rituals themselves which created consensus and controlled transformative processes or were there other equally or even more decisive factors at work in the social network and communicative behaviour of hegemonial groups? Again it is the discrepancy between the ritual act as historical fact and its subsequent narrative interpretation in historical writing which poses problems of interpretation to modern observers. Medieval authors skilfully used rituals as a means to convey the message of lawful order and legitimacy of kingship—Björn Weiler's chapter in this volume adds a number of inter-

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[17] Althoff, *Spielregeln*, pp. 1–12, esp. at pp. 2–3: "Zum Verständnis der mittelalterlichen Verhältnisse scheint es daher dringend nötig, sich mit all den Regeln und Normen auseinanderzusetzen, die das Verhalten mittelalterlicher Menschen gerade in der politischen Öffentlichkeit bestimmen. Sie beanspruchten, obwohl sie nicht oder erst spät schriftlich fixiert wurden, durchaus eine Gesetzen vergleichbare Verbindlichkeit."

[18] Althoff, *Spielregeln*, pp. 11–14, 157–84 (Colloquium familiare—colloquium secretum—colloquium publicum); idem, *Macht der Rituale*, pp. 16–21.

[19] Althoff, *Spielregeln*, pp. 12–13; idem, *Macht der Rituale*, pp. 19–20.

esting conclusions to this discussion—, but this does not automatically imply that the ritual action in the moment of its performance already had the same legitimating force. It is also important to understand that rituals obviously did not have the same prominence at all times and in all facets of political life. As regards the diplomatic relations between the Roman Empire and the barbarians in the fifth and sixth century, for instance, Walter Pohl arrives at the conclusion that the authors of that period certainly touched upon ritual and ceremonial aspects, but did not consider them a predominant integrative force within the framework of cross-cultural political encounters. Major impulses for a further methodological, thematic and chronological broadening of the original concepts and premises developed by the German school of historical ritual studies were provided by the two Collaborative Research Centres SFB 619 "Ritual Dynamics: Socio-Cultural Processes from a Historical and Culturally Comparative Perspective" and SFB 496 "Symbolic Communication and Social Value Systems from the Middle Ages to the French Revolution" funded by the German Research Foundation DFG and established at the Universities of Heidelberg and Münster respectively.[20] By the bundling of a great number of specialists and research programmes in various fields, disciplines, geographical areas, and periods, the investigation of human rituals with their manifold cultural ramifications is set on a very broad basis, allowing the verification or modification of results drawn from specific cultural and political environments in the context of a comprehensive comparative perspective. Approaching rituals and symbolic communication as historical phenomena of *longue durée* stretching from the early Middle Ages to the early modern period and as phenomena shared by different cultural and religious spheres is no doubt a forward-looking and future-oriented viewpoint which is also adopted by the authors of the present volume.

As a result of the impressive multiplication of scholarly output over the past decades, the field has split into several clearly discernible research

[20] For details, see C. Ambos, P. Rösch and S. Weinfurter, eds., *Bild und Ritual. Visuelle Kulturen in historischer Perspektive* (Darmstadt, 2010); G. Althoff, with the collaboration of C. Witthöft, eds., *Zeichen—Rituale—Werte. Internationales Kolloquium des Sonderforschungsbereichs 496 an der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster*, Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme, Schriftenreihe des SFB 496, 3 (Münster, 2004); B. Stollberg-Rilinger, "Symbolische Kommunikation in der Vormoderne. Begriffe—Thesen—Forschungsperspektiven," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 31 (2004), 489–527.

areas.[21] A first category picks up well-established lines of investigation concerning the ceremonial, symbolic language, and representative features of medieval courts and residences as points of reference of rulership and hegemonial groups.[22] These studies, while drawing on older works focussing on the ideological, architectonical, functional, and decorative framework of residences, have significantly broadened their methodological approach by analyzing spaces of authority in conjunction with elements of performance, including physical gestures, court etiquettes, repetitive and stereotyped acts (rituals in the strict sense of the word), choreographed and scripted spectacles (ceremonies), forms of representation, structural and architectural aspects of spaces, symbols, and the public, consisting of aristocrats and officials present at a ruler's court.[23] All these elements served ruling elites as efficient tools to visualize their power and to project their self-awareness as bearers of sovereignty.

Medievalist approaches to court cultures and the ceremonial setting of kingship certainly call for a comparison with ancient monarchies and their court societies. A collective volume published by A. J. S. Spawforth, for instance, presents structural, ideological, and organisational patterns of courts and palace complexes in antiquity stretching from Achaemenid Persia to Egypt, Rome, and China.[24] These studies, in turn, enable medievalists to detect long-term continuities and common mentalities determining the behaviour and social organisation of ruling elites irrespective of time and space. In particular, the imperial court of the late Roman Empire, as it crystallized in the time following the reforms of Diocletian (284–305) and Constantine the Great (306/324–337), should always be taken into account as the place of origin for a great number of ideological

[21] For a different categorization, see J. Martschukat and S. Patzold, "Geschichtswissenschaft und 'Performative Turn': Eine Einführung in Fragestellungen, Konzepte und Literatur," in *Geschichtswissenschaft und 'Performative Turn'. Ritual, Inszenierung und Performanz vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit*, ed. J. Martschukat and S. Patzold (Cologne, 2003), pp. 1–31, at pp. 14–17.

[22] See, for example, W. Paravicini, ed., *Zeremoniell und Raum. 4. Symposium der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Residenzenforschung 6 (Sigmaringen, 1997), and C. Cubitt, ed., *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference*, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 3 (Turnhout, 2003).

[23] W. Paravicini, "Zeremoniell und Raum," in *Zeremoniell und Raum*, pp. 11–35, at pp. 13–15. An interesting case study is J. Laudage, "Die Bühne der Macht: Friedrich Barbarossa und seine Herrschaftsinszenierung," in *Inszenierung und Ritual in Mittelalter und Renaissance*, ed. A. von Hülsen-Esch, Studia humaniora 40 (Düsseldorf, 2005), pp. 97–134.

[24] A. J. S. Spawforth, ed., *The Court and Court Society in Ancient Monarchies* (Cambridge, 2007).

patterns and ceremonial elements surviving in medieval Byzantium, partly until the Ottoman conquest of 1453, and partly even beyond in the context of the newly emerging Islamic empire centred in the ancient Christian-Roman metropolis on the Bosporus. Another line of continuity extends to the court cultures of the barbarian successor states, which integrated and ideologically elevated their own models of kingship through the adoption of Roman elements.[25] It comes as no surprise, therefore, that one of the most recent publications on royal courts makes an attempt to put the subject in a global perspective, expanding the chronological and geographical frame to almost all empires in world history, from ancient Assyria to early modern China, Mughal India, Ottoman Istanbul, French Versailles, and Habsburg Vienna.[26] Thus, apart from an ever-increasing amount of specialized literature on court cultures in certain periods and areas, there is a growing interest in continuities and long-term developments observable throughout the centuries from antiquity to modern times, as well as in parallels and comparative perspectives encompassing political entities in Europe and Asia. In this context, the outstanding position of Constantinople and the Byzantine imperial court as a centre preserving the heritage of Roman and Hellenistic ceremonial traditions and, at the same time, as a place of innovation disseminating new ideological features and forms of royal display to courts in Western Europe and the Muslim East has been broadly well perceived.[27] Jonathan Shepard's exemplary analysis in this volume of cross-cultural exchanges between Constantinople and potentates of tenth-century France vividly illustrates the potential and formative power of these networks of ritual cross-fertilization. More work has to be done with respect to the transmission and adoption of ritual elements in the realm of Mediterranean court cultures, which came to be established in the wake of the Norman conquests in Southern Italy and

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[25] Y. Hen, *Roman Barbarians: The Royal Court and Culture and the Early Medieval West* (London, 2007); Cubitt, ed., *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages* (see above, n. 22).

[26] J. Duindam, T. Artan, and M. Kunt, eds., *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*, Rulers and Elites 1 (Leiden, 2011).

[27] See, for instance, A. Cameron, "The Construction of Court Ritual: The Book of Ceremonies," in *Rituals of Royalty* (see above, n. 8), pp. 106–36; H. Maguire, ed., *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington, D.C., 1997); F. A. Bauer, ed., *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft. Frühmittelalterliche Residenzen, Gestalt und Zeremoniell. Internationales Kolloquium 3./4. Juni 2004 in Istanbul*, Byzas 5 (Istanbul, 2006); P. Magdalino, "Court and Capital in Byzantium," in *Royal Courts* (see above, n. 26), pp. 131–44; for Muslim courts, see now A. Fuess and J.-P. Hartung, eds., *Court Cultures in the Muslim World, Seventh to Nineteenth Centuries*, SOAS Studies on the Middle East 13 (London, 2011).

Sicily, the Crusades and the expansion of the Italian naval powers, especially after 1204. The chapters of Stefan Burkhardt and Ioanna Rapti in this volume on rituals in the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261) and the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia form important steps in this direction.

A second category is concerned with specific rituals or chains of ritual, ceremonial and symbolic elements within a broader context of political events and situations of outstanding significance. Here one may also subsume various patterns of political behaviour which required certain forms of verbal and symbolic communication and thus were closely connected to ritual acts. Displaying emotional conditions through gestures, facial expressions, and bodily postures,[28] visualizing decisions and goals, expressing hostile or friendly intentions and various levels of personal relations,[29] and demonstrating superiority or inferiority in rank and status with the aid of a complicated system of symbolic modes of expression are some of the reoccurring phenomena mentioned persistently in the narrative sources. They occur, for instance, during the initial or closing phases of political conflicts,[30] in the course of mediation procedures,[31] in secret and public negotiations,[32] in acts of submission through publicly projected signs of deference and rituals of self-humiliation and penitence,[33] in scenes of begging pardon and favour,[34] in official meetings of rulers[35] or in certain key moments of a sovereign's life, such as investitures, coronations, dynastic marriages, funerals, public appearances, diplomatic con-

[28] Schmitt, *Raison des gestes*, passim; Althoff, *Spielregeln*, pp. 258–81 (Empörung, Tränen, Zerknirschung: Emotionen in der öffentlichen Kommunikation des Mittelalters).

[29] K. van Eickels, "Kuss und Kinngriff, Umarmung und verschränkte Hände: Zeichen personaler Bindung und ihre Funktion in der symbolischen Kommunikation des Mittelalters," in *Geschichtswissenschaft* (see above, n. 21), pp. 133–60.

[30] Althoff, *Spielregeln*, pp. 99–125 (Das Privileg der deditio: Formen gütlicher Konfliktbeendigung in der mittelalterlichen Adelsgesellschaft); K. van Eickels, *Vom inszenierten Konsens zum systematisierten Konflikt. Die englisch-französischen Beziehungen und ihre Wahrnehmung an der Wende vom Hoch- zum Spätmittelalter* (Stuttgart, 2002).

[31] H. Kamp, *Friedensstifter und Vermittler im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2001).

[32] Althoff, *Spielregeln*, pp. 157–84 (Colloquium familiare—colloquium secretum—colloquium publicum).

[33] S. Weinfurter, "Das Demutsritual als Mittel zur Macht: König Heinrich II. und seine Selbsterniedrigung 1007," and "Mit nackten Füßen und härenem Büßergewand: Die Unterwerfung (*deditio*) Herzog Heinrichs von Kärnten 1122," in *Die Welt der Rituale: Von der Antike bis heute*, ed. C. Ambos, S. Hotz, G. Schwedler, and S. Weinfurter (Darmstadt, 2005), pp. 45–50 and pp. 66–70.

[34] G. Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca and London, 1992).

[35] A. T. Hack, *Das Empfangszeremoniell bei mittelalterlichen Papst-Kaiser-Treffen*, Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters, Beihefte zu Johann Friedrich Böhmer, Regesta Imperii 18 (Cologne, 1999); Schwedler, *Herrschertreffen* (see above, n. 14).

tacts, and *adventus* ceremonies.[36] Crucial aspects are the organization and staging of these acts, on the one hand, and the audience attending them, on the other. This includes the entire range of people who in one way or another were involved in the conceptualization, preparation, and arrangement of ceremonial settings and rituals in imperial capitals and palace complexes. Equally important are the goals that the choreographers of such events were pursuing and of course the messages they conveyed to the spectators. One may reconstruct the texture of ceremonial procedures and the semiotic layers of individual symbols and gestures, relating them to the ideological framework and self-awareness of ruling elites and their subjects in order to detect the functional significance of ceremonial languages in political systems. No doubt, these matters can be much better examined with respect to the later Middle Ages in Europe and the Ottoman Empire, where we dispose of a huge amount of documentary sources (council minutes, account books, administrative texts) and normative descriptions.[37] Things are more complicated regarding earlier periods in East and West, where, apart from a limited number of pictorial representations, the bulk of the available material consists of narrative sources pertaining to various historiographical traditions. The highly selective character of these descriptions, which usually focus on certain sequences and the main protagonists while obscuring preceding agreements, negotiations, and ceremonial features not supporting the author's argument, hardly allows a look beneath the surface. Nevertheless, what is still perceivable to a certain degree, even through the intermediary link of contemporary and later historical narratives, is the constellation of power relations and the identity and agency of factions within various political

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[36] J. M. Bak, ed., *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual* (Los Angeles, 1990); H. Keller, "Die Investitur: Ein Beitrag zum Problem der 'Staatssymbolik' im Hochmittelalter," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 27 (1993), 51–86; S. Weinfurter, "Das Ritual der Investitur und die 'gratiale Herrschaftsordnung' im Mittelalter," in *Inszenierung und Ritual* (see above, n. 23), pp. 135–51; M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1986); D. A. Warner, "Ritual and Memory in the Ottonian *Reich*: The Ceremony of *Adventus*," *Speculum* 76 (2001), 255–83; Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik* (see above, n. 14). For related subjects with respect to early modern Europe, see for instance: R. E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva, 1960); J. Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570–1625* (Woodbridge, 1997).

[37] Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik* (see above, n. 14), pp. 517–688; for the Ottoman Empire, see for instance G. Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); H. T. Karateke, ed., *An Ottoman Protocol Register, Containing Ceremonies from 1736 to 1808: Beo Sadaret Defterleri 350 in the Prime Ministry Ottoman State Archives, Istanbul* (Istanbul, 2007).

elites. This volume presents several cases of succession procedures in different cultural and political contexts as crucial moments in the transition of power or the stabilization of ruling groups. The projection of specific royal virtues during the elections of kings in eleventh- and twelfth-century Germany, Poland, and England are closely linked to the political concepts of the supporters of the respective incumbent. Muʿāwiya's accession to the caliphate in 661 combined tribal Arab and Roman imperial rituals and thus was addressed to a mixed audience consisting of Arab nomads and the overwhelmingly Christian urban population of Jerusalem. The oath of allegiance enacting succession to the Abbasid court of Baghdad in the eleventh century had to be based on a subtle balance between the court bureaucracy, the local troops, and the Seljuk overlords. Successions to the imperial throne of twelfth-century Constantinople showed a gradual broadening of the circle of people immediately involved in these procedures in proportion to the decreasing central power of dynasty. While the competition among Alexios I's immediate successors was restricted to the deceased emperor's offspring, Andronikos I and the Angeloi family built their successions on conflicting claims and traditional rights of the Constantinopolitan aristocracy and the representatives of the urban population.[38] All of these studies are based on the analysis of their respective historiographical traditions in Europe, Byzantium, and the Islamic world and thus primarily focus on textual representations of ritual performance and their subsequent transformation and re-interpretation in the collective memory of later generations.

This leads us a to third group of text-oriented works focusing on certain categories of sources, literary genres, or individual narratives, which form especially fruitful objects of investigation either because of their high value as historical sources or because of their extensive narrative presentations of rituals.[39] In this respect, there is a tendency among historians and specialists of medieval literature to collaborate and combine their analytical tools in order to arrive at a more comprehensive assessment of the results achieved by each of the two disciplines. As Horst Wenzel put it, historical and literary sources are not completely different from each other, but still exhibit diverging standards in intention, subject matter,

[38] See the contributions of Björn Weiler, Andrew Marsham, Eric Hanne, and Alexander Beihammer in this volume.

[39] H. Keller, "Widukinds Bericht über die Aachener Wahl und Krönung Ottos I.," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 29 (1995), 390–453; D. A. Warner, "Thietmar of Merseburg on Rituals of Kingship," *Viator* 26 (1995), 53–76.

and form. Drawing on Althoff's binary opposition between interior and exterior spheres, he locates a crucial difference between the two genres in that historical texts are primarily concerned with events in the public sphere of political actions, while literary texts look behind the walls into inner spheres, relating intimate conversations, secret actions, and concealed thoughts.[40] In this sense, historical and fictive texts in many respects complement each other, with the one granting access to aspects of medieval mentalities that the other passes over in silence.

Another subject of text-oriented studies of ritual forms of expression is given by non-literary texts, i.e., medieval charters and official documents, which, apart from legal contents and formulaic material, include manifold symbolic messages, expressing timeless ideas of public authority as well as specific concepts of a given ruler's self-awareness.[41] Formulas, carefully selected epithets and titles, the quality and size of the paper or parchment, graphic signs, such as the royal monogram, corroborative elements and peculiarities of the diplomatic minuscule script, and of course the monarch's seal can readily be interpreted as symbols of ritualistic value in the context of monarchic self-representation and as powerful signs underscoring the ruler's preeminent position vis-à-vis the recipient(s) and the audience addressed in the document.[42]

Interestingly, there is a certain tension between text-oriented and event-oriented studies in that the former frequently draw into doubt the reliability of the latter, arguing that the authorial thought-worlds, intentions, and modes of perception are not sufficiently taken into account. This critique was especially developed in Philippe Buc's seminal *Dangers of Ritual.* Just as medieval actors often played with the ritual forms they had at their disposal, medieval authors too, the argument goes, were free to elaborate narrative descriptions of rituals according to their vision of the historical memory they intended to create.[43] Danger arises firstly in that rituals are frequently depicted as manipulated or failed (what Buc has labelled "bad

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[40] H. Wenzel, *Höfische Repräsentation. Symbolische Kommunikation und Literatur im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2005), p. 9.

[41] H. Keller, "Zu den Siegeln der Karolinger und der Ottonen: Urkunden als 'Hoheitszeichen' in der Kommunikation des Königs mit seinen Getreuen," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 32 (1998), 400–41.

[42] For the communicative force of medieval charters see, for instance, A. T. Hack, "Gruß, eingeschränkter Gruß und Grußverweigerung: Untersuchungen zur Salutatio in den Briefen Papst Gregors VII. und Kaiser Heinrich IV.," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 47/48 (2001/2), 47–84.

[43] Buc, *Dangers of Ritual*, pp. 2–4.

rituals") and thus, instead of creating order, cause just the opposite, and secondly in that rituals, after having been accomplished on a performative level, underwent a process of retrospective reconstruction, interpretation, and manipulation on a textual level in the framework of a historical discourse fluctuating between "good" and "bad" rituals pointing to order or disorder respectively.[44] The second part of Buc's argument, namely his attempt to deduce modern sociological and anthropological treatments of rituals from a set of theological and philosophical thoughts extending from the Reformation era to the aftermath of the French Revolution,[45] was met with severe criticism and by no means led to a decline of interest in a subject "just too fashionable to be given up," as he himself admits.[46] His focus on the literary reconstruction of rituals, instead, certainly contributed to a further refinement of methodological approaches to the analysis of narratives talking about rituals. Hence, scholars normally examine their material through a double perspective targeting both the level of performative reality and that of ritual imagination.

How then does the present volume fit into this rich and multifaceted landscape of theoretical approaches to and studies on the medieval ritual world? First and foremost, it intends to pick up a line of thought which was more systematically developed in the framework of the Heidelberg collaborative centre on ritual dynamics, but which since then did not find many followers to pursue this fascinating path of investigation. This is a cross-cultural, comparative view of rituals in a geographical area which, except for a few excellent, but isolated monographs, has been widely neglected so far by the mainstream of medieval ritual studies, namely the Mediterranean with a special focus on Byzantium and the Muslim East and some comparative glimpses into the medieval West. In doing so, the axis of investigation primarily turns around ritual and ceremonial aspects in Mediterranean court cultures and political life.

An important task regarding a comparative analysis of rituals is to define points of convergence and divergence between the results exacted from western material, on the one hand, and the particularities of Byzantium and the Muslim world, on the other. While it is more or less self-evident that eastern elites, in both the organization of power and the projection of authority, resorted to ritual and symbolic forms of communication just as

44 Ibid., pp. 9–10.
45 Ibid., pp. 161–247, the quote on p. 161.
46 Koziol, "Review Article," pp. 370–77.

much as their contemporary western peers did, it is questionable whether the specific occurrences of rituals and the way they were employed and perceived followed the same principles and evolutional patterns. Similar problems arise with respect to the available narrative sources. What can be said about the perception and narrative reconstruction of rituals on the basis of western authors like Widukind of Corvey and Thietmar of Merseburg is not necessarily applicable to works belonging to the Byzantine, Eastern Christian, or Muslim historiographical tradition. This is to say that in order to adequately assess the extent of comparability between western, Byzantine, and Muslim forms of ritual expression we have to aim at a clearer understanding of the peculiarities and characteristic features of each sphere, including the historical and conceptual foundations and preconditions, the religious and ideological discourse concerning the role of political leadership and hegemony, the forms and possibilities of public self-representation within the framework of court cultures and urban societies, and the perceptions and modes of description concerning ritual elements in normative and narrative texts. A certain obstacle to arriving at secure results is of course the fact that systematic comparative studies between western and eastern political spheres, despite some remarkable progress over the past few years, are still very few in number and unavoidably focussed on specific case studies. More specifically, the investigation of rituals in Byzantine and Muslim political cultures is still a far cry from the level western medieval studies have reached in their respective field. Hence, what we have at our disposal at the moment does not allow but a preliminary assessment of some core issues based on selected aspects of the ritual world in the medieval Mediterranean. Apart from the well-known fact that the scholarly disciplines devoted to Byzantium and the medieval Near East are much younger than western medieval studies, it is also important to note that the available source material is culturally and linguistically extremely disparate, requiring a great number of specialists acquainted with the historiographical traditions, the literary conventions, and the terminology of various literary genres in Greek, Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish, Syriac, and Armenian, to mention just the most important languages. Research on political rituals in the areas in question, therefore, is still in its infancy.

Initiatives of German medievalists like the DFG Priority Program "Integration and Disintegration of Civilisations in the European Middle Ages" (SPP 1173) and the network "Pre-modern Monarchic Forms of Rulership in the Mirror of Trans-Cultural Comparison" established in 2007, but also the British-Belgian project "Political Culture in Three Spheres:

Byzantium, Islam and the West, ca. 700–ca. 1450" coordinated since 2005 by Catherine Holmes, Jonathan Shepard (both Oxford), Björn Weiler (Aberystwyth), and Jo van Steenbergen (Ghent), clearly demonstrate the increasing interest in attempts to overcome the traditional dividing lines between scholarly disciplines and to include interdisciplinary and cross-cultural approaches.[47] These projects provide a highly appreciated methodological framework for the discussion on trans-cultural aspects of political rituals in that they offer the analytical and terminological tools for an adequate understanding of issues related to hegemonial groups in the Middle Ages under the light of a comparative approach, including generic patterns of political behaviour, ideological attitudes, and specific aspects of given cultural entities. In this way, historians are able to analyze the processes through which historical conditions engendered specific cultural occurrences of shared concepts and patterns of political authority. Furthermore, it can be more accurately explored how elements of a common heritage originating in the Roman imperial tradition or phenomena of mutual exchange led to the adoption, rejection, or transformation of political concepts, ideological attitudes, and forms of monarchic self-representation in different cultural spheres. A prime example of a comparative approach to strategies of legitimization in early medieval Europe and the Muslim Near East is Wolfram Drews's book *Die Karolinger und die Abbasiden von Bagdad*, which, starting from the historical coincidence of the years 750/1 as the moment of a parallel dynastic change, explored common ideological discourses and political practices consolidating dynastic claims, as well as historical continuities, and long-term collective memories related to the Carolingians and the Abbasids respectively.[48] More focused on political rituals in the strict sense of the term is Jenny R. Oesterle's monograph *Kalifat und Königtum*, which compares forms of monarchic self-representation, especially public processions on important festivities, in the Ottonian and early Salian Empire, on the one hand, and in the Fatimid Caliphate of Egypt, on the other.[49]

[47] For details, see M. Borgolte, J. Schiel, B. Schneidmüller, and A. Seitz, eds., *Mittelalter im Labor. Die Mediävistik testet Wege zu einer transkulturellen Europawissenschaft*, Europa im Mittelalter 10 (Berlin, 2008); W. Drews and J. R. Oesterle, eds., *Transkulturelle Komparatistik. Beiträge zu einer Globalgeschichte der Vormoderne* (Leipzig, 2008).

[48] W. Drews, *Die Karolinger und die Abbasiden von Bagdad. Legitimationsstrategien frühmittelalterlicher Herrscherdynastien im transkulturellen Vergleich*, Europa im Mittelalter 12 (Berlin, 2009).

[49] J. R. Oesterle, *Kalifat und Königtum. Herrschaftsrepräsentation der Fatimiden, Ottonen und frühen Salier an religiösen Hochfesten* (Darmstadt, 2009).

The focus lies on the development, function, and role of processions, their structure, ritual components, and ideological implications in each of the two spheres; of special importance for the cross-cultural approach is the structural comparison of common spatial and temporal constellations as regards the landscape of palatial and sacred areas and the sequence of liturgical feasts. Given that in both Ottonian Germany and Fatimid Egypt an intensification of religiously-oriented rituals in the framework of monarchic self-representation can be observed, it becomes obvious that religion in both spheres was consciously used as an efficient means of legitimization. The choreographic arrangement of processions, the combination of palatial areas with mosques or churches, the adaptation of urban spaces to the needs of processions, and the possibilities offered by religious feasts to display monarchic power are some of the aspects allowing us to specify and differentiate the use of rituals in given cultural and political contexts.[50] Byzantium with its intermediate position between western Christianity and Islam had the advantage that its ritual settings and imperial processions formed the subject of surviving reports written from the viewpoint of foreign observers, and thus allows the comparison of different culturally-determined forms of perception.[51]

As for the current state of research in the field of political rituals in Byzantium and the Muslim world, it seems that the aforementioned scholarly trends and discussions have already stimulated a number of thought-provoking and innovative monographs and articles which are expected to raise increasing interest in the related topics and an awareness of the importance rituals may have for the interpretation of political procedures in the respective spheres. Martin Hinterberger and Michael Grünbart, starting from different perspectives and lines of investigation, have worked on the display of emotions, namely weeping and shedding of tears, in the framework of imperial politics in Constantinople.[52] While Hinterberger primarily aims at categorizing the phenomenon of tears as an aspect of emotional expression in Byzantine literature, both authors arrive at the conclusion that under certain circumstances weeping served as a symbolic act often deliberately employed by emperors and high-ranking

50 Ibid., pp. 25–31.

51 Ibid., pp. 23–24, 79–95.

52 M. Grünbart, "Der Kaiser weint: Anmerkungen zur imperialen Inszenierung von Emotionen in Byzanz," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 42 (2008), 89–108; M. Hinterberger, "Tränen in der byzantinischen Literatur: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Emotionen," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 56 (2006), 27–51.

officials in order to visualize distress about a current situation, repentance about something that had happened in the past, and a fervent desire for future change. The audience to which the display of this emotional condition was addressed was alarmed by the messages conveyed through this act, and decision makers were put under pressure to comply with the crying person's wish. Most intriguingly, these observations made on the basis of Byzantine narratives are fully consistent with the results brought to light from western sources.

Forms of verbal and non-verbal symbolism in Byzantine diplomacy were recently analyzed on the basis of interactions with Arab potentates. Beyond the political and religious dialogue and common patterns of ideological rhetoric, the two spheres apparently had a shared repertory of signs, gestures, and rituals facilitating successful communication and exchange on various levels.[53] A full-length monograph on Byzantine forms of monarchic self-representation in a diplomatic context is Alexandru Anca's work on Byzantine-Latin official encounters in the period of the twelfth-century Crusades.[54] The book explores the triumphal entries of John II and Manuel I in Antioch in 1138 and 1159, several meetings with Frankish lords, Rainald de Châtillon's *deditio* as a case study for conflict resolution in Byzantine-western relations, and the famous 1196 Christmas reception of emissaries sent by Emperor Henry VI as an example for the construction of a failed ritual in western and Byzantine historiography. Once more, one easily notices how rich a paradigm the political life of Byzantium constitutes for a fruitful combination of methodological approaches developed by Althoff and Buc.

Regarding the ceremonial life of the Byzantine imperial court, most studies, in one way or another, centre around or draw on the well-known tenth-century treatise *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae* commonly ascribed to Constantine Porphyrogennetos and to Basileios Lakapenos, who is held responsible for a later redaction dating to the 960s.[55] A new edition and

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[53] A. Beihammer, "Die Kraft der Zeichen: Symbolische Kommunikation in der byzantinisch-arabischen Diplomatie des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 54 (2004), 159–89.

[54] A. S. Anca, *Herrschaftliche Repräsentation und kaiserliches Selbstverständnis. Berührung der westlichen mit der byzantinischen Welt in der Zeit der ersten Kreuzzüge*, Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesystem—Schriftenreihe des Sonderforschungsbereichs 496, 31 (Münster, 2010).

[55] Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae libri duo*, ed. J. J. Reiske (Bonn, 1829–1830); *Le livre des cérémonies*, 1, *livre 1, chapitres 1–46 (37)*, ed. A. Vogt (Paris, 1935); the starting point for all studies on Byzantine court ceremonies is still O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell. Vom*

translation of this crucial text has been repeatedly announced, but work seems to have stagnated ever since the publication of a collective volume by Gilbert Dagron, John Haldon, and others, presenting the edition and translation along with extensive comments of the chapters 1.77–82 and 2.44–45, as well as a thorough analysis of Byzantine relations with western, southern Slavic, Russian, and Caucasian potentates mentioned in 2.46–48.[56] Previous to that, Gilbert Dagron, in the framework of his seminal *Empereur et prêtre*, had proceeded to a fresh analysis of succession principles, the protocols of proclamation and coronation procedures transmitted in *De cerimoniis*, as well as the function of the Great Palace and Hagia Sophia as central *lieux de mémoire* of the Byzantine imperial idea.[57] Other noteworthy contributions are a number of studies on the Great Palace of Constantinople published in the Istanbul volume on early medieval residences mentioned earlier and a slightly older collective volume edited by Henry Maguire on Byzantine court culture.[58] Nonetheless, the numerous topics discussed in these works, such as space, architecture, music, relics, art, rhetoric, intellectual life, diplomatic and military matters, the imperial court's social fabric and interchanges with foreign courts, reflect a more general interest in philological and interpretative problems posed by the *Book of Ceremonies* and the cultural phenomena related to Byzantine court life rather than a specific concern about rituals in the framework of Byzantine political culture. In this respect, the papers gathered in the present volume intend to combine traditional approaches to Byzantine court ceremonies comprising visual, literary, and ideological

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oströmischen Staats- und Reichsgedanken (Jena, 1938; repr. Darmstadt, 1956); for a comprehensive view of art historical aspects, see A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin. Recherches sur l'art officiel de l'Empire d'Orient* (Paris, 1936).

56 G. Dagron, "L'organisation et le déroulement des courses d'après le *Livre des Cérémonies*," *Travaux et Mémoires* 13 (2000), 1–200; J. Haldon "Theory and Practice in Tenth-Century Military Administration. Chapters II, 44 and 45 of the Book of Ceremonies," ibid., 201–352; G. Dagron, B. Martin-Hisard, C. Zuckerman, E. Malamut, and J.-M. Martin, "Byzance et ses voisins: Études sur certains passages du Livre des cérémonies, II, 15 et 46–48," ibid., 353–672.

57 G. Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le « césaropapisme » byzantin* (Paris, 1996), pp. 33–138; see also the English translation *Emperor and Priest. The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 13–124.

58 Bauer, *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft* (see above, n. 22); Maguire, *Byzantine Court Culture* (see above, n. 27); for an important contribution going beyond the chronological limits of Maguire's volume, see M. G. Parani, "Cultural Identity and Dress: The Case of Late Byzantine Ceremonial Costume," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 57 (2007), 95–134.

facets with the paradigm shift introduced by the concept of political rituals and the comparative studies of political culture in different spheres.

As far as medieval Islam is concerned, except for the two monographs by Drews and Oesterle mentioned above, it is mainly Andrew Marsham's book on *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy*[59] that set new standards for exploring political rituals in the framework of Islamic monarchy. The focus of this study lies with the idea of allegiance, as it gradually appeared within the Arabic tribal society from Pre-Islamic times onwards, as well as with the succession procedures in the early Islamic caliphate up to the civil war that broke out upon the murder of Caliph al-Mutawakkil in 861. Iranian and Roman elements of royal accession, customs of the (semi-)nomadic social fabric of Arabia, and new religious and ideological concepts originating from the evolving Islamic tradition formed the idiosyncratic background of the monarchic principles in the Umayyad and early Abbasid empires. The pledge of allegiance and other rituals framing the caliphal succession procedure, though only thinly documented in the Umayyad period and frequently anachronistically distorted by later accounts projecting current discourses of their own time back to the formation period, exhibit clearly discernible lines of development with manifold ramifications for Islamic dynastic ideas and concepts of caliphal authority. The later decades of the Marwānid caliphate and the early Abbasid period appear as watersheds, in which the relationship between the caliph and other elite members underwent changes, the "symbolic language of Islamic monarchy" gradually came into being, and important transformations of caliphal rituals took place.[60] Regarding the long-term evolutional patterns, Marsham's study no doubt forms a model applicable not only to other areas and periods of the Muslim world, but also to other cultural contexts. One may think, for instance, of the sequence of the so-called dynasties on the imperial throne in Constantinople and their constantly changing methods and tools of maintaining their grasp on power and their control of the dominant political factors. A close analysis of all available data concerning the family of Herakleios, the Isaurians, the Amorians, and the Macedonians in all likelihood would bring to light equally noteworthy evolutionary patterns pointing to a gradual development of the Byzantine imperial concept in the context of the empire's political culture. Dagron's *Emperor and Priest* only took the first steps in this direction by expounding succession

[59] A. Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy. Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire* (Edinburgh, 2009).

[60] Ibid., pp. 9–17, 311–16.

principles and the sacred sphere of the emperor's self-representation. Practices of building allegiances and securing dynastic stability through oaths and other political rituals still need to be reconstructed in their diachronic dimension.

Another approach to Islamic political rituals lies in the context of religious and public celebrations, court processions, and the palatial, religious and urban spaces in which the related ceremonies and festivities were choreographed and staged. In this respect, Oesterle's comparative study owes a lot to Paula Sanders' book on Fatimid Cairo,[61] which points out how Shiite and local public feasts served as a means to link the newly founded Fatimid residence city of al-Qāhira to the first Muslim foundation of al-Fusṭāṭ and how they affirmed and consolidated the caliph's position as supreme lord of the Fatimid ruling class in Egypt. By elevating popular feasts to official celebrations, the caliphal court had the opportunity to promote ideas of the Shiite state ideology. A chapter in this volume devoted to the Mamluks tells the story of the further development of Cairo as sacred and commemorative space of ritual performances from the Ayyubid period up to the end of the fourteenth century. Again, one may think of parallels with various other urban centres in the eastern Mediterranean which offered the framework for the establishment of monarchic residences and their ceremonial appearances.

* * *

The contributions collected in the present volume, in one way or another, closely follow the methodological and thematic trajectories outlined above. While focussing on a broad range of aspects related to ceremonies, rituals, and symbolic displays of political authority, each of them has its own disciplinary background and theoretical agenda. Four overarching subject-matters, which correspond to some of the crucial problems in the current research—(1) transformative processes, (2) succession procedures, (3) phenomena of appropriation and cross-cultural exchanges, (4) rituals in art and literature—form the thematic unities along which the articles of the present volume are arranged.

Celebrations at the Byzantine imperial court, elements of acclamations addressed to the emperor, diplomatic relations with barbarian steppe peoples, and the establishment of the Umayyad caliphate are crucial aspects suitable for exemplifying and exploring the gradual transformation of ritual and ceremonial elements over a long period extending from

61 P. Sanders, *Ritual, Politics and the City in Fatimid Cairo* (Albany, 1994).

Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages. The Roman emperor's birthday (*dies natalis*) is, as Maria Kantirea shows, a case in point for the long-term persistence of imperial rituals from classical Rome up to tenth-century Constantinople. The commemoration of a person's birth based on the pagan idea of a quasi-divine guardian spirit appeared in the framework of imperial feasts as early as the origins of the Roman Principate under Augustus, being from the onset closely connected with the second important commemorative celebration, the emperor's accession to power. The festivities held on the emperor's birthday had manifold ramifications for the public projection of imperial power on a ritual, social, and ideological level. As a result of the emperor's divinization in the course of the evolving imperial cult, the Roman monarch on his birthday received divine honours through sacrifices in both the capital and the provincial cities, which integrated these festivities into their own traditions of worship. The watershed of the fourth century obviously did not bring about disruptive changes as regards the sequence of traditional Roman feasts, imperial anniversaries, and commemorations, and pagan rituals continued to provide the ceremonial background against which the imperial power's public appearances were orchestrated. What changed was the emperor's relationship to divinity accompanied by a gradual Christianization of imperial rituals, as is most conspicuously expressed in the abolition of blood sacrifices. Hence, one observes a process of assimilation between the ceremonial elements of birthday celebrations and other anniversaries, as well as a semantic equation between the *dies natalis* and the *dies imperii*, the day the monarch received the rank of Caesar or Augustus. By the tenth century, the emperor's birthday had become a less religiously charged ceremony. We are dealing with a pagan ceremonial substrate which through a process of gradual transformation changed its ritual components and religious context, but maintained its close ties with the imperial sphere, underscoring ideas of the God-chosen emperor's pre-eminence.

Another aspect of transition is the semantic development of messages conveyed by Byzantine imperial acclamations, which, in turn, exemplify the dynamics of performative speeches in Byzantine court ceremonies. Formulaic patterns of acclamations summarize in very succinct slogan-like phrases basic premises of the Roman imperial idea, such as the emperor's piety, his belief in Christ and the Orthodox faith, his ability to restore peace, and God's protection. The starting point of Martin Hinterberger's analysis is the notion of *phthonos*, as expressed in a sharply restricted, but carefully positioned, number of apotropaic formulas employed in acclamations to emperors presiding over Ecumenical Councils from Ephesos

(431) and Chalcedon (451) to the Iconoclastic Synod of Hieria in 754, as well as in the coronation of Emperor Anastasios I (491). By exploring the evolving semantic levels of the term, Hinterberger distinguishes between *phthonos* as an equivalent of a supernatural life-threatening force and as a synonym for the devil. In either case it is perceived as a negative power harming the emperor's glory and bringing disaster and death. The blurring of the semantic boundaries between the two meanings has once more to be viewed in conjunction with the gradual penetration of Christian concepts into the pre-existing pagan thought world. The shift from an impersonal evil force to the devil also indicates changes in the ideological concepts of the imperial elite.

Official encounters in the framework of Byzantine-barbarian diplomatic exchanges illustrate the transformation of rituals in the realm of the empire's foreign relations. Starting from the 565 reception of Avar emissaries in Constantinople described in Corippus's panegyric on Emperor Justin II, Walter Pohl notices the relatively infrequent occurrence of ritual elements in comparison to the overwhelming dominance of rhetoric. The available narrative sources certainly betray the existence of scripted procedures and "laws of friendship," encoding the rules for diplomatic contacts and the integration of foreigners into the Byzantine imperial sphere, for instance through baptism or the conferral of honorary titles, but they rarely describe or comment on these acts. One reason obviously lies in the commonly shared knowledge of the diplomatic protocol, which regulated a broad range of ceremonial components, such as movements, dress, participants, acclamations, food, symbolic gestures and objects, leaving thus little space for profound reflections or diverging interpretations. Ritual elements, in order to be expounded more extensively, had to be unusual or in contrast to the norm. This especially applies to cases in which different religious creeds resulted in a lack of ritual concord. Likewise, it was the exotic character of ritual practices which caused astonishment or even criticism when Byzantine officials participated in them. The fact that the ceremonial life of foreign courts is always described from the viewpoint of Byzantine observers unavoidably narrows the perception of modern historians down to the limits of an *interpretatio Romana*, which is determined by the binary opposition between barbarian stereotypes and Roman superiority.

In the course of the seventh century, the Byzantine Empire encountered the challenge of the Islamic expansion and the emerging Arab-Islamic caliphate, which soon came to embody a sort of counter-concept of universal rulership. A decisive step in this direction was, as Andrew Marsham

argues, the public accession of the first Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, which took place in 661 in Jerusalem upon the murder of his opponent ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. The details of this major event are known to us only through the perspective of an outside observer, a Maronite chronicle written in Syriac, but they can be corroborated by data provided by later Muslim sources. Elements of a specific Islamic ceremonial, like the pledge of allegiance (*bayʿa*) and the promulgation, were placed in sacred spaces of outstanding prominence, the congregational mosque constructed by Caliph ʿUmar on the Temple Mount and the churches at Golgotha, to which the newly proclaimed caliph moved by performing an act of pilgrimage. Before an audience mainly consisting of Arab nomads from the Syrian steppes and local Christians, the new caliph opted for a combination of Muslim-Arab ritual elements with imperial and Christian points of reference related to imperial associations, the cult of the True Cross, Christian pilgrimage sites, and local customs of Christianized Syrian Arabs. Muʿāwiya thus incorporated Christian conceptions of the sacred status of Jerusalem and elements of the Roman imperial tradition so as to assert his claim to rule the Christian population of Syria. This was a highly inventive form of adoption and re-interpretation of ritual elements originating from various cultural environments and translated into a new code of ritual communication.

The second part of this volume deals with a key aspect of medieval rulership, namely succession procedures and the ritual acts involved therein. From a comparative perspective it explores selected case studies dating to approximately the same period—the eleventh and twelfth centuries—but located in different geographical regions, such as the German Empire, France, Poland, Comnenian Byzantium, and Abbasid Iraq. The analyses focus, on the one hand, on the factual level of succession procedures comprising historical circumstances, ideological principles, political strategies, and public performances, and, on the other, on the narrative presentation and interpretation of these events in historiographical sources. Björn Weiler examines western models of accession to royal power, stressing the significance of shared norms, structures, and patterns of rule in conjunction with a common moral framework, determining the perception of exemplary royal action and demeanour. Narratives of the king-making process played a vital part in the debates related to an increasing tendency to define the nature of kingship and royal duties. Wipo, describing the election and coronation of Conrad II in 1024 in the framework of a well-established monarchy, primarily emphasizes his protagonist's outstanding virtues and the spirit of unanimity prevailing throughout his election.

Acts of symbolic communication mainly serve to highlight key features of ideal kingship. The so-called Gallus Anonymus portrays the coronation of the first Polish king Bolesław I by Emperor Otto III in 999/1000, focusing like Wipo on a catalogue of royal merits, but from a greater chronological distance, with a different ranking and fewer details concerning the succession *per se*. Stephen of Blois, having gained the English throne in 1135 in opposition to Henry (II), is presented by the anonymous author of the *Gesta Stephani* as the most suitable candidate to rescue the kingdom from the turmoil into which it had fallen, to restore peace and to defeat the insurgents. Again, virtues and exemplary forms of behaviour are evoked, yet, as Stephen eventually was overthrown, his subsequent failure had to be explained by shifting the blame on corrupt advisors in his entourage. Do these models of royal successions collected from Germany, England, and Poland have any parallels and convergences with corresponding processes in the Mediterranean and Islamic cultural spheres?

The Muslim counterpart of coronations was the practice of *bayʿa*, i.e., 'oath of allegiance', by which a new ruler's political authority was proclaimed, recognized, and legitimized and by which the idea of an investiture from God as the true source of rulership was affirmed. The particularity of the Abbasid caliphate lies, as Eric Hanne argues, in the fact that during the tenth century the caliphs were reduced to a state of dependency upon warlord dynasties like the Buyids and the Seljuks and thus lost control of the succession procedure within their own family. Periods of revitalization after 991 under al-Qādir and after 1092 brought about a partial restoration of Abbasid autonomy and a firmer grasp on the *bayʿa* process. The investiture of the caliph's heir apparent (*walī al-ʿahd*), which was renewed during al-Qādir's reign, and the succession procedure itself became a gauge for the degree of autonomy the caliphate was able to achieve while competing with the army and other political forces exerting control over Baghdad. Moreover, the *bayʿa* and other related ceremonies were important elements of the prerogatives the caliphs were eager to assert. The sequence of a two-step procedure of oath-taking by the religious and bureaucratic elite (*bayʿat al-khāṣṣa*) and the people (*bayʿat al-ʿāmma*), payments to the troops, and precautionary measures for the safety of the palace area were the recurring standard features of these ceremonial events. Baghdad and medieval Europe, despite all differences, do share a common concern about legitimacy which was to be secured through the consensus of the leading political factor and the performance of firmly established ritual acts. The caliph, however, in contrast to the European kings, does not appear as performing rituals in order to project

his personal virtues as military commander and apt ruler, but rather as struggling for his claims to keep up the traditional ritual order as a symbol of the caliphate's legacy as leading authority of Sunni Islam.

Succession procedures in Byzantium have to be viewed in the context of a political system characterized by an incessant antagonism between a weakly developed dynastic principle and a constant readiness for usurpation. Elements of dynastic thinking were certainly always at work, but the most decisive criterion ultimately was the claimant's success, measureable on the basis of his recognition by the three political bodies, i.e., the army, the senate, and the citizens of Constantinople as the dominant groups of acceptance. In this framework of organized instability usurpation was a commonly accepted mode of gaining the throne and thus legitimacy could not be created solely on the basis of a formally correct investiture. Ritual acts related to successions were hardly regulated and exhibit a high degree of flexibility according to constantly changing political circumstances. Niketas Choniates's *Chronike Diegesis*, one of the most influential texts of twelfth-century Byzantium, provides an extensive narrative of succession procedures at the court of the Comnenian and Angeloi emperors, showing thereby an extraordinary sensibility in observing political rituals and perceiving their role within the innermost sphere of Constantinopolitan imperial power. Describing long developments over a period of almost ninety years, the author presents the gradual collapse of imperial authority from John II to the failed proclamation of Constantine Laskaris as an analogous decay of the empire's ritual world, either by accusing his contemporaries of having abused and perverted the sacred ceremonies or satirizing them through the distortion of their original intentions. The macro-structure of this account is based on the idea of a three-step development: Comnenian successions, despite some serious inner-dynastic tensions, resulted in consensus and harmony; Andronikos I's rise to power (1182/3) is structured along a carefully orchestrated sequence of rituals, which originally certainly cemented his claims to the throne, but thereafter were presented by Choniates as a means of fraud and deceit used by a wily individual; a chain of five violent usurpations under the Angeloi, eventually, reflect the increasing immorality of the rulers who gradually lost the ability to perform valid rituals and to project legitimacy.

Antonia Giannouli's analysis of coronation speeches in the Palaiologan period moves the discussion from a primarily historical to a philological approach. The question is whether three selected items of imperial panegyric, which in the older research literature are traditionally related to accessions to the throne of late Byzantine emperors, can actually be classified as a specific type of coronation speech. An oration of Maximos

Planoudes delivered on the occasion of the coronation of Michael IX as co-emperor in 1294 obviously fulfils the required typological criteria in both form and substance; a short speech of John Kalekas addressed to Anna of Savoy and her newly enthroned son John V in 1341 and a speech by John Argyropoulos delivered on the occasion of Constantine XI's arrival in Constantinople in 1449, however, cannot be directly connected with the emperor's accession to the throne, nor do they have specific references to the ceremonial act of coronation. What they actually do is affirm a catalogue of standard imperial virtues and combine these rhetorical conventions with allusions to and advice on current political challenges, such as the emperor's future role as monarch and the dangers emanating from internal and external threats. In this sense, the texts in question, because of their repetitive and standardized character, can be interpreted as ritualized speeches re-affirming elements of imperial ideology within the framework of late Byzantine court ceremonies, and this is the case with Argyropoulos's text even a few years before the final downfall of the empire. Despite the difference of genre, one notices certain similarities in intention and substance between this kind of rhetoric texts and eleventh-century western narratives of succession procedures with their strong focus on the projection of royal virtues.

Political elites were by no means isolated and self-contained entities, but stood under the constant influence of ideological patterns and governmental practices already existing in the territories under their sway. In addition, they availed themselves of symbols of power and ritual elements of foreign hegemonic groups with which they were communicating. This holds particularly true for powers which, because of their age, military strength, or ideological pre-eminence, were ascribed a highly prestigious position and a sort of supremacy important enough to serve as legitimating authority for smaller lordships. In the Christian sphere of East and West, it was the collective memory of the Roman Empire and the rivalling imperial concepts of Byzantium and the Holy Roman Empire which were constantly employed by both *arrivistes* and well-established rulers as points of reference for strategies of legitimization and the propagation of ascendency. In Islam, rights of sovereignty and legitimacy were thought to emanate primarily from the idea of the imamate of the *umma*, i.e., 'the Muslim community', the caliphate and, from the middle of the eleventh century onwards, from the Seljuk sultanate.[62] Apart from that, local rulers

[62] For details, see P. Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought* (Edinburgh, 2005), pp. 3–124.

would incorporate features of self-representation from preceding dynasties with a strong bearing on local urban centres, disseminating thus the impression of royal continuity.

Jo Van Steenbergen explores the political rituals of the Egyptian Mamluks in the light of the urban transformation which was inaugurated by the transferral of the administrative centre from the Fatimid palace city of Cairo to the Citadel of the Mountain on al-Muqaṭṭam Hill. In this respect, Bayna l-Qaṣrayn, the very heart of the Fatimid residence, is interpreted as a Mamluk *lieu de mémoire* with different commemorative layers referring to the Fatimid past, to heroic martyrdom and victory, as well as to the dynastic concept of legitimating continuity. The ceremonial of investiture of the leading Mamluk military commanders, the amirs, with its processional elements accentuates the outstanding significance of the Ṣāliḥīya madrasa, the monument of the last Ayyubid sultan, and the Manṣūrīya complex, the foundation of Sultan Qalāwūn, and other adjacent buildings, which came to be added during the fourteenth century. The Mamluks' public image visualized through the integration of their court ceremonies into the spatial setting of Bayna l-Qaṣrayn included allusions to Fatimid luxury and riches, claims to championship in Muslim jihad, the hagiographic remembrance of the patron of the first generation of Mamluk rulers, and the accentuation of continuities through the gradual extension of the area's sacred topography.

The Latin Empire of Constantinople established in the wake of the Fourth Crusade in 1204 is a fascinating example of ritual adjustments and innovations within the framework of the superimposition of western models of rulership on a pre-existing Byzantine social and political substrate. On the strength of its leading military and economic role and the prerogatives secured in the agreements with the other Crusader commanders, Venice was given the opportunity to lay claims to and to present itself as heir to the Byzantine imperial legacy regarding the empire's administrative practices and authority symbols. On the other hand, the vacancy of the imperial throne caused by the violent seizure of Constantinople necessitated the projection of a legitimate transition of imperial authority from the Greek to the Frankish ruling elite. Stefan Burkhardt argues that this was achieved by combining the western concept of "*Heerkaisertum*"—the army represented by an electoral body as the source of the imperial office—with points of reference situated in the imperial topography of Constantinople, such as Hagia Sophia and the palaces, and with symbols and ceremonial robes of the Byzantine court. Visual intimations of the unbroken Byzantine tradition were linked with an altered perception of

the imperial dignity, which was deemed to represent a *primus inter pares* drawing his legitimacy from his soldiers. Because of the serious destruction the city had undergone this new concept could hardly be integrated into the ritual landscape inherited from the Greeks. Another problem was the new emperor's inferior status with respect to many western authorities, such as the pope, Venice, and the king of France. The Latin emperor, thus, while heavily drawing on the Byzantine symbolic and ritual language of authority, never had the capacity to meet the requirements of the classical models of emperorship.

The Armenian kingdom of Cilicia founded in 1198 with the coronation of Lewon I by the bishop of Mainz as representative of the Holy Roman Empire was another political entity based on manifold ethnic, cultural, and ideological roots. An Armenian ruling elite maintaining close ties with the Latin West, the Crusader states, and the Seljuk sultanate of Konya superimposed its authority on the local Byzantine substrate, established an ecclesiastical organization formally subject to the papacy, and combined its own heritage with numerous influences from Europe, Byzantium, and adjacent cultural layers of Anatolia and the Near East. Many of these elements are conspicuously reflected in the kingdom's forms of ceremonial self-representation, which Ioanna Rapti explores by focusing on two crucial points in a royal dynasty's ritual sphere, i.e., coronations and funerals. Information on these matters can be drawn not only from a quite substantial number of narrative sources pertaining to the local Armenian historiographical tradition, but also from royal portraits in illuminated manuscripts commissioned by members of the ruling house for liturgical and commemorative purposes in the second half of the thirteenth century. The cathedral church of Saint Sophia in Tarsus and the feasts of Christmas and Epiphany jointly celebrated on 6 January form the framework of Cilician coronations in space and time, being thus linked with one of the most important sacred centres of the region and the idea of Christ's incarnation symbolizing the rebirth of the Armenian kingdom. The ruling dynasty's ideological and ceremonial discourse combines current concepts of kingship, as expressed in the royal insignia and the throne, with innovative approaches and re-interpretations of features provided by the symbolic language of royal garments and specific ritual acts. Byzantine-style courtly customs, imperial attributes, such as the *loros*, and crowns imitating Comnenian models point to adoptions of Byzantine elements and to certain imperial aspirations, especially in the time of the marriage plans with the Palaiologan dynasty. Likewise, symbolic elements of Seljuk origin may allude to an alliance with the sultanate of Konya

while reproductions of European and, more specifically, French Gothic imageries illustrate a re-orientation towards Western concepts. According to Armenian traditions in which the reverence for the burial places of the ancestors always occupied a central position, the Armenian establishment in Cilicia entailed the creation of new *lieux de mémoire* as symbols of dynastic continuity. Burial places were usually related to royal foundations of monasteries, such as Akner and Drazark, adding thus to the residential town of Sis new points of dynastic reference. A striking case is the death of Lewon I who stage-managed the end of his life as a solemn procession from Sis to Akner in conjunction with a separate burial of the king's heart and corpse in the said monastery and in Sis respectively.

The adoption by feudal lords in tenth- and eleventh-century France of Byzantine rituals of power and ceremonial elements is a case in point for phenomena of cross-fertilization between the hegemonic symbolisms of different political and cultural spheres. The shared legacy and historical memory of imperial Rome with its common repertory of political customs and symbols, the propagation of the Byzantine imperial idea in a period of expansion through *adventus* ceremonies, military triumphs, and other expressions of victory and predominance, and the successful diffusion of these attitudes through embassies, pilgrims, travellers, and mercenaries are, as Jonathan Shepard brilliantly demonstrates, the main determinants of this process. Hence, Duke William V of Aquitane (ca. 994–1030), in his attempt to establish a quasi-monarchical hegemony in south-western France, resorted to Roman-Byzantine models of rites of rulership; William IV Taillefur, count of Angoulême (988–1028), staged an *adventus* in his city of residence upon his return from a pilgrimage to the East; the *arriviste* Fulk Nerra, count of Anjou (987–1040), made use of *adventus* ceremonies for relics and the Roman rite of *calcatio* so as to visualize his authority in the Lower Loire region; ultimately, Duke William of Normandy, the famous victor of Hastings in 1066, refused an appropriate *adventus* by the citizens of London on the day of his coronation, employed connotations of Byzantine imperial imagery and a Byzantine-styled crown in compensation for the reverence lacking on the part of his future subjects.

The last part of this volume comprises six articles dealing with resonances and reflections of rituals and ceremonies in Byzantine art and literature. As has been repeatedly stressed by medievalists, a comprehensive treatment of pre-modern rituals presupposes an interdisciplinary approach taking into consideration the broadest possible range of source material, including data from material culture, handicrafts, works of art, and works of fiction. From this angle, Stavroula Constantinou examines

Prokopios's *Secret History* not as a historical source providing insights into sixth-century facts and realities, but as a work of fiction or "historical novel." Starting with the observation that the author exhibits a remarkable obsession with violence and punishment, she applies Michel Foucault's concept of ritualized punishments on the narrator's discourse and his use of the topic in question within his narrative. These stylized forms of punishment designed to reaffirm Justinian's and Theodora's absolute power over their subjects correspond to a ritualized narration resulting from a repetitive textual structure based on detailed descriptions, short references or summaries. Satirical overtones and comic dimensions are further characteristics of the author's narrative technique.

Panagiotis Agapitos's case study on formalized expressions of fictive hegemony in the late Byzantine tale of love *Livistros and Rodhamne* shows that this romance with its extensive references and allusions to court ceremonies and rituals of empire is a carrier of specific and intentioned ideological and cultural meaning. More specifically, within a symmetrically organized narrative sequence describing Eros's imperial domain in a series of four dreams, the text achieves a complex reconstruction of a contemporary imperial imagery which is projected back to a mythological Hellenic past. The underlying concept is a rite of passage which at first glance describes the hero's emotional initiation into Eros's dominion, but at the same time, on an allegorical level, reflects the hero's political conversion into a vassal. The described coronation procedure, including the shield raising ceremony, points to the Nicaean Empire and the time of Theodore II Laskaris as the factual background against which the romance's ritual repertory was construed.

In pre-modern societies, rituals and court ceremonies were by no means always blindly observed or applied, but frequently formed the subject of reflection, criticism, and even distortion. Expectedly, therefore, ceremonials also had their parodies and turned into rituals of mockery. Henry Maguire explores various facets of this topic by juxtaposing incidents of "inverted anti-ceremonials" mentioned in historiographical texts from the ninth to the twelfth century and their impact on Byzantine art, namely the central scene of the Mocking of Christ. This episode shows a diachronic thematic diversification by including dancers in the eleventh and musicians before the late thirteenth century. The slightly later images of the Mocking in the church of St. George in Staro Nagoričino exhibit the closest connection with Byzantine parodies of imperial ceremonial. Pictorial representations, thus, offer important insights into the ritual mentality of the Byzantines, even if we are dealing with conscious distortions.

An important material aspect of court ceremonies is given by the huge variety of robes worn by court officials in the course of public celebrations and processions. Maria Parani focuses on the attire of the palace eunuchs, certainly an especially prominent category of dignitaries, though not defined by rank or function, but by sexual neutrality. A number of derogatory views expressed in Byzantine literature notwithstanding, eunuchs also evoked positive associations related to the Archangel Michael and the angelic escort of God, which from the sixth century onwards is presented in the guise of eunuchs. Given that pictorial representations of eunuchs are not too numerous, the main source is the *Book of Ceremonies* with its detailed instructions for the changing outfit of dignities and offices reserved for eunuchs. From among the entire set of garments used for ceremonial purposes, only a few items seem to have been particularly associated with eunuchs, but the proximity to the emperor gave their outward appearance a special nuance within the entire arrangement of the imperial entourage. Obviously, there was a profound symbolic relationship between eunuchs and pearls as sources of light.

Chapter II.15 of the *Book of Ceremonies* is certainly one of the best-studied and most remarkable passages of the whole text. This is mainly due to the rich historical details mentioned in this chapter, which refers to a series of receptions held for emissaries of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordoba and the emirate of Tarsus as well as the Russian princess Olga in the Great Palace between May and October 946, as recent scholarship has convincingly proven. This period was also of crucial importance for the personal ambitions of Emperor Constantine VII who, with the coronation of his son Romanos II on 22 March 946, eventually managed to consolidate his lineage's continuity. In contrast to the numerous historical analyses devoted to this chapter, Christine Angelidi focuses on its abundant ceremonial information regarding the equipment and decoration in the palace's reception halls, the attire of dignitaries, and the procedure followed during the audiences.

Margaret Mullett's discussion of "tented ceremonies" draws our attention to the fact that Byzantine imperial ceremonies, while usually closely connected with the imperial palace of Constantinople, also included elements of itinerant rulership employed on campaigns and other occasions of journeys and based on camps and tents as "compressed and portable imperial or aristocratic households." While the Byzantine court ceremonial certainly differed from itinerant forms of kingship, as known, for instance, from medieval Germany, where the king's wandering about his realm formed an immediate expression of the exertion of royal authority,

Byzantium's "mobile court" comprising huge amounts of equipment and a great entourage still had much in common with other Mediterranean and eastern court cultures, especially those of Arab and Turkish emirs up to the Ottomans. The manifold occurrences of imperial tents in military treatises, historiographical texts, and the eleventh- and twelfth-century poems of Archbishop Theophylaktos of Ohrid and Manganeios Prodromos illustrate the outward appearance and structural particularities of imperial courts "on the move" as well as the public and ceremonial function of tents as mobile settings for official acts carried out by emperors and high-ranking aristocrats. The Arab poet al-Mutanabbī's description of Sayf al-Dawla's tent suggests possible influences of the Arabs on Byzantine uses of tents as smaller versions of the emperor's household. A broad range of ceremonies not bound to the ritual landscape of the imperial city, such as receptions, gift exchanges, acts of worship, death rites, baptisms, and marriages, could easily be applied to the framework of military camps and tented environments.

All in all, the contributions collected in this volume certainly cannot and do not intend to cover the entire range of topics related to court ceremonies and political rituals in the medieval Mediterranean. The usual constraints of time and money imposed the exclusion of numerous levels of political interaction and of many vital regions in the Mediterranean basin. Furthermore, the strong participation of authors specializing in various fields of Byzantine studies gave the volume a clearly discernible "Eastern Roman" focus, which, in turn, enabled us to reconstruct some lines of long-term development from Antiquity to the Middle Ages and to outline contact zones, mutual influences, and points of comparisons with other political and cultural spheres in the Latin West and the Muslim world. In this way, it is hoped that this volume will provide guiding principles for new approaches and further discussions of aspects relating to the topic in question and to point out trajectories for future research.

PART ONE

RITUALS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE ROMAN WORLD

CHAPTER ONE

IMPERIAL BIRTHDAY RITUALS IN LATE ANTIQUITY*

Maria Kantirea

Scholars examining the relationship between ritual and power in the Roman Empire as well as during the Byzantine era usually focus on the question whether public or court ceremonies were in the service of or simply reflected the predominant political ideology and religious philosophy. Imperial birthday celebrations at Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity constitute representative examples of the various aspects that the dialogue between power and ritual had taken within a *longue durée* perspective. The annual commemoration of the imperial *dies natalis* was a dynamic political and religious action, which inevitably underwent historical changes throughout the centuries, had a specific symbolic resonance within the institutional framework, and articulated both social values and cultural mentalities. The diachronic and comparative approach of this study will be centred on the interaction of three different levels of interpretation—the ritualistic, the social, and the ideological—of the ceremonial.

Greeks and Romans celebrated their birthdays regularly. The reason for the annual commemoration of this special day in a person's life derived from the belief loaded with Stoic connotations that every person had his own inherent quasi-divine guardian spirit, which the Greeks in general called *daimon* (namely *agathos*) and the Romans *genius* (Juno, for the women). This kind of "individual god" emerged within a human being from the moment of his birth and was supposed to protect him throughout his life.[1] On that basis everyone's *genius*, but especially that of the

* I would like to acknowledge here my special indebtedness to Alexander Beihammer for a number of fruitful suggestions. For possible remaining errors the responsibility is mine.

1 Seneca, *Epistles* 110.1–2, ed. R. M. Gummere (Harvard, 1925); Censorinus, *De die natali liber ad A. Caerellium* 3, ed. N. Salmann (Leipzig, 1983), trans. H. N. Parker, *Censorinus. The Birthday Book* (Chicago, 2007); Augustine, *City of God* 7.13, ed. W. M. Green (Harvard, 1972). See also M. P. Speidel, A. Dimitrova-Milčeva, "The Cult of the Genii in the Roman Army and a New Military Deity," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt II*, 16.2, *Religion* (*Heidentum: Römische Religion, Allgemeines* [*Forts.*]), ed. W. Haase (Berlin and New York, 1978), pp. 1542–1555.

pater familias in Roman society, used to be honoured on his birthday. According to the third-century Roman scholar Censorinus, in his *De die natali liber*, the right way to do so was to celebrate the birthday by pouring out a libation of pure, i.e., unmixed, wine to one's *genius*.[2] The offer of animal sacrifice was considered inappropriate. The reason is explained by Varro in his lost book *Atticus* cited by Censorinus: "our ancestors held it as a custom and institution, when they paid the *genius* his yearly offering on their birthdays, to keep their hands free from slaughter and blood, so that on the day on which they themselves first saw the light, they should not take it away from any other living beings."[3]

The incorporation of this ritual into imperial ceremonial, including the imperial cult, illustrates the relationship between the Roman emperor and the divine sphere, which was constantly fluctuating and changing according to political and geographical contexts. Thus, in spite of a rather superficial and, in this respect, misleading, uniformity deriving particularly from the Greek East[4]—the *princeps* became himself a god not only after his death (*divus*) but also during his life (*theos*)—different authorities or societies seem to have given different answers. This issue becomes more complicated in that the annual or sometimes monthly commemoration of the first event of the emperor's life cycle was celebrated all over the vast geographical area of the *imperium romanum* and persisted over a long period of time stretching from pagan origins to the Christian reinterpretation of the Roman political ideology, when the new official religion set a definitive limit between ancient convictions and new beliefs of immortality.

The importance of these festivities is illustrated by the fact that, even when the number of various imperial commemorations celebrated over many decades or centuries inevitably increased, the *dies natalis* and the *dies imperii* of past emperors were among the rare anniversaries which were not affected by calendar revisions and updates at the beginning of the third century AD. The systematic commemoration of the two most

[2] Censorinus, *De die natali liber* 2.1. This short treatise dates from 238.

[3] Censorinus, *De die natali liber* 2.2.

[4] Inscribed in a long-standing political and religious tradition of the great monarchies of the East, this conception was much indebted to previous practices of oriental lords (mainly Egyptian pharaohs and, to a lesser degree, Assyrian dynasts and Persian sovereigns). It was adopted by Alexander the Great and then by the Hellenistic kings, whose subjects celebrated regularly their birthdays. P. Goukowsky, *Essai sur les origines du mythe d'Alexandre, 336–270 av. J.-C.*, 2 vols. (Nancy, 1978–1981); C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1970).

important stages in an emperor's life cycle, the day he was born and the day he came to power, perpetuated the idea of the Roman Empire's historical necessity and, consequently, the full acceptance of the monarchy in the subjects' collective memory.

The careful preservation of these dates on official and local calendars in conjunction with other literary, epigraphic, and papyrological sources indicate that the celebration of the emperors' *dies natalis* became an official ritual of the Roman religious system performed by almost all priesthoods in Rome and the provinces. The most complete and coherent record for the Early Empire is the *Acts* of the Arval Brothers, a Roman priestly guild of twelve members of senatorial rank. From the time of its reorganisation by Augustus, the guild's duties included the performance of rites on behalf of the *princeps*, for instance annual vows for his well-being and safety, and regular or occasional sacrifices on imperial anniversaries, such as birthdays, accessions, deaths, deifications, and other important events like victories, triumphs, suppression of conspiracies, departures from and safe returns to Rome.[5] Thus, on the birthday of the Roman emperors the *fratres Arvales* offered sacrifices and feasted. Being complementary to each other these two celebrations—the sacrifice and the feast—reveal two different aspects of the ceremonial. Eating within a precisely defined group of persons was an important factor for maintaining the group's unity and has been associated with ritual ceremonies of the life cycle in almost all human societies. But since an emperor was a public figure with divine pretensions or expectations, this common meal became an official ceremonious banquet for a *collegium* of priests charged with the imperial worship.[6] On the other hand, the sacrificial act performed by the same sacred corporation was held on the Capitol and thus it was a public ceremony carried out before the entire populace of Rome.

The double scheme sacrifice and meal was developed quickly with the addition of circus games, a public manifestation par excellence, to serve the purposes of imperial worship, whose religious success and social impact presupposed the participation of the whole society. As the Greco-Roman religion was always concerned with integrating its rituals within the broader patterns of everyday life, especially in the framework of public

[5] J. Scheid, *Romulus et ses frères. Le collège des frères arvales, modèle du culte public dans la Rome des empereurs* (Paris, 1990), passim; *I. Paladino, Fratres arvales. Storia di un collegio sacerdotale romano* (Rome, 1988), pp. 66–73.

[6] Cf. P. Veyne, "Inviter les dieux, sacrifier, banqueter. Quelques nuances de la religiosité gréco-romaine," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 55 (2000), 3–42.

entertainment, the occasions of the most important events of the *princeps*' life provided a convenient setting for fulfilling such aims.[7] The need to give a public character to his *dies natalis* and thus to involve the entire society in its commemoration by transforming an apparently private festivity into a state celebration was perceived very early by the founder of the Principate: *ludi* and *munera* were already established in 30 BC, while in 12 BC, Augustus, contrarily to his moral principles of an ideal Roman society, conceded even to unmarried men and women, who had previously been excluded, the permission to partake in banquets and to attend spectacles on his birthday. The desire to highlight the significance of this day and thus to regulate its celebration is revealed by his decision, four years later, in 8 BC, to permit the circus games on his birthday to be entered in the official calendar as a permanent festival.[8] This practice was to be continued over a thousand years.

On a social level, living in the eyes of the public and systematically confirming one's status were part of the moral code of conduct of the Greco-Roman aristocracy. The public ceremonial during the Principate reflected social structures which were marked by a clear distinction between the ruling elite, headed by the *princeps* himself, and the subjects. Thus, sacrificing, feasting, and competing on the occasion of imperial birthdays underscored the interaction between the benefactor, i.e. the *imperator*, and the beneficiaries, i.e. the urban *populus romanus*. When this scheme was applied to the surrounding municipalities and more distant provincial cities, it entailed another social factor: the local notables, who played the role of cultural intermediaries between Rome and the periphery. Within this pattern, the celebration of the imperial birthday as integral part of the imperial worship not only confirmed the loyalty of the subjects to their lord, but also served to support the self-celebration of the municipal or provincial elites. With respect to the long-standing tradition of the republican patronage system or the Hellenistic *euergesia* attitude, the members

[7] C. Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 2000), pp. 168–74; J. F. Donahue, "Toward a Typology of Roman Public Feasting," *American Journal of Philology* 124 (2003), 423–41; G. S. Sumi, *Ceremony and Power: Performing Politics in Rome between Republic and Empire* (Michigan, 2008), pp. 220–62.

[8] Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 54.30.5, 55.6.6, ed. E. Cary, H. B. Foster (Harvard, 1914–1927). S. Benoist, *La Fête à Rome au premier siècle de l'Empire. Recherches sur l'univers festif sous les règnes d'Auguste et des Julio-Claudiens* (Paris, 1999), pp. 213–18; cf. S. Benoist et al., "Fêtes et jeux dans le monde romain," in *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*, 7 (Los Angeles, 2011), pp. 195–272.

of the aristocracy were acting here as benefactors who financed the entertainment of the people.[9]

Nevertheless, on a ritualistic level, certain differences in performance denote different religious approaches between the capital and the periphery. The Greco-Roman sacrificial system is a key element in understanding the nature of the honoured—god, hero, or outstanding man—and, consequently, the world of immortals or mortals to which he belonged. Thus, the choice either for bloody sacrifices, consisting of an animal's slaughter on an altar and the division of its parts between the participants, or for libations of incense and liquid elements, in combination with the whole ritual scene—sacred landscape, gestures, and words—are critical in understanding both the cult dynamics and the social impact of the Roman ceremonial in honour of the *princeps*' birthday.[10]

For a simple man of human nature, a libation of unmixed wine, as described by Censorinus, and the offering of flowers and incense was the right way to honour his own *genius*. In line with this Roman tradition, a decree of 30 BC suggested that Roman people should pour a libation to Augustus's *genius* at every public and private banquet.[11] Nevertheless, with the development of the imperial cult this simple ritual proved insufficient for an emperor aspiring to divinity. The sacrifices offered by the Arval Brothers and, with some slight differences, also by the army, which adopted the official ritual practice of the capital on the frontier, were bloody. Thus, in accordance with central regulation, the Twentieth Palmyrene, an auxiliary cohort stationed at Dura-Europos on the eastern Euphrates frontier during the third century AD, sacrificed to a defined group of living and deified emperors and empresses from Julius Caesar to the reigning Severus Alexander (222–235) on the occasion of their anniversaries (*dies natalis* and *dies imperii*) and on the occasion of the renewal of the annual oath of allegiance to Severus Alexander on the 3rd of January.[12] For their birthdays the *divi* received oxen, the *divae* cows (in Rome, but

9 M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien. Studien zu einer agonistischen Stiftung aus Oinoanda* (Munich, 1988).

10 R. Keith Yerkes, *Sacrifice in Greek and Roman Religious and Early Judaism* (London, 1953).

11 Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 51.19.7.

12 The evidence is given by a papyrus-calendar dating 224–227. R. O. Fink, A. S. Hoey, W. F. Snyder, *The Feriale Duranum* (Yale, 1940); cf. the book review of S. Weinstock, *Journal of Roman Studies* 32 (1942), 127–29; A. D. Nock, "The Roman Army and the Roman Religious Year," *Harvard Theological Revue* 45 (1952), 187–252; J. Helgeland, "Roman Army Religion," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt II*, 16.2 (see above, n. 1), pp. 1470–1505, in particular pp. 1481–88.

supplicationes by the army), while an *auratus* bull was immolated in honour of the *genius* of the living emperor and a cow for the Juno of the living empress. It is obvious that the essential core of festivals was observed empire-wide. Thus, according to a calendar from Cumae (probably used by the local *augustales* and set up in the temple of Augustus between 4 and 14 AD), an immolation of an animal was performed on the *dies natalis* of Augustus (23 September).[13] For the Greek cities and the people of the eastern provinces, the most important concern was to integrate the ritual of the imperial birthday into their own religious system. In this respect, a decree from Athens constitutes a characteristic example of how traditional cults provided an appropriate framework for the new imperial celebrations: the birthday of Augustus was embedded into the local cult of Apollo; the festivities included a bloody sacrifice on an altar and a game elevated to the level of *Pythia* (*isopythios*), the panhellenic festival in honour of Apollo at Delphi.[14] The imperial ritual, which imitated ancient divine models, in combination with the honorific vocabulary of this official document, illustrates that Augustus was considered and treated as a real god in Athens. Consequently, his *dies natalis* should be celebrated as the *genethlion* of a divinity.

On an ideological level, the importance of this day in political practice and everyday life is highlighted by the decision of the province of Asia (in fact of the provincial *koinon*) made upon the proposal of the proconsul Paullus Fabius Maximus: in 9 BC a new era was inaugurated in the local calendar of the cities of Asia Minor, beginning with the birthday of Augustus on 23 September.[15] The reason for this reform was that the *dies natalis* of the *princeps*, who was praised as saviour and bringer of peace and order, marked the beginning of a new life for the whole world. These words summed up the official position of the emperor as the beneficiary of divine support and the focus for human expectations.

The *dies natalis* as well as the *dies imperii* of the *princeps* as integral part of the imperial worship had all the necessary ritual elements—sacrifices, public feasts, games, panegyrics, observance of holidays—appropriate to a festival dedicated to the gods. As it was widely believed that the prosperity and the safety of the Empire depended on the accurate performance of

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[13] A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae* 13/2 (Rome, 1963), pp. 278–80, no. 44.

[14] M. Kantiréa, *Les dieux et les dieux Augustes. Le culte impérial en Grèce sous les Julio-claudiens et les Flaviens* (Athens, 2007), pp. 45–48.

[15] U. Laffi, "Le iscrizioni relative all'introduzione nel 9 a.C. del nuovo calendario della provincia d'Asia," *Studi Classici e Orientali* 16 (1967), 5–98.

traditional ceremonies, the imperial birthdays continued to be celebrated with undiminished religious fervour until the late Roman Empire, even during the third century AD, when the wars and the "barbarian" invasions, the economic crisis, and the political instability prevented the short reigning emperors from establishing a dynasty.[16]

Thus, at the beginning of the fourth century in Caesarea of Palestine, where Eusebius was bishop, the birthday of Maximinus Daia was celebrated with animal fights (*venationes*) and probably gladiatorial performances (*munera*) in the presence of the emperor himself on 20 November 308 (the fourth year of the persecution).[17] Before the decisive battle of the Milvian Bridge over the Tiber River in 312, horse races were organized in the city of Rome in honour of the *dies imperii* of Maxentius on 27 October, the day on which he had taken the imperial power.[18] Most likely, in both cases blood sacrifices were carried out. The assumption of Christianity as official religion of the Empire shortly afterwards marked a turning point in this practice. From 323 onwards, the Christians were officially exempt from participating in the sacrifices during imperial anniversaries.[19] Fourth-century emperors, however, were by no means ill-disposed towards the imperial cult so crucially associated with the unity of the Empire. Ritual and monuments loaded with pagan connotations continued to mark imperial power and worship until the end of the fourth century.[20]

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[16] For the early Roman empire, see in particular the abundant references in Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 44.4.4, 54.8.5, 54.26.2, 54.34.1–2, 55.6.6, 56.25.3, 56.29.1, 59.20.1, 60.5.1–2, 67.2.6, 78.19. P. Herz, "Kaiserfeste der Prinzipatszeit," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt II*, 16.2 (see above, n. 1), pp. 1135–99; Benoist, *La Fête à Rome*, pp. 213–33; I. Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion* (Oxford, 2002), passim; Chr. Hugoniot, "Les banquets des jeux publics à Rome: banquets et sacrifices," in *Le cirque romain et son image*, ed. J. Nelis-Clément and J.-M. Roddaz (Bordeaux, 2008), pp. 319–33; C. Rodríguez, "The Puluinar at the *Circus Maximus*: Worship of Augustus in Rome?," *Latomus* 64 (2005), 619–25; C. E. V. Nixon, "The 'Epiphany' of the Tetrarchs? An Examination of Mamertinus' Panegyric of 291," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 111 (1981), 157–66. For the numismatic evidence of these commemorations, see M. Grant, *Roman Anniversary Issues. An Exploratory Study of the Numismatic and Medallic Commemoration of Anniversary Years, 49 B.C.–A.D. 375* (Cambridge, 1950).

[17] Eusebius, *De martyribus Palaestinae* 6.1–2, ed. Ph. Schaff and H. Wace (Buffalo, 1890). For the circus of Caesarea Maritima, see J. H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses. Arenas for Chariot Racing* (London, 1986), pp. 477–91.

[18] Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum* 44, ed. J. L. Creed (Oxford, 1984).

[19] *Codex Theodosianus* 16.2.5.

[20] Constantine struck coins with the legend *genio Augusti* and allowed the establishment of a new imperial cult centre with a temple, *flamen*, and games in the town of Hipsellum in Umbria (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 11, 5265). Even under his Christian successors in the city of Rome there were a *templum gentis Flaviae* (i.e., of the house of Constantine) and a *pontifex Flavialis* (M. R. Salzman, *On Roman Time. The Codex-Calendar*

In this context, the imperial *dies natalis* seems not to have been automatically dissociated from its pagan ritual, so closely linked to the historical notion of the political and institutional continuity of the Empire. The illustrated codex-calendar of Philocalus from 354, during the reign of the Christian emperor Constantius II (337–361), shows that the rationale behind the ritual staging of the imperial festivals did not change before the end of the fourth century. The text aptly mirrors the practice of its time including both public festivals and official holidays observed in Rome: pagan festivities, imperial anniversaries, historical commemorations of outstanding importance, and astrological phenomena.[21] The selective list of eighteen *natales Caesarum* or *natales divorum imperatorum* from Augustus to Constantine reflects contemporary cult practice and represents the official view of the Roman past and of the dynastic history of the reigning family. A careful reading of this festival calendar within its historical context reveals the subtle manner by which public ceremonies of the imperial cult, in our case birthdays, continued to be incorporated into the complex religious system of this period. As imperial celebrations at the beginning of the Principate had been integrated into the traditional cults, four centuries later, pagan rituals served as the ever-present ceremonial background against which festivals in honour of the emperor were held. Imperial anniversaries continued to include processions and feasts, *ludi* and *circenses*, vows and prayers, and, until Constantine, sacrifices.[22]

In fact, what the first Christian rulers progressively tried to alter was not their way of worship, but their relation to divinity. Late Roman imperial ritual reflected this profound religious change. The clearest example is doubtlessly the posthumous *consecratio* of Constantine—with evident pagan implications, though without public sacrifices—sanctioned by his son Constantius II in Rome. Even his funerals in Constantinople, according to the description of Eusebios, gave the impression of an old-

of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity [Berkeley, 1990], pp. 141–46). E. Marlowe, "Framing the Sun: The Arch of Constantine and the Roman City Space," *The Art Bulletin* 88 (2006), 223–42; cf. I. Karayannopulos, "Konstantin der Grosse und der Kaiserkult," *Historia* 5 (1956), 341–57 (= A. Wlosok, ed., *Römischer Kaiserkult* [Darmstadt, 1978], pp. 485–508).

[21] H. Stern, *Le calendrier de 354. Étude sur son texte et ses illustrations* (Paris, 1953); Salzman, *On Roman Time*; see also J. Rüpke, *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit. Die Geschichte der Repräsentation und religiösen Qualifikation von Zeit in Rom* (Berlin and New York, 1995), pp. 90–94.

[22] R. MacMullen, *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eight Centuries* (New Haven and London, 1997), pp. 103–49.

fashioned Roman *apotheosis*, albeit with a new Christian outlook.[23] The abolition of blood sacrifices during imperial festivities, including birthday anniversaries, represented, in my opinion, the final rejection of the pagan character of the traditional ceremony and the turning point in the creation of a renewed imperial ritual, just as the refusal of Constantine to ascend the Capitol in either 312 or 315, according to Michael McCormick, marked the "Christianisation" of victory commemorations.[24] This seems to be an important development in the celebration of the *dies natalis*, because, after the removal of the key elements, i.e., the sacrificial act and the public feast, what remained was merely the *ludi*.[25] The promotion of these performances on a large scale became the pivotal element of imperial rituals during the Byzantine era.

A continuation of the old Roman practice, the games in the Circus Maximus in Rome and the Hippodrome in Constantinople, as well as in amphitheatres and theatres in the greatest cities, were the most popular and prestigious entertainments for both pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity.[26] Their ability to gather people—irrespective of their faith—around the person of the emperor made them a vital element in the public life of the late Roman Empire. The *ludi circenses ob natales imperatorum* were observed without interruption from the time of Augustus onwards and shared many similarities with the celebrations of imperial victories and the anniversaries of the foundation of Rome and Constantinople,

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[23] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 1.1–3 and 4.61–73, ed. F. Winkelmann (Berlin, 1975). G. Dagron, *Empereur et Prêtre. Étude sur le «césaropapisme» byzantin* (Paris, 1996), pp. 148–54; J. Arce, "Imperial Funerals in the Later Roman Empire: Change and Continuity," in *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle* Ages, ed. F. Theuws and J. L. Nelson (Leiden, 2000), pp. 115–29; S. Rebenich, "Vom dreizehnten Gott zum dreizehnten Apostel? Der tote Kaiser in der (christlichen) Spätantike," *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 4 (2000), 300–42 (repr. in *Konstantin und das* Christentum, ed. H. Schlange-Schöningen, [Darmstadt, 2007], pp. 216–44). For the early Roman Empire, see S. Price, "From Noble Funerals to Divine Cult: The Consecration of Roman Emperors," in *Rituals of Royalty. Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. D. Cannadine and S. Price (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 56–105.

[24] M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 100–11.

[25] Even at the beginning of the third century intellectual circles regarded the celebration of anniversaries with sacrifices and banquets with a certain amount of skepticism (Porphyry, *Vita Plotini*, 2, ed. A. H. Armstrong [Harvard, 1969]). In a calendar from Campania dating to 387, that is shortly before Theodosios I abolished the official status of non-Christian festivals, there are no more references to sacrifices to gods (Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae*, 13/2, pp. 282–83, no. 46).

[26] For an archaeological survey of these monuments, see J. H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses. Arenas for Chariot Racing* (London, 1986).

including processions and chariot races.[27] The Circus Maximus and the Hippodrome in the ancient pagan and the new Christian capital of the Empire respectively remained the most appropriate places to represent, honour, and meet the emperor. Because of their immense political importance, they continued to serve as a platform for the projection of imperial power and as central stages for almost all court ceremonies until the sixth and seventh century.[28]

Late Antiquity was undoubtedly a critical period of religious development or transition though not of political instability. Hence, the question arose as to how to adapt traditional rituals to the requirements of the new faith. In this respect, transforming the pagan *pompa circenses* into an outstanding political procession by replacing the images of the old gods with those of the Christian emperors aimed at reshaping the relation between rituals and power.[29] Freed from its pagan aspects, though not deprived of its initial public character, the imperial ceremonial progressively became a religious demonstration and served to underpin the increasing sanctity of the ruling authority.[30] In this respect, the assimilation of imperial birthday celebrations to other anniversary commemorations found a new perspective of development in the framework of the imperial ideology and religious practice of Late Antiquity. In the Philocalian calendar of 354, the term *dies natalis* replaced the old *dies imperii* and also designated the days on which members of the house of Constantine had attained the rank

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[27] McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp. 84–100; Salzman, *On Roman Time*, pp. 139–40 and 181–82; J. R. Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital. Rome in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 218–59.

[28] Cl. Heucke, *Circus und Hippodrom als politischer Raum. Untersuchungen zum großen Hippodrom von Konstantinopel und zu entsprechenden Anlagen in spätantiken Kaiserresidenzen* (Hildesheim, 1994), pp. 62–76 and 106–30; G. Marchet, "*Mittere mappam* (Mart. 12.28.9): du signal de départ à la théologie impériale (I[er] a.C.–VII[e] p.C.)," in *Le cirque romain et son* image, ed. J. Nelis-Clément and J.-M. Roddaz (Bordeaux, 2008), pp. 291–317. For the Hippodrome, see now G. Dagron, *L'hippodrome de Constantinople. Jeux, peuple et politique* (Paris, 2011).

[29] Being aware of the utility of this ancient Roman tradition, Constantine not only preserved it—in the Circus of Rome it was celebrated until the fifth century—but he introduced this ritual in the Hippodrome of Constantinople for the anniversary of the city's *natalis* on 11 May 330 (*Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf, p. 529, AD 330). See also the fifth-century legislation on imperial images: *Codex Theodosianus* 15.4.1, dating 5 May 425. Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital*, pp. 252–58; see also Fr. P. Rizzo, "Dalla 'christianitas' eusebiana alla 'antipaganitas' orosiana," in *Constantino il Grande dall'Antichità all'umanesimo. Colloquio sul Christianesimo nel modo antico, Macerata 18–20 Dicembre 1990*, ed. G. Bonamente and F. Fusco, 2 (Macerata, 1993), pp. 835–52.

[30] W. Ensslin, "The End of the Principate," *Cambridge Ancient History*, 12 (Cambridge, 1939), pp. 352–367.

of Caesar or Augustus. Thus, both 27 February, the birthday of the *divus* Constantine, and 25 July, the day of his elevation to the rank of Caesar, were recorded as *dies natales*. The same pattern was applied to the two *dies natales* of Constantius II, 7 August and 8 November respectively. Michele Renee Salzman sees some kind of ritualistic assimilation of this imperial *natalis* to the *natales* of the temples of the great pagan gods and to other anniversaries, the most important of which undoubtedly was the *natalis Urbis Romae* on 21 April. Hence, in Late Antiquity a two-day celebration including *circenses* and *ludi votivi* were held in honour of the traditional gods, the *divi*, and the reigning Christian emperors.[31] Henri Stern had suggested that the identification of the emperor's birthday with his accession to the throne represented an idea of hope for the beginning of a new era, as by the end of the third century the *dies imperii* became *natalis imperii*.[32] His thesis could also be expressed inversely: a person predestined to be the absolute ruler of the world was reborn on the day he became emperor. This belief fits better into the wide-spread ideology of the sacred character of the Late Empire monarchy and can be confirmed by the development of the legislation concerning imperial celebrations.

The Latin terms for holidays—*feriae, dies feriati, dies festi*—include the notion of honouring the gods and thus of abstaining from profane activities.[33] The legal status of imperial festivals, particularly the *dies natalis* and the *dies imperii*, as official public holidays continued to be preserved throughout the fourth century. This is to say that all public activities, including law cases, were to be cancelled on these days, as they were on Sundays, the 1st of January, Easter fortnight, during the grain and grape harvest, and on the *natales* of Rome and Constantinople.[34] Although in day-to-day practice circus games were not considered state vacations, it may be assumed that their role in imperial court celebrations contributed to their elevation to public holidays. During the fourth century, imperial performances in the Hippodrome were permitted to be held on Sundays, probably because they were so closely associated with the emperor and the sacred character of his power.[35] But, already at the beginning of the fifth century (409 in the West and 469 in the East) chariot races were

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31 Salzman, *On Roman Time*, pp. 179–89.

32 Stern, *Le calendrier de 354*, pp. 70–93 and 378.

33 Rüpke, *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit*, pp. 487–522.

34 *Codex Theodosianus* 2.8.1, 2.8.18, 2.8.19, 2.8.20, 2.8.21, 2.8.23, 2.8.24, 2.8.25; *Codex Justinianus* 3.12.2.

35 *Codex Theodosianus* 2.8.20. A reference of Gregory of Nyssa, *In sanctum et salutare pascha*, in *Gregorii Nysenni Opera*, ed. E. Gebhardt, 9 (Leiden, 1967), p. 251, indicates that

prohibited to be performed if the imperial *dies natalis* fell on a Sunday. This change underlines the progressive transformation of these anniversaries into state festivals with evident secular connotations.[36] Although imperial birthdays never became true Christian celebrations, their public character was preserved despite the severe criticism and condemnation on the part of the Church.[37]

What seems to have happened in the Byzantine period was not a decline of the political importance of the birthday of a Roman emperor, but a loss of its pure religious character. At first sight, this procedure seems rather astonishing, as the Church's definition of the role of a sovereign was in line with the Hellenistic political philosophy adopted by Rome, according to which the emperor was God's representative on the earth, deriving thus his legitimacy directly from Him.[38] However, contrary to the development of this concept within a polytheistic religious framework, where the well orchestrated creation of the imperial worship progressively led to the divinisation of the *princeps*, Christian theology reshaped this political ideology by giving it a new symbolism. The Byzantine imperial office was already a sacred matter and a divine source of legitimacy for its holders. Yet, the Byzantine emperor never became God.

The description of the imperial birthday's ritual by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–959) in a brief chapter of the *Book of Ceremonies* strengthens this thesis.[39] In this compilation or codification of old festivities, the emperor resumed a long-standing but faded tradition and preserved the echo of an official but rather unassuming court ceremony. The description, which reflected festivities going back to the time of Michael III (842–867), met nearly all the requirements common to most prescriptions of the treatise: movement, dress, social status of the participants, food, but no acclamations.[40] In accordance with the usages regulating

some kind of imperial grace was granted to prisoners on the occasion of the imperial birthday, at least in the fourth century.

[36] *Codex Theodosianus* 2.8.25.

[37] MacMullen, *Christianity and Paganism*, passim.

[38] Fr. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy. Origins and Background* (Washington, D.C., 1966); J. Rufus Fears, *Princeps a diis electus. The Divine Election of the Emperor as a Political Concept at Rome* (Rome, 1977).

[39] Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae* 1.70(61), ed. and French trans. A. Vogt, *Constantin Porphyrogénète. Le livre des cérémonies*, 2 (Paris, 1939), pp. 86–87.

[40] A. Cameron, "The Construction of Court Ritual: The Byzantine *Book of Ceremonies*," in *Rituals of Royalty* (see above, n. 23), pp. 106–36, esp. pp. 112–13. See also M. G. Houston, *Ancien Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume, and Decoration* (London, 1947), pp. 120–61.

the celebrations of life cycle events, the whole ceremony was centred on an official banquet in the *triklinos* (reception hall) of Justinian. The dinner was attended by a select group of court dignitaries dressed in parade attire. The protocol provided for their arrival in the Hippodrome, a reception in the palace in hierarchical order as well as the way they should seat around the emperor's table. The celebration of the birthday of the Byzantine emperor was a solemn ceremony with evident "secular" overtones.

It is obvious that the description in question concerns mainly the official banquet, which customarily took place in the palace. This glimpse can be supplemented by middle and late Byzantine legal texts attesting to the celebration of circus games in the Hippodrome throughout this period on the occasion of imperial birthdays with the obvious exception of Sundays.[41] Imperial rituals continued to exalt the sacred power of the Byzantine emperor on the grounds of the deep-rooted belief that all emperors had been or were to be chosen by God to be His representatives on earth. On a symbolic level of interpretation, the birth of an emperor meant the fulfilment of the divine choice, and imperial birthday rituals commemorated every year the divine unction by which a man became the elected of God. They served to manifest the sanctity of a secular kingship in the eyes of the public and to perpetuate the real origins of the imperial power in the collective memory.

Over a thousand years, the annual commemoration of the imperial birthday projected and affirmed the sacred character of the monarchy. As it served to promulgate and foster the idea of the Empire's historical necessity, the celebration never lost its public character. Its political importance depended exclusively upon the traditional relationship between the emperor, in his capacity as the institutional incarnation of the eternal

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[41] *Anonyma Tactica Byzantina, De re strategica* 3, ed. G. T. Dennis, *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 25 (Washington, D.C., 1985), p. 19 (theatrical and musical performances, as well as horse races, were celebrated on the occasion of imperial birthdays, coronations, triumphs, and anniversaries of the cities). *Basilica, Ecloga Basilicorum* 10, 35.26.7, ed. L. Burgmann, *Forschungen zur Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte* 15 (court should not be held on special days including imperial birthdays and victory commemorations). *Prochiron Auctum* 40.52, ed. P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum* 7 (interdiction of imperial birthday celebrations with chariot and hunting races should they fall on Sundays). *Basilica* 7, 17, 23 and 27, ed. H. J. Scheltema and N. van der Wal (all public activities should be prohibited on imperial birthdays and coronation days; if these days fell on a Sunday, chariot and hunting races should be cancelled). Michael Attaliates, *Πόνημα νομικὸν ἤτοι σύνοψις πραγματική* 2.29 and 2.30, ed. J. and P. Zepos (court should not be held on certain special days, including the birthday and coronation day of the emperor).

Roman Empire, and his subjects. Although this concept maintained its vitality throughout the Byzantine period, the religious aspect of this ceremony underwent changes, as it derived from the less stable relationship between the emperor and the divine sphere. Thus, when polytheistic mentalities encouraged the belief in the exceptional, if not superhuman, nature of the Roman emperor, his *dies natalis* was easily assimilated to the appearance of a god on earth, allowing the celebration of an appropriate religious ceremony. When the Christian Church established a different set of links between an ever-existing God and his representative on earth, however, the birthday of the emperor was to confirm this divine choice within the framework of a providential system of salvation.

CHAPTER TWO

PHTHONOS: A PAGAN RELIC IN BYZANTINE IMPERIAL ACCLAMATIONS?

Martin Hinterberger

The spoken word is of eminent importance for most rituals. Ritual speech normally is highly formulaic and symbolic, whereas in the context of ceremonies words unfold an even greater power than in everyday communication. For the full understanding of rituals and of the mindset underlying them, therefore, the analysis of the words used is essential. The aim of the present paper is to investigate the semantic shift that words of special significance for certain imperial rituals underwent, and to analyse the meaning of the rituals concerned, which was also changed as a consequence. More specifically, I am going to examine closely the concept of *phthonos*, which occurs in several imperial acclamations in similar ceremonial contexts.[1] This concept is crucial for the understanding of the ritual connected to it. As a starting point of my enquiry I have chosen the imperial acclamation at the iconoclastic Council of Hieria (an Asiatic suburb of Constantinople, close to Chalcedon), because, as far as I know, this is the latest occurrence of the word *phthonos* in the context of an imperial acclamation. Later in my chapter, though, I will refer to earlier acclamations, and finally I will discuss the meaning of *phthonos* in the fourth and fifth centuries in general. The investigation of the meaning of *phthonos* in the context of imperial acclamations will also demonstrate how Byzantine attitudes about dangerous supernatural powers threatening the emperor and the empire itself are reflected in imperial ceremonies.

[1] On acclamations in general, see Ch. Roueché, "Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire: New Evidence from Aphrodisias," *Journal of Roman Studies* 74 (1984), 181–99; O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell. Vom oströmischen Staats- und Reichsgedanken* (Jena, 1938; repr. Darmstadt, 1956), pp. 71–84.

Phthonos *in Church Councils*

Between the 10th of February and the 8th of August 754 a church council was convened at Hieria that condemned the veneration of icons. The *horos*, that was the decision of the council, was later incorporated—and thus, preserved—into the acts of the sixth session of the Second Council of Nicaea (787), which discussed it and declared it heretical. In 754, Emperor Constantine V who had summoned the Council of Hieria must have been present during its closure when the *horos* was read aloud, as attested by the fact that at the end of the text the emperor is addressed directly.

Interestingly, the excerpt incorporated into the acts of Nicaea II contains not only the text of the *horos*, but also part of the minutes recorded in 754, which surround the *horos*. This part of the text describes a ritual that took place at the end of the council. After the final condemnation of anybody having beliefs other than those pronounced by the gathering of bishops, which constitutes the final part of the *horos*, there follows a short dialogue between, on the one hand, the emperors Constantine and his son Leo (born in 750, at that time still a four-year-old child, but since 751 nominally co-emperor) and the bishops, on the other. In this dialogue, the emperors urge the bishops to affirm once more that they all agree with the decision that they have just read aloud. The bishops confirm their unanimous decision, before they turn to an acclamation of the emperors and the anathematization of three eminent defenders of icons. This final part of the excerpt from the minutes of the council held in 754 is incorporated into the acts of 787. Our interest focuses on the acclamation:[2]

> πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη τῶν βασιλέων. εὐσεβῆ, κύριε, ζωὴν αὐτοῖς. Λέοντι καὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη. ὑμεῖς ἡ εἰρήνη τῆς οἰκουμένης. φυλάξῃ ὑμᾶς ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν. τὸν Χριστὸν τιμᾶτε, αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς φυλάξει. τὴν ὀρθοδοξίαν ὑμεῖς ἐβεβαιώσατε. εὐσεβῆ, κύριε, ζωὴν αὐτοῖς. **ἀπέστω φθόνος** τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν. ὁ θεὸς φυλάξοι τὸ κράτος ὑμῶν. ὁ θεὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ὑμῶν εἰρηνεύσοι. ἡ ὑμετέρα ζωή, τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ζωή. ἐπουράνιε βασιλεῦ τοὺς ἐπιγείους φύλαξον. δι᾽ ὑμῶν ἡ οἰκουμενικὴ ἐκκλησία

[2] G. D. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Paris and Leipzig, 1901–1927), 13:352E–353C (I have corrected the orthography of the text according to the new edition which Erich Lamberz is currently preparing; cf. E. Lamberz, *Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum. Concilii actiones I–III*, Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, Series secunda, volumen tertium, pars prima [Berlin and New York, 2008]. I am indebted to Erich Lamberz for sending me the respective part of his edition). For the Council of Hieria in general, see T. Krannich, Ch. Schubert, and C. Sode, *Die ikonoklastische Synode von Hiereia 754*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 15 (Tübingen, 2002). If not otherwise noted, all translations of Greek texts into English are mine.

εἰρήνευσεν, ὑμεῖς φωστῆρες τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας. τοὺς φωστῆρας τῆς οἰκουμένης, κύριε, φύλαξον. αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λέοντος. νέῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ βασιλεῖ πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη. τὸν ἀπὸ γένους ὀρθόδοξον, κύριε φύλαξον. εὐσεβῆ, κύριε, ζωὴν αὐτῷ. **ἀπείη φθόνος** τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ. τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης Αὐγούστης πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη. τὴν εὐσεβῆ, τὴν ὀρθόδοξον ὁ θεὸς φυλάξοι. **ἀπείη φθόνος** τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν. ὁ θεὸς φυλάξῃ τὸ κράτος ὑμῶν. ὁ θεὸς εἰρηνεύσῃ τὴν βασιλείαν ὑμῶν. τὸ ἀσύγχυτον τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν οἰκονομίας ὑμεῖς διηυκρινήσατε. τὸ ἀδιαίρετον τῶν δύο τοῦ Χριστοῦ φύσεων βεβαιοτέρως ὑμεῖς ἐκηρύξατε. τὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ οἰκουμενικῶν ἓξ συνόδων δόγματα ὑμεῖς ἐπεκυρώσατε. πᾶσαν εἰδωλολατρείαν ὑμεῖς ἐξηφανίσατε, τοὺς διδασκάλους τῆς τοιαύτης πλάνης ὑμεῖς ἐθριαμβεύσατε. τοὺς τὰ ἐναντία φρονοῦντας ὑμεῖς ἐστηλιτεύσατε. (my emphasis)

Many years to the emperors! Grant them, Lord, a pious life. May Leo's and Constantine's memory be eternal! You are the peace of the world. May your faith protect you. Honour Christ, and he will protect you. You have confirmed the right faith. (Grant), Lord, a pious life to them. **May envy be absent from their reign.** May God protect your power. May God grant peace to your reign. Your life (is) the life of the orthodox (people). Emperor in heaven, protect the (emperors) on earth. Through you the ecumenical church has achieved peace, you are the luminaries of orthodoxy. Protect, Lord, the luminaries of the world. May Constantine's and Leo's memory be eternal. Long live the New Constantine, the most pious emperor. Lord protect him who has the right faith from birth. Lord, grant him a pious life. **May envy be absent from his reign**. Many years to the most pious Augusta! May God protect her, the pious one, the orthodox one. **May envy be absent from your reign.** May God protect your power. May God grant peace to your reign. You made clear that Christ's incarnation was without mixture (of the natures). You announced with greater certainty that Christ's two natures cannot be separated. You ratified the doctrines of the seven ecumenical councils. You destroyed all idolatry, you publicly condemned the teachers of this error and those who dissent.

This rather long acclamation, starting with the characteristic "πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη τῶν βασιλέων" (long live the emperors!), contains wishes for eternal memory, long life, peace, and divine protection. Interspersed, there are wishes in the form of an apotropaic formula, that is a formula that wishes away something unwanted or that supposedly bans an undesired event: ἀπέστω/ἀπείη φθόνος (May *phthonos* be absent, or far away). The key word contained in this formula is 'phthonos'. For the time being, I will leave the term as it is in the Byzantine text, though usually it is rendered as 'envy'. Later, I shall discuss its possible translation into English.

This formula is repeated three times in the acclamation. The first time, Constantine and Leo are addressed, the second time Constantine alone, and the third time Constantine and his wife Maria (and Leo?). Each time the phrase is slightly modified according to the person(s) concerned:

ἀπέστω φθόνος τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν [. . .] ἀπείη [. . .] αὐτοῦ [. . .] ἀπείη ὑμῶν (May *phthonos* be far away from them/him/you). In each instance the apotropaic formula follows immediately after the wish for a "pious life" (εὐσεβῆ ζωήν).

The recent German translation and analysis of the *horos*[3] does not comment on this passage, because, I surmise, the meaning of the words seems to be self-evident or irrelevant for our understanding of the historical facts. I believe, though, that words and their exact meaning do matter, especially if these words were carefully chosen, as we can expect them to have been in the context of acclamations addressed to the emperor. The apotropaic formula is repeated three times and plays a prominent role. It is, however, not at all clear what its meaning and function are and whose "envy", *phthonos*, is meant here. Therefore, if we want to grasp the symbolic dimensions of the ritual unfolding at the end of the council, it is important to investigate the passage further. In what follows, I shall be presenting additional textual material in order to contextualize the passage in question, before, finally, proposing an interpretation.

Basically, *phthonos* is a human emotion (in Byzantine Greek, a *pathos*).[4] Generally, the word is translated as 'envy' or 'jealousy'. But this rendering is somehow a distortion, because an envious person, according to our understanding, primarily wants to obtain a good that is in another person's possession, whereas a *phthoneros*—in Byzantium, someone who entertains *phthonos*—primarily wants another person to lose the good that is presently in his possession.[5] 'To begrudge' probably would be a more appropriate translation. More often than not, *phthonos* simply expresses what we could call 'malice'. Furthermore, the word does not express so much a feeling as an action resulting from a feeling; it means the action itself.

I have been occupied with the investigation of *phthonos* in Byzantium for a long time, and I believe that I have seen most occurrences of the word in Byzantine texts, so that I have obtained some familiarity with its semantics and usages. *Phthonos* (envy), this most unpleasant human emotion, is directed against the successful, the praiseworthy, and the recipient of praise. In Byzantium, it assailed primarily victorious generals, high

[3] Krannich, Schubert, Sode, *Die ikonoklastische Synode von Hiereia*, p. 69.

[4] For a general introduction to the Byzantine *phthonos*, see M. Hinterberger, *Phthonos. Mißgunst, Neid und Eifersucht in der byzantinischen Literatur*, Serta Graeca 29 (Wiesbaden, 2013).

[5] For modern envy, see e.g. J. Epstein, *Envy* (Oxford, 2003).

ranking imperial officials, and illustrious members of the imperial court. Any form of excellence and overt praise for this excellence provokes *phthonos*.[6] The most dangerous form of praise is public praise in front of many people. Acclamations expressing praise before a public assembly were regarded as extremely dangerous in this respect. In connection with these *phthonos*-provoking circumstances, sometimes the apotropaic phrase ἀπέστω/ἀπείη φθόνος appears, as it does in the *horos*.[7] Normally, it is used when the speaker/narrator invokes features which could entail *phthonos*, especially when he praises someone, in order to ban the disastrous effect his praise could have for the praised person.

Interestingly, however, *phthonos* turns against the emperor only very rarely, although, at least to our modern eyes, he is presented as the most eminent, most successful human being on earth. On these grounds, I would argue that in the case of the *horos* of 754 it is not human *phthonos* that is meant, nor the *phthonos* of any specific individual, or human envy in general. But then whose *phthonos* is it? The text itself suggests another meaning by juxtaposing God with *phthonos* as two antagonistic forces, the one protecting the emperor, the other threatening him. Thus, given the Christian context and the fact that *phthonos* is opposed to God, we could surmise that *phthonos* here means the devil, and in what follows I would argue that this is indeed the case to a certain extent, though further differentiations need to be made.

It is well known that *phthonos* (envy) is the devil's motive for his hostile actions against mankind.[8] Normally, though, the texts speak of the "devil's phthonos," not simply of "phthonos". For this reason the word 'phthonos' alone can be used in the same sense as the word 'devil', although entirely clear attestations for this use belong to a later period.[9] Let us

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[6] On this general characteristic of *phthonos* (and envy), see A. C. Hagedorn and J. H. Neyrey, " 'It Was Out of Envy That They Handed Jesus Over' (Mark 15:10): The Anatomy of Envy and the Gospel of Mark," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 69 (1998), 15–56.

[7] On the usage of this phrase in ancient Greek, see Th. Rakoczy, *Böser Blick, Macht des Auges und Neid der Götter. Eine Untersuchung zur Kraft des Blickes in der griechischen Literatur*, Classica Monacensia 13 (Tübingen, 1996), p. 9, n. 7.

[8] See, for instance, Basil of Caesareia, *De invidia* 3, PG 31, col. 376A; idem, *Quod deus not est auctor malorum* 8, PG 31, col. 348A.

[9] G. Bartelink, "Μισόκαλος, épithète du diable," *Vigiliae Christianae* 12 (1958), 37–44, at pp. 40–41 (although the examples Bartelink refers to all stem from Eusebios, who will be discussed below). Clear examples from the later Byzantine period have been gathered by R. P. H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam, 1988), p. 43, n. 152. Cf. also G. Bartelink, "Βάσκανος, désignation de Satan et des démons chez les auteurs chrétiens," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 49 (1983), 390–406.

compare *phthonos* in the *horos* of Hieria with the devil's "envy" in John the Damascene's *Speech on the Icons*, composed about twenty years earlier (ca. 730), where the devil's *phthonos* attacks the right faith with heresy:[10]

> ὢ ἀπὸ σοῦ, φθονερὲ διάβολε, φθονεῖς ἡμῖν ἰδεῖν τὸ τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν ὁμοίωμα καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ἁγιασθῆναι καὶ ἰδεῖν αὐτοῦ τὰ σωτήρια πάθη ... φθονεῖς ταῖς ἁγίοις τῆς παρὰ θεοῦ δεδομένοις αὐτοῖς τιμῆς. οὐ θέλεις ὁρᾶν ἡμᾶς τὴν αὐτῶν δόξαν ἀνάγραπτον καὶ ζηλωτὰς γενέσθαι τῆς αὐτῶν ἀνδρείας καὶ πίστεως. οὐ φέρεις τὴν ἐκ τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς πίστεως προσγενομένην ἡμῖν σωματικήν τε καὶ ψυχικὴν ὠφέλειαν. οὐ πειθόμεθά σοι, δαῖμον φθονερὲ καὶ μισάνθρωπε.
>
> Away with you, devil full of *phthonos*, you begrudge us to see the likeness (i.e. image) of our Lord ... You begrudge the saints the honour they are given by God. You do not want us to see their glory represented (painted) and to become emulators of their bravery and their faith. You cannot bear the profit our body and soul take from their faith. We do not obey you, demon full of *phthonos* and hatred of men.

Let us also consider a passage from Theophanes Confessor, who wrote some fifty years after the Council of Hieria. Referring to the conflict that broke out in 790 between Empress Irene and her son Constantine (the son of that same Leo who had been acclaimed at Hieria), Theophanes states: "In this year the devil, grudging the emperors' piety, instigated malicious men and they stirred up the mother against the son and the son against the mother."[11]

These are two instances showing what happens when *phthonos* strikes, especially when it turns against the emperor's piety (εὐσέβεια), which in the *horos* of 754 is directly connected to the apotropaic *phthonos*-formula (here, of course, 'εὐσέβεια' means the exact opposite of what is meant in Theophanes's chronicle, namely the very restricted worship of icons). The identification of *phthonos* in the acclamation of 754 with the devil is therefore plausible, and as already stated, this is part of the answer to my initial question as to whose envy is meant in this text. But let us have a closer look at the history of *phthonos* in connection with imperial acclamations.

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[10] John Damascene, *Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres* 2.6 = 3.3, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos III*, Patristische Texte und Studien 17 (Berlin and New York, 1975), p. 72.

[11] Theophanes Confessor, *Chronikon*, ed. C. de Boor, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1883; repr. Hildesheim, 1963), p. 464, ll. 10–12: τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐκίνησεν ὁ διάβολος φθόνῳ τῆς εὐσεβείας τῶν βασιλέων ἀνθρώπους πονηροὺς καὶ συνέβαλον τὴν μητέρα κατὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν κατὰ τῆς μητρός. See also the English translation with commentary by C. Mango and R. Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, A.D. 284–813, translated with introduction and commentary* (Oxford, 1997), p. 638.

To the best of my knowledge, there are not many other instances where *phthonos* appears.[12] Yet, two cases can be directly compared to the occurrence of *phthonos* in the *horos* of the Council of Hieria. Indeed, *phthonos* is encountered both in the acts of the Third Council of Constantinople and in those of the Council of Chalcedon. In the acts of the Third Council of Constantinople, i.e. the Sixth Ecumenical Council of 680–681, the apotropaic formula appears, more or less, in exactly the same context as in 754. After giving his own consent, Emperor Constantine IV asks the bishops to declare that their decision was made unanimously. After the respective declaration, there follows an acclamation that in part corresponds verbatim with the acclamation of Hieria:[13]

> ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐξεβόησε·"πάντες οὕτω πιστεύομεν. μία πίστις. πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ φρονοῦμεν…πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη τοῦ βασιλέως…. ὅλους τοὺς αἱρετικοὺς σὺ ἐδίωξας. τὸν καθελόντα τοὺς αἱρετικούς, κύριε, φύλαξον. τοὺς διαιροῦντας καὶ συγχέοντας σὺ ἐδίωξας. **ἀπέστω φθόνος** τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν. ὁ θεὸς φυλάξει τὸ κράτος ὑμῶν. τὴν βασιλείαν ὑμῶν εἰρηνεύσῃ. ἡ ὑμετέρα ζωὴ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ζωή. οὐράνιε βασιλεῦ, τὸν ἐπίγειον φύλαξον." (my emphasis)
>
> The holy Council exclaimed: "We all believe accordingly. One faith, we all hold the same…Many years to the emperor!…You chased away all the heretics. Lord, protect the one who condemned the heretics. You chased away those who separated and mixed (Christ's natures). **Be envy absent from your reign!** God will protect your power. May he grant peace to your reign. Your life (is) the life of the orthodox. Emperor in heaven, protect the (emperor) on earth!"

In this case, however, the *phthonos*-formula (ἀπέστω φθόνος τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν) comes before the wishes for protection, peace, and long life.

Going back in time, the next attestation of the *phthonos*-formula is found in the acts of the Council of Chalcedon of 451, the Fourth Ecumenical Council. This council was convoked and presided over by Emperor Markianos (and Empress Pulcheria):[14]

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12 The records of Nicaea I (325) and Constantinople I (381) are not preserved. There are no traces of this kind of apotropaic acclamations in the respective places of the records of the other ecumenical councils.

13 *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, Series secunda, volumen secundum, Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium, Pars 1–2, ed. R. Riedinger (Berlin and New York, 1990–1992), 1:798, ll. 4–16. Constantine IV here is hailed as a "New Markianos" and a "New Justinian".

14 *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartz (Berlin, 1927–1940), 2.1.1:140, ll. 27–30; 155, ll. 9–26; 157, ll. 27–33.

(i) πάντες ἐβόησαν "Μαρκιανῷ νέῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ, πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη τοῦ βασιλέως. πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη τῆς αὐγούστης. τῶν ὀρθοδόξων πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη· Μαρκιανῷ τῷ φιλοχρίστῳ, διὰ βίου ἡ ὑμῶν βασιλεία, ἄξιοι τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας· φιλόχριστοι **ἄφθονα ὑμῖν**" . . .

(ii) πάντες ἐβόησαν· "πάντες οὕτω πιστεύομεν. μία πίστις, μία γνώμη. πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ φρονοῦμεν. . . . Μαρκιανῷ νέῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ, νέῳ Παύλῳ, νέῳ Δαυίδ. τὰ ἔτη τοῦ Δαυὶδ τῷ βασιλεῖ. εὐσεβῆ, κύριε, ζωὴν αὐτῷ. . . . τῆς αὐγούστης πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη. . . . τὴν ἀεὶ εὐσεβῆ ὁ θεὸς φυλάξει. τὴν εὐσεβῆ τὴν ὀρθόδοξον τὴν κατὰ τῶν αἱρετικῶν ὁ θεὸς φυλάξει. . . . **ἀπείη φθόνος τῆς ὑμῶν βασιλείας.** ἄξιοι τῆς πίστεως, ἄξιοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, **ἀπείη φθόνος τῆς ὑμῶν βασιλείας.** οἱ πιστοὶ βασιλεῖς οὕτω τιμῶνται. ὁ θεὸς φυλάξει τὸ κράτος ὑμῶν.

(iii) πάντες οἱ θεοφιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι ἐβόησαν· "πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη τῶν βασιλέων. . . . τὴν ὑμετέραν βασιλείαν ὁ θεὸς φυλάξει. τοὺς αἱρετικοὺς ὑμεῖς καθείλετε. τὴν πίστιν ὑμεῖς ἐφυλάξατε. **ἄφθονα τῆς ὑμῶν βασιλείας.** δι᾽ αἰῶνος ἡ ὑμῶν βασιλεία" (my emphasis)

(i) All exclaimed: "To Marcian the new Constantine! Many years to the emperor! Many years to the Augusta! To the orthodox ones many years! To Marcian the Christ-loving! May your rule continue throughout our lives. O you worthy of orthodoxy. Christ-loving ones. **Be (all your doings) free of envy** . . ."

(ii) All exclaimed: "We all believe accordingly. One faith, one opinion! We all hold the same . . . To Marcian, the new Constantine, the new Paul, the new David! The years of David to the emperor. (Grant), Lord, a pious life to him . . . To the Augusta many years! . . . God will protect her who always has been pious. God will protect the pious and orthodox one, who opposes the heretics. . . . **May envy be absent from your reign**. You (two) are worthy of the faith, you are worthy of Christ, **may envy be absent from your reign**. Thus are faithful emperors honoured. God will protect your power."

(iii) All the most God-beloved bishops exclaimed: "Many years to the emperors! . . . God will protect your reign. You (two) have condemned the heretics. You have protected the faith. **May all your reign be free of envy**. May your reign last for ever."[15]

The *phthonos*-formula appears on three occasions quoted above: once in the already known form, and two more times as ἄφθονα τῆς ὑμῶν βασιλείας/ὑμῖν, which I understand as a variant of ἀπείη φθόνος.[16] The first time (p. 140,

[15] I follow the translation of R. Price and M. Gaddis, *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon. Vol. I General Introduction, Documents before the Council. Session I*, Translated Texts for Historians 45 (Liverpool, 2010), pp. 216, 240 and 243, with minor changes and especially replacing "abundance" with "free of envy".

[16] The word also appears in the inscription for Albinus, a citizen of Aphrodisias (first half of the sixth century), published by Roueché, "Acclamations," p. 193, no. 17, where it has the same meaning (*pace* Roueché, "Acclamations," p. 194, who translates the word as "in plenty").

l. 30: ἄφθονα ὑμῖν), it is used after the *polychronion*, the wish for a long life, for Pulcheria and Markianos. One has to emphasize that the word 'ἄφθονα' here is not used according to its more common meaning 'abundant, in abundance', but in its literal meaning 'without *phthonos*'.

In the next passage (p. 155, l. 23), we have the same context as in the Council of 754: the declaration of an unanimous decision, the acclamation of the emperor as the incarnation of a pious emperor (or man) of the past (here, Constantine I, Apostle Paul, and King David), the wishes for a long and pious life and protection through faith, first for Markianos, then for Empress Pulcheria. Pulcheria is especially hailed as the protectress of the right faith, as she has chased away all the heretics. Then follows ἀπείη φθόνος τῆς ὑμῶν βασιλείας, "be *phthonos* far away from your majesty", addressed to both the emperor and the empress, and repeated shortly afterwards (after two *ἄξιοι*/you are worthy-phrases). Then follows a request for protection and peace. Afterwards, Markianos is hailed as a new Constantine, and Pulcheria as a new Helena. In the last instance (p. 157, l. 23), the apotropaic phrase ἄφθονα τῆς ὑμῶν βασιλείας again follows an acclamation by all bishops addressed to Markianos and Pulcheria. It contains a *polychronion* as well as a request for protection and eternal reign.

Interesting for our topic, even though it is not an acclamation, is the letter Patriarch John of Antioch sent to the bishops of the East after the agreement reached at the Council of Ephesus in 431. This letter is transmitted as part of a collection that contains textual material concerning the Council of 431, and begins as follows: κεκράτηκεν ἡ εὐσέβεια καὶ ἀπίτω πᾶς ὁ τοῦ διαβόλου φθόνος (Piety has won, and all the devil's *phthonos* go away!).[17] Here, too, an apotropaic formula appears, consisting of *phthonos* and an imperative, which aims at banning evil after announcing a success. However, in this case—the official letter of a high ecclesiastical functionary rather than an imperial acclamation—the devil's *phthonos* is explicitly mentioned.

Phthonos *in Coronation Ceremonies*

Let us examine now the coronation ritual of the emperor and the role that *phthonos* plays here. In the context of coronation acclamations, the

[17] *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, Tomus primus, volumen primum, pars septima, Concilium universale Ephesenum*, ed. E. Schwartz (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), p. 156, l. 3.

phthonos-formula appears in two different versions already encountered in the council Acts discussed above: ἀπέστω φθόνος and ἄφθονα + dative.

The *De cerimoniis* contains the records of the coronation of Anastasios in 491, when Ariadne, the widow of Zeno, proposed Anastasios as successor to the people of Constantinople gathered in the Hippodrome. In this first example, however, it is not the emperor who is the recipient of the apotropaic wish, but the assembled people of Constantinople itself, the *demoi*. After an exchange of demands by the people and respective decisions by the empress, Ariadne announces that she will elect an orthodox and pure man as emperor. At the end of her speech, Ariadne greets the council and citizenry with the following words: ἀπέστω δὲ φθόνος τῆς καλλίστης ταύτης συμβουλίας καὶ πολιτείας (Be *phthonos* far away from this excellent council and citizenry).[18] The phrase here is probably meant to be a good wish in the sense of "May no harm befall you" for the party addressed by the empress, i.e. the people in the hippodrome.

Later on, following his election as emperor, Anastasios addresses the *demes*, saying "human power rests on divine consent/support." The *demes* reply: ἄφθονα τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, which literally means "(Be things) without *phthonos* for the *Oikoumene*, the world."[19] I believe that here again the phrase ἄφθονα + dative is more or less a synonym of ἀπέστω δὲ φθόνος, "be *phthonos* far away (from the world)" (= may the world be happy, not damaged by *phthonos*). Then follows another wish for the "world": ὡς ἔζησας, οὕτως βασίλευσον· ἁγνοὺς ἄρχοντας τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ("The way you have lived (so far), you shall reign. Pure rulers for the world").[20]

The second case concerns the acclamations addressed by the people in the Hippodrome to Justin (518–527), in response to his first words following his election, as in the aforementioned case of Anastasios. Justin calls upon divine Providence: "As we came to the reign with almighty God's judgement and with the common election by you, we call to the heavenly Providence (πρόνοια)."[21] After these carefully chosen words of the emperor's first official announcement, fraught with symbolic meaning, the *demes* shout: "ἄφθονα τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, the way you have lived, you should reign. ἄφθονα τῇ πολιτείᾳ, emperor in heaven, rescue the one on earth.[22]

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18 Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J. J. Reiske (Bonn, 1829), p. 421, l. 14.

19 Ibid., p. 424, l. 2.

20 Ibid., p. 424, l. 3.

21 Ibid., p. 429, ll. 7–9.

22 On this element of Byzantine imperial propaganda, i.e. the imitation of God, see H. Hunger, *Prooimion. Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden*, Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 1 (Vienna, 1964), pp. 58–63.

Augustus Justin, you are the victor. Live long, new Constantine! We are the emperor's slaves."[23] As above, the dative indicates the person or body profiting from the wish. The first time the recipient of the wish is the "whole world," the second time the citizenry of Constantinople. In both cases, by shouting ἄφθονα τῇ οἰκουμένῃ/πολιτείᾳ, the *demes* declare their consent concerning the newly elected emperor. They regard the new emperor as a blessing for the empire, which, like any kind of good fortune, is threatened by *phthonos*. Unlike *phthonos* in the *acta conciliorum*, *phthonos* in the context of coronation ceremonies does not threaten the emperor, but the world, the entire empire.

Some Provisional Conclusions

In all instances of the *phthonos*-formula's appearance, *phthonos* is presented as a superhuman power threatening the emperor's life, peace, and above all his piety, or the whole world's well-being. Whereas God protects the emperor and the world, *phthonos* threatens them. *Phthonos* is a power opposite to God.

From the parallel cases of usage at the Councils of 754, 680, and 451, the following conclusion can be drawn, which is also what one would logically expect. Obviously, the Councils were conducted according to a protocol, a fixed order of events that also included the words that had to be said. Or, the minutes at least were redacted according to such a given model, because in all three texts we encounter the same phrases and in, more or less, the same order.[24] This means that the passage containing these acclamations formed part of a ritual that was predetermined, a ritual that in its core went back, in all probability, to the very first Ecumenical Council held in 325 in the presence of Constantine the Great. Does this signify that the meaning of *phthonos* in 754 was the same as it had been in 325 (or at least in 451)?

[23] The whole passage (*De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, pp. 429, l. 9–430, l. 3) reads as follows: ἀνῆλθεν καὶ ἔκραξαν πάντες· "Ἰουστῖνε αὔγουστε, σὺ νικᾷς." καὶ προσεφώνησεν τῷ δήμῳ, … ἔχει δὲ ἡ προσφώνησις οὕτως· "αὐτοκράτωρ καῖσαρ Ἰουστῖνος νικητὴς ἀεὶ σεβαστός· τῇ τοῦ παντοδυνάμου θεοῦ κρίσει, τῇ τε ὑμετέρᾳ κοινῇ ἐκλογῇ πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν χωρήσαντες, τὴν οὐράνιον πρόνοιαν ἐπικαλούμεθα." παρὰ πάντων ἐβοήθη· "**ἄφθονα τῇ οἰκουμένῃ**· ὡς ἔζησας, οὕτω βασίλευσον· **ἄφθονα τῇ πολιτείᾳ**· βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε, σῶσον τὸν ἐπίγειον. Ἰουστῖνε αὔγουστε, σὺ νικᾷς· τοῦ νέου Κωνσταντίνου πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη. ἡμεῖς δοῦλοι τοῦ βασιλέως." (my emphasis)

[24] A thorough examination of parallel passages in these texts would be worthwhile.

Phthonos *in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries*

What meaning did *phthonos* have in the fourth and fifth centuries?[25] We have ample epigraphic and archaeological evidence from this period (e.g. amulets and small statuettes) attesting to a belief in *phthonos* as a life-threatening force.[26] This belief in *phthonos*, however, is regarded as a feature of a basically non-Christian mind-set. On the other hand, it is also well known that this evidence for the fear of *phthonos* is often accompanied by Christian symbols and that, therefore, Christians shared this belief with their pagan contemporaries.[27] With the same meaning as *phthonos*, the βάσκανος δαίμων, the "envious demon", also appears both in texts and in inscriptions. Let me present some texts, which refer to this kind of *phthonos*. I will restrict myself to a few cases in which the activity of *phthonos* is directly related to the emperor and his entourage. At the end of his *Life of Constantine the Great* (written 337/339), Eusebios of Caesarea summarizes both the emperor's achievements and his failures. Among his very few personal weaknesses, Eusebios mentions Constantine's credulity vis-à-vis heretics, which gave *phthonos* the opportunity to leave a stain on Constantine's virtues.[28] Later, the famous Antiochene rhetorician Libanios blames Emperor Julian the Apostate's death (363) on *phthonos*.[29]

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[25] On this question, see the excellent study by M. W. Dickie, "The Fathers of the Church and the Evil Eye," in *Byzantine Magic*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1995), pp. 9–34.

[26] J.-R. Gisler, "Phthonos," in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (*LIMC*) 8.1. (Zurich and Düsseldorf, 1997), pp. 992–96, and 8.2, pp. 658–59 (plates). Roueché, "Acclamations," p. 195 (commentary to no. 14). It is my opinion that the figure engraved beside inscription no. 14 ("ὁ φθόνος τύχην οὐ νικᾷ"; see ibid., pl. VI.3) has more in common with known depictions of *phthonos* (a human figure throttling itself, cf. Gisler, "Phthonos") than with a *tyche*.

[27] E. Peterson, *ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ. Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Göttingen, 1926), pp. 34–36. Cf. also Dickie, "Fathers of the Church," pp. 31 and 33: "What Christians of this time are afraid of and what they blame their misfortunes on is envy. In this they are no different from their pagan contemporaries and pagan ancestors. Sometimes the danger will have seemed to come from a particular direction, in which case it will be given a specific identity, but mostly it will have had no particular focus."

[28] Eusebios, *Vita Constantini* 4.54.3, ed. Fr. Winkelmann (Berlin, 1974), p. 143, ll. 2–4: οἷς ἑαυτὸν καταπιστεύων τάχα ἄν ποτε καὶ τοῖς μὴ πρέπουσιν ἐνεπείρετο, κηλῖδα ταύτην τοῖς αὐτοῦ καλοῖς ἐπιφέροντος τοῦ φθόνου. A. Cameron and S. G. Hall, *Eusebius: Life of Constantine, translated with Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford, 1999), p. 174, translate this passage as follows: "By entrusting himself to them he came to be blamed for their misdeeds, as Envy fastened his smear on his virtues."

[29] Libanios, Oratio 18.2, ed. R. Foerster (Leipzig, 1903, repr. Hildesheim 1997), p. 237, ll. 3–6: ἐπεὶ δὲ μεῖζον μὲν ἴσχυσεν ὁ φθονερὸς δαίμων τῶν εὐλόγων ἐλπίδων, κεκόμισται δὲ νεκρὸς ἀπὸ τῶν Βαβυλῶνος ὅρων ὁ μικρὸν τοῦ τῶν ἔργων ἀπέχων τέλους.

In another funerary speech, Gregory of Nyssa presents Empress Flacilla's death (385/386) as "*phthonos*'s sudden assault on the empire/world (οἰκουμένη)."[30] Lastly, in a speech presented in 399–402 to Emperor Arkadios, son of Theodosios I and Flacilla, Synesios of Cyrene ascribes rebellions against the emperor's father to the efforts of *phthonos* to harm Theodosios's splendid reign.[31]

In these examples, which I have presented in chronological order, two different patterns can be observed. In Eusebios and Synesios, *phthonos* causes harm to the emperor's glory and fame, whereas for Libanios and Gregory of Nyssa *phthonos* is held responsible for the death of a prominent person. As in the epigraphic material, so in the above texts both Christians and non-Christians (such as Libanios) refer to a superhuman power, called *phthonos*, that threatens the well-being of mankind. Two of these texts, Gregory's and Synesios's speeches, were presented at the imperial court. Libanios was not a Christian; Synesios had recently become a Christian. We thus see that Christians and non-Christians do not differ as far as belief in *phthonos* is concerned.

In my view, in these passages *phthonos* was never understood as the same thing as Satan or the devil. In fact, in contexts such as our four examples, the evil force blamed for the disaster is virtually never called the devil (διάβολος) or Satan (Σατανᾶς). Believing in *phthonos* or the devil, thus, is not simply a matter of being or not being Christian, but a matter of circumstances. The idea of the superhuman power of *phthonos* is evoked in the face of death and great disaster that strikes a community, but also single men (or even in the face of death as a disaster for the entire community). Even functionaries of the Church, such as Gregory or Synesios

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30 Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio funebris in Flacillam imperatricem*, ed. A. Spira (Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1992), p. 480, ll. 1–8: ὦ Θρᾴκη ... τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς κοινῆς συμφορᾶς ἐν ἑαυτῇ δεξαμένη. ἐκεῖθεν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀναρπάζεται, ἐκεῖ ὁ φθόνος κατὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκώμασεν, ἐκεῖ γέγονεν τὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ναυάγιον, ἐκεῖ καθάπερ ἐν κλύφωνι τῷ προβόλῳ προσπταίσαντες τ[ω τῆς λύπης βυθῷ κατεδύημεν. Cf. also ibid., p. 481, ll. 1–2: τὸν κοινὸν κόσμον τοῦ φθόνου ἀποσυλήσαντος. Here the literal parallel to the acclamation is remarkable. Cf. also Dickie, "Fathers of the Church," p. 33: "When Gregory of Nyssa speaks, in a consolatory or funeral oration or in his biography of his sister Macrina, of a young woman having been snatched away by *phthonos*, he speaks in exactly the same language that a pagan would have used in an epitaph, when confronted by a similarly premature death. There is no reason to think that φθόνος meant anything very different to him from what it did to a pagan."

31 Synesios of Cyrene, *De regno* 5.10–15, ed. A. Garzya (Turin, 1989), p. 390: ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τῷ πατρὶ καίτοι σαφῶς ἐπὶ κατορθώμασι γενομένης τῆς ἀναρρήσεως, **οὐδὲ τὸ γῆρας ἀκόνιτον ἀφῆκεν ὁ φθόνος**· οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς ἀστεφάνωτον· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δύο τυράννους ἐλθών, καὶ ἄμφω βαλών, ἐπὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ τροπαίῳ καταλύει τὸν βίον, ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδενί, τῇ δὲ φύσει παραχωρήσας, πρὸς ἣν οὔτε ὅπλον ἰσχυρόν, οὔτε νοῦς εὐμήχανος. (my emphasis)

regard *phthonos* as responsible for disaster and death. In a traditional genre, such as the *epitaphios* (funerary oration), even the death of John Chrysostom (407) is blamed on *phthonos*.[32]

In the period under scrutiny, i.e. the fourth and the fifth centuries, there exist two negative forces hostile to men, the devil and *phthonos*. At this time, they still have two rather clearly distinct areas of responsibility. On the one hand, the devil attacks the moral well-being of men. He seduces them to sin. *Phthonos*, on the other hand, brings death, especially to the young and beautiful, and all sorts of other disasters, especially sudden and unexpected catastrophes that turn former good fortune into ill fortune and misery. We observe, though, that when this ill fortune and misery afflicts the entire Church, as in the case of heresy, either *phthonos* or the devil is presented as the cause (or a combination of both, as in the letter of John of Antioch). In this context, the two concepts overlap. In the following centuries, however, we see that the initial, relatively clear differentiation between *phthonos* and the devil gradually becomes blurred. More and more, the cause of death and general disaster is also called the devil, who from old had been held responsible for the existence of death, in accordance to Ws. 2:24 ("through the *phthonos* of the devil death came into the world"). On the other hand, the frequency of the appearance of *phthonos* diminishes, a development which is fostered, I would argue, by the devil's increasing association with *phthonos* as his prime vice.

By the time of the Council of Hieria the two concepts to a great extent had merged into one. There were not two forces with distinct jurisdictions, but one big force of evil, which most frequently was called the devil, while *phthonos* alone became a rather rare name for this malevolent power. In specific textual environments, however, *phthonos* still appeared quite frequently. The funeral oration is one such context, the imperial acclamations, because of their extremely conservative character, is another.[33]

To conclude and to answer the question expressed in the title of my paper: as it appears in the Council of 754, *phthonos* both is and is not a pagan relic. It is one, insofar as the appearance of the word in impe-

[32] Pseudo-Martyrios, *Epitaphios* 5.1, ed. M. Wallraff and C. Ricci (Spoleto, 2007), p. 46: ποῖος εἰσεκώμασε φθόνος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ; τίς ἄρα τὸν ἡμέτερον ἀπεσύλησε πλοῦτον;

[33] Traditional historiography, that means the writing of contemporary history, is another genre in which *phthonos* appears as a determining factor of human affairs; see M. Hinterberger, "Envy and Nemesis in the Vita Basilii and Leo the Deacon: Literary Mimesis or Something more?", in *History as Literature in Byzantium. Papers from the Fortieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham*, April 2007, ed. R. Macrides (Farnham, 2010), pp. 187–203.

rial acclamations is due to the non-Christian concept of *phthonos* as a superhuman power threatening mankind.[34] On the other hand, by the eighth century, *phthonos* had been entirely assimilated into the Christian worldview. *Phthonos* and the devil had merged into one concept and, as a result, contemporary readers and audiences came to identify *phthonos* with the devil to a considerable extent.

If one could ask the bishops participating in the Council of 451 which evil force they were addressing when shouting the *phthonos*-formula, they very probably would have answered "*phthonos*, of course." If one insisted and further questioned them and asked them to explain how *phthonos* fits into a Christian worldview, they would have said, I imagine: "It is a force that threatens all men, and God protects us from it. It is the evil; it is something like the devil, in opposition to God." If one could ask the bishops participating in the Council of 754 which evil force they were addressing when shouting the *phthonos*-formula, they very probably would have simply answered: "the devil."

[34] For other "purely pagan ideas" in connection with imperial rituals that continued to exist in Byzantium, see Treitinger, *Kaiseridee*, pp. 120–23.

CHAPTER THREE

RITUALIZED ENCOUNTERS: LATE ROMAN DIPLOMACY AND THE BARBARIANS, FIFTH–SIXTH CENTURY

Walter Pohl

On 21 November 565 an Avar embassy led by Tergazis was received by the new emperor, Justin II. Corippus devoted a long section to this encounter (more than 250 lines) in book III of his Latin panegyric on Justin.[1] It is one of the most extensive descriptions that we have from Late Antiquity of the reception of barbarian envoys in the palace in Constantinople. The previous section (3.152 ff.) relates how the dignitaries came together for a great reception on the seventh day of Justin's reign. Corippus offers a lengthy poetic description of the *scholia palatina*, the *decani*, the couriers, the *agentes in rebus*, the palace guards, protectors and *excubitores*, and all the officers adorned in their different uniforms who appear "in fixed order." In their description, the poem indulges in metaphors of light, to conclude: "Through its offices, the imperial palace imitates Olympus". Then the emperor clad in purple enters, followed by the senate and the clergy, and mounts the throne.

Now the scene is set for the arrival of the Avar envoys (3.231 ff.): "The magister officiorum announces that the Avar ambassadors have been ordered to enter the outer gateway to the divine court, asking to see the holy feet of the gracious master. With benign voice and mind, he commands to admit them."[2] Another extensive descriptive section elaborates on the awe of the barbarians as they are accompanied into the audience hall, comparing them to Hyrcanian tigers being led into the circus. Finally, the veil hiding the emperor from sight is drawn. "Indeed, as the veil was drawn back and the inner doors opened, and the gold-covered

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[1] Flavius Cresconius Corippus, *Éloge de l'Empereur Justin II* 3.231–401, ed. and French trans. S. Antès (Paris, 1981), pp. 62–71. I would like to thank Christina Pössel and Alexander O'Hara for corrections and suggestions. The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) / ERC grant agreement No. 269591.

[2] Corippus, *Éloge*, 3.231–237, ed. Antès, p. 62: "Ut laetus princeps solium conscendit in altum/ membraque purpurea praecelsus ueste locauit,/ legatos Auarum iussos intrare magister/ante fores primas diuinae nuntiat aulae/ orantes sese uestigia sacra uidere/ clementis domini. Quos uoce et mente benignus/ imperat admitti."

halls shone, the Avar Tergazis beheld from below how the imperial head blazed under the holy diadem, and genuflecting three times he adored him, and remained prostrate and cast to the floor." The other Avars also threw themselves to the floor. "When the gracious prince ordered the ambassadors to get up, officers, on the order and admonishment of their commander, raised the stretched-out men."[3] Then Justin invited the barbarians to speak. The rest of the section is filled with the two speeches by Tergazis and Justin, which serve to underline the unfounded boasting of the barbarians, and the clemency and determination of the emperor. It is interesting to compare the briefer speeches added to the accounts of the same event in Menander (who features a much more soft-spoken Targitios) and John of Ephesos (in which Justin is much ruder, addressing the Avars as "dead dogs").[4] Rhetoric takes precedence over ritual here. Justin's programmatic words formulate a fundamental change of policy by refusing to continue paying the subsidies that Justinian had regularly bestowed on the Avars as to many other barbarian neighbours.[5] Without being able to respond, the barbarians leave the palace in fear. Undoubtedly, abolishing subsidies was a popular move as giving tax money to barbarians strongly displeased taxpayers. The disastrous political consequences of this policy would soon make themselves felt.

Corippus's poetic account is extremely elaborate on the rhetoric (which carries the political message) and sumptuous in its visual imagery (which is more exquisite than precise). He has relatively little to say about diplomatic ceremonial. The announcement by the master of offices, the lifting of the veil, the genuflection and the *proskynesis* with the successive raising from the ground by a court official are the only circumstantial details that we get. They correspond to what we know from other sources, for instance, the description of a Sasanian embassy to Justinian

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[3] Corippus, *Éloge*, III.255–64, ed. Antès, p. 63: "Uerum ut contracto patuerunt intima uelo/ ostia et aurati micuerunt atria tecti/ Caesareumque caput diademate fulgere sacro/ Tergazis suspexit Auar, ter poplite flexo/ pronus adorauit terraeque afflixus inhaesit./ Hunc Auares alii simili terrore secuti/ in facies cecidere suas stratosque tapetas/ fronte terunt longisque implent spatiosa capillis/ atria et augustam membris immanibus aulam./ Ut clemens princeps legatos surgere iussit, officia stratos iussu monituque iubentis/ erexere uiros."

[4] *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, fr. 8, ed. J. Blockley (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 92–97; John of Ephesos, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae pars tertia* 6.24, ed. E. W. Brooks, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 106, Scriptores Syri 55 (Louvain, 1964), p. 247.

[5] For the context, see W. Pohl, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Europa, 559–828*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 2002), pp. 48–50, and E. Nechaeva, "The 'Runaway' Avars and Byzantine Diplomacy," in *Romans, Barbarians and the Transformation of the Roman World: Cultural Interaction and the Creation of Identity in Late Antiquity*, ed. R. W. Mathisen and D. Shanzer (Farnham and Burlington, VT, 2011), pp. 175–81.

by Peter the Patrician which has been transmitted through *De Cerimoniis* by Constantine Porphyrogennetos.[6] Corippus creates the image of barbarians overwhelmed by the splendour of the imperial palace and reduced to the role of awe-ridden supplicants; they are not depicted as participants sharing in a diplomatic ceremony.

Of course, that does not mean that such ceremonies did not matter. The late antique reception of foreign embassies followed a two-phase protocol. The first part was devised to impress the ambassadors and to highlight the power of the emperor to his dignitaries. The *proskynesis* was the turning point. "Up to this point, the protocol has constructed the envoy and his men as representatives of a subject or submitted client king (…) At this point the tone of ritual shifts," as Matthew P. Canepa explains the ceremonial at the reception of Persian ambassadors.[7] Corippus, like many other late antique authors, is only interested in the first part of the diplomatic ceremonial, and omits the second. That does not mean that barbarians were normally treated badly, or that they would have behaved badly. For instance, Menander remarks about a Turkish embassy carried out by the Sogdian prince Maniakh: "When he entered the palace and came before the Emperor, he did everything according to the law of friendship (τῷ τῆς φιλίας θεσμῷ). He handed over the letter and the gifts to those who were sent to receive them and he asked that the toil of his journey not be in vain."[8] Diplomatic exchanges were regulated by what Menander calls "laws of friendship" here; while many modern scholars would probably speak of diplomatic ritual, contemporary perceptions underlined the code that the exchanges followed. Contacts with barbarians could also be expected to follow these rules.

Taken together, we have ample evidence for diplomatic contacts between Rome and the barbarians in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period.[9] We have the collection of the *Excerpta de legationibus* put

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6 Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae* 1.87–90, ed. J. J. Reiske, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1829–30), 1:393–410.

7 M. P. Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth: Art and Ritual Kingship between Rome and Sasanian Persia* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2009), p. 138.

8 Menander, fr. 10.1, ed. Blockley, p. 115.

9 About late antique and early Byzantine diplomacy, see, for instance, A. Gillett, *Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West, 411–533*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, series 4, 55 (Cambridge, 2003), with a good synthesis of the evidence of diplomatic ceremonies at pp. 251–59; R. C. Blockley, *East Roman Foreign Policy. Formation and Conduct from Constantine to Anastasius* (Leeds, 1992); J. Shepard and S. Franklin, eds., *Byzantine Diplomacy: Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990* (Aldershot, 1992); E. Nechaeva, "Geography and Diplomacy, Journeys and Adventures of Late Antique Envoys," in *Geografia e viaggi nell'antichità*, ed.

together by Constantine Porphyrogennetos, which covers ample material from a number of lost late Roman histories such as Priskos and Menander. And there is extensive evidence from the Middle Byzantine period, for instance in Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Psellos, Liudprand of Cremona, or the *Madrid Skylitzes* with its illustrations of diplomatic exchanges.[10] But given the favourable source situation, we hear relatively little about the ceremonial employed in these encounters. Even the extensive material assembled in the *De Cerimoniis* contains only a few sections about diplomatic ceremonial.[11] Even key rituals that changed the relationship between Byzantines and certain groups of barbarians are not usually played out in detail. One example are baptisms of foreign rulers, as they are attested, for example, in Malalas for the king of the Lazi in the fifth century,[12] or in Nikephoros the Patriarch for a Hunnic chieftain in the seventh. The latter account, written in the late eighth century, is comparatively detailed:

> The chieftain of the Hunnic nation came to Byzantium in the company of his noblemen and bodyguard and requested the emperor that he be initiated in the Christian faith. The latter received him gladly; the Roman noblemen became baptismal fathers of the Hunnic noblemen, and the wives of the former did the same to the spouses of the latter. After they had been initiated in things divine, the emperor presented them with gifts and dignities; for he honoured their chief with the rank of patrician and so dismissed him graciously to the abode of the Huns.[13]

S. Conti, B. Scardigli, and M. C. Torchio (Ancona, 2007), pp. 149–61; and eadem, *Systems of East Roman Diplomacy in Late Antiquity: Embassies, Negotiations, Gifts* (forthcoming).

[10] See Shepard and Franklin, eds., *Byzantine Diplomacy*; M. McCormick, "Analyzing Imperial Ceremonies," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 35 (1985), 1–20.

[11] A. M. Cameron, "The Construction of Court Ritual: The Byzantine Book of Ceremonies," in *Rituals of Royalty. Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. D. Cannadine and S. Price (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 106–36. Apart from the passages from Peter the Patrician (1.87–90), this regards mainly chapters 46 to 48 (ed. Reiske, pp. 679–92) of the second book, which lists the correct protocols and forms of address to be observed in receiving foreign embassies, and in despatches from the emperor to foreign rulers. There is a helpful online translation by Paul Stephenson available at http://homepage.mac.com/paulstephenson/trans/decer1.html; he comments: "Foreign affairs, therefore, played a limited role in Byzantine imperial thought and ceremony between the seventh and tenth centuries, and chapters in the *De Cerimoniis* are devoted to such matters only where they affected life in the city, such as the reception and treatment of ambassadors from various lands in Constantinople."

[12] John Malalas, *Chronographia* 17.9, ed. J. Thurn, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 35 (Berlin, 2000), pp. 340–41; E. Chrysos, "Byzantine Diplomacy, A.D. 300–800: Means and Ends," in *Byzantine Diplomacy*, pp. 25–40, at p. 34.

[13] Nikephoros (Patriarch of Constantinople), *Short History* 9, ed. and trans. C. Mango, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 13 (Washington, D.C., 1990), pp. 49–51.

In fact, we know relatively little about the forms of conferring honorary titles upon barbarian rulers (although it was standard practice). The volume on Byzantine diplomacy edited by Jonathan Shepard and Simon Franklin almost 20 years ago offers a rich overview of all aspects of diplomacy.[14] It is perhaps no coincidence that it does not contain a chapter on diplomatic ceremonial.

There is, of course, a lot of evidence about the many aspects of Roman-barbarian encounters: battles and triumphs, embassies and negotiations, letters and gift exchange, threats and reprisals, *deditiones* and treaties, rhetoric and symbolic communication, stereotypes and pictorial representations. But the question is whether it would really tell us much about ritual. A previous study about "Rituali del potere: l'impero e il barbaricum" in the fifth century, presented at a conference in Ravenna on the occasion of the anniversary of the sack of Rome by the Goths in 410, rendered relatively limited results.[15] For instance, we hear a lot about negotiations between Alaric and several imperial dignitaries, but little about the forms in which these encounters took place. Most late antique and early Byzantine sources seem to be relatively unspecific about imperial ceremonial in confrontations with the barbarians. Why is that? Medieval texts sometimes contain extensive descriptions of solemnities, and many of the papers in this volume address such instances and their meanings. It may therefore be useful to make a few general points on medieval descriptions of ritual and ceremonies here, also taking up some of the observations made by Alexander Beihammer in his introduction to this volume. And we should also consider to what extent diplomatic encounters can and should be analysed as rituals.

In medieval studies, the last 20 years have seen a veritable surge in work on ritual. Especially in Germany, many scholars have regarded the focus on performance and lived experience that this line of research made possible as a liberation from a strictly institutional and normative perspective. Gerd Althoff's work has been fundamental in this respect.[16] His premise is that ritual, and other forms of symbolic communication, is the

14 Shepard and Franklin, eds., *Byzantine Diplomacy*.

15 W. Pohl, "Rituali del potere: l'impero e il barbaricum," in *Potere e politica nell'età della famiglia teodosiana*, ed. S. Cosentino (forthcoming).

16 G. Althoff, *Macht der Rituale. Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2003); see also the review by H. Vollrath, "Haben Rituale Macht? Anmerkungen zu dem Buch von Gerd Althoff: Die Macht der Rituale," *Historische Zeitschrift* 284 (2007), 385–400. An early reception of ritual theory in medieval studies: G. Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favour: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY, 1992).

principal, if not the only, mode of political integration in many medieval societies, such as the Holy Roman Empire of the tenth to twelfth centuries. It is by ritual that the social fabric in "societies without state," as Althoff has called the Ottonian Empire in a stint of deliberate exaggeration, can be maintained.[17] One may debate whether the high medieval West was really so archaic, and whether an empire stretching from the North Sea deep into the Italian peninsula could be maintained exclusively by ritual and symbolic communication.[18] After all, what Althoff describes as ritual was the way in which real deals about power and possession were sealed, and these were perhaps more important than the ceremonial forms of the encounter.

An important critique of Althoff's model of a medieval polity integrated by rituals has been offered by Philippe Buc:[19] we cannot access ritual directly, but only through its textual (and sometimes pictorial) representations. Descriptions of rituals may seem to offer a privileged access to non-literate, performative modes of social behaviour. But narratives of ritual are not the same as the ritual itself, and where we have several descriptions of the same ritual, we can often detect fundamental differences in the accounts. Such descriptions are rarely naïve renderings of what actually happened; they represent conscious choices made by the authors, and their meaning may be rather different from the significance of the actual ritual. These accounts could be faithful, modified or invented, and were a suggestive way to add significance to a story or to heighten its impact—or, perhaps, to construct it in the first place. There was always 'good', consensual ritual and 'bad', contested or manipulated ritual; this opened wide spaces for different interpretations of what had happened on a particular occasion.

In a recent article, Christina Pössel has developed Buc's critique, also distinguishing between "the short-term experience of the embodied performance" and "the long-term struggle over interpretation in speech and

[17] G. Althoff, *Die Ottonen. Königsherrschaft ohne Staat*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 2005).

[18] W. Pohl, "Staat und Herrschaft im Frühmittelalter: Überlegungen zum Forschungsstand," in *Staat im Frühen Mittelalter*, ed. S. Airlie, H. Reimitz, and W. Pohl, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 11 (Vienna, 2006), pp. 9–38.

[19] P. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, 2001). See also the polemic against Buc by G. Koziol, "The Dangers of Polemic: Is Ritual still an Interesting Topic in Historical Study," *Early Medieval Europe* 12 (2002), 367–88, and P. Buc, "Ritual and Interpretation: The Early Medieval Case," *Early Medieval Europe* 9 (2000), 189–210.

writing."[20] She does not imply that ritual acts would be obscured completely by the written accounts that we have of them, and could not be reconstructed; but their actual impact may have been more limited than these accounts would have us believe: ritual does not "create" consensus.[21] As Pössel's studies of Carolingian political ritual have shown, "for the duration of the performance, the ritualized frame can create the illusion of consensus and harmony, and make disagreement and subversion more costly." Disrupting ritual to express dissent risked alienating even those who would otherwise have agreed. The messages conveyed through political ritual, however, had to be rather simple, and mostly represented basic power relations, hierarchies, and alliances. More differentiated symbolical meanings had to be established through words. Of course, words were part of most rituals, but their formal character removed them from the intricacies of every-day interests. Thus, interpretation, explicit or implicit, could become the terrain of narratives that channelled the long-term impact of a ritual, however fictive an account may have been. We can add a further observation: ritual has become very attractive in studies of the ninth to twelfth centuries precisely because, from the deposition and reinstatement of Louis the Pious onwards, the description and interpretation of ritualized acts became an important means of endorsing or challenging political legitimacy. But it is significant that medievalists have been much more interested in ritualized politics than in the ritual character of Christian liturgy and ceremonies.

This leads to a fundamental terminological question: What is ritual? Most definitions highlight the elements of formality and repetition. A ritual community disposes of a kind of shared grammar of ritual action that allows for a relatively error-free ritual communication. Some symbolical acts, such as bowing down or gift-giving, are also quite universally understandable. But there is also an element of performance in every ritual, which allows for some measure of modulation.[22] Thus, there was ambiguity in many ritual acts, which created ample space for conflicting retrospective interpretations.[23] For Roy Rappaport, ritual denotes "the performance of more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and

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[20] C. Pössel, "The Magic of Early Medieval Ritual," *Early Medieval Europe* 17/2 (2009), 111–25, at pp. 111, 116, and 123. See also her forthcoming book, *Ritual, Text and Power*.

[21] Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, p. 307, already remarked: "Ritual cannot make a weak ruler strong or create consensus where there was none."

[22] S. Tambiah, *A Performative Approach to Ritual*, Proceedings of the British Academy 1979 (Oxford, 1979), pp. 116–42.

[23] Pössel, "Magic," pp. 119–23.

utterances not entirely encoded by the performers."[24] However, even Rappaport's rather sophisticated definition does not really allow to distinguish clearly between rituals and ceremonies, celebrations, customary usage, repetitive action, play by rules, routines, or public performance.

If we regard all standardized forms of social action as ritual, is the term still useful as an analytical tool? After all, almost all human actions can be ritualized.[25] One option is to decide for a rather restricted definition. In medieval studies, it certainly makes sense to insist on the transcendental character that links rituals to a point of reference beyond the society in question.[26] Indeed, ritual often refers to a supernatural authority which is understood to finally endorse its validity. Ritual communities are therefore often coextensive with religious communities, or at least share a common religion. This is what makes ritual communication difficult between fundamentally different religious communities, for instance, between Christians and "pagans." Axel Michaels has suggested a further distinctive feature in his elaborate definition of ritual, which is more rigorous than the current scholarly use of the term:[27] rituals mark changes of identity, status, role, or competence. As Victor Turner has put it, "ritual is transformative, ceremony confirmatory."[28] Rituals would thus be restricted to fundamental changes in the status quo that are destined to last (for instance, the *rites de passage* as studied by Van Gennep).[29] One problem with this defining element is that transformation and affirmation are not always as distinct in medieval political life as it may seem. For instance, high medieval festive coronations took up many ritual elements of the original coronation of a king to affirm his continuing authority. Perhaps it would be more adequate to say that the function of ritual was controlling and channelling the transformation of social roles, and it could either mark

[24] R. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 24.

[25] D. J. Krieger and A. Belliger, "Einführung," in *Ritualtheorien*, ed. A. Belliger and D. J. Krieger, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden, 2003), pp. 7–34, at p. 9.

[26] A key element in Rappaport, *Ritual* (see, for instance, pp. 23–24).

[27] A. Michaels, " 'Le rituel pour le rituel' oder wie sinnlos sind Rituale?," in *Rituale heute. Theorien—Kontroversen—Entwürfe*, ed. C. Caduff and J. Pfaff-Czarnecka (Berlin, 1999), pp. 23–48.

[28] V. Turner, "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in *Rites de Passage*," in *The Forest of Symbols*, ed. V. Turner (New York, 1964), pp. 93–111, at p. 95.

[29] A. Van Gennep, *Les rites de passage: étude systématique des rites de la porte et du seuil, de l'hospitalité, de l'adoption, de la grossesse et de l'accouchement, de la naissance, de l'enfance, de la puberté, de l'initiation, de l'ordination, du couronnement, des fiançailles et du mariage, des funérailles, des saisons, etc.*, facsimile of the 1909 ed., with 1969 addendum (Paris, 2000).

their transformation or their affirmation, or negotiate a balance between the two.

How can this brief sketch of some of the problems of ritual theory help us to explain the diplomatic encounters between Romans and barbarians in Late Antiquity? In the narrow sense proposed by Michaels, little in Corippus's description of the reception of Avar envoys is ritual; perhaps with the exception of the "rite de la porte" as the ambassadors enter the audience hall. One option would be to speak of ritualized action rather than of ritual, as Catherine Bell has suggested.[30] But rather than debating where exactly the label fits, what is important here is where recent research on ritual can offer new clues for our interpretation of diplomatic ceremonial. It is, for instance, interesting to note that the reception of the ambassadors was in the first place a ceremonial meeting of several different kinds of dignitaries with the emperor intended to legitimize the new ruler and to reaffirm the political order. The reception of foreign envoys was thus highlighted as one element marking the transition from one emperor to the next. This was no exception. The reception of Sasanian diplomats seems to have developed as an adaptation of the *silentium*, a formal joint-meeting of the senate and the *consistorium*.[31] Analyzing late Roman solemnities may surely profit from ritual theory, which can help clarify many elements present in court ceremonial, and in diplomatic encounters. The reception of embassies made use of acts encoded not by the performers, it was highly formalized, some of its aspects were quite invariant (the *proskynesis*, the handing over of a letter), and it included elements of performance. The criterion of transformation clearly applies to some cases of diplomatic dealings, such as declarations of war and peace treaties. But diplomatic ceremonial was basically similar regardless whether important changes in international relations were reached (for instance, a peace treaty or an alliance) or whether the partners only reassured each other of their continuing good relations. And narrative interpretations could, as Corippus does, elide the routine character of the event and make it out as something special. The splendid diplomatic ceremonial as described by Corippus used the barbarians for a double purpose: to express the continuity of imperial hegemony, and to accentuate a change of policy towards the barbarians. Even affirmative ceremonial was open to careful modulation and reinterpretation.

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[30] C. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York, 1992); eadem, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford, 2009).

[31] Canepa, *Two Eyes*, p. 132.

What exactly was the transcendental element that could guarantee the validity of diplomatic ceremonial, given that there was no common supernatural point of reference between Romans and (pagan) barbarians? How could symbolical communication between powers from very different religious and cultural backgrounds in the sphere of diplomacy actually work? Here, ritual theory can also be useful. An important element were the rules guaranteeing the inviolability of ambassadors. Isidore of Seville, in his *Etymologies*, very interestingly phrases this feature of the *ius gentium*, the international law, as the *legatorum non violandum religio*, the sanctity of not violating envoys.[32] It was not just law, it was 'religion', although in the classical, not in the modern sense. The encounters of ambassadors were certainly formalized and "scripted" to a considerable degree; but the script was open to preliminary negotiation. Diplomatic missions often included lengthy preparations or negotiations about questions of ceremonial. As Peter the Patrician's text implies, envoys arriving in Constantinople were briefed about the procedures they were going to be part of.[33] In more contentious cases, the appearance of ambassadors before a ruler was preceded by previous encounters of members of the mission with dignitaries at court, not least, to discuss formalities, as the report of Priskos's embassy at the court of Attila shows.[34] At the courts of nomadic rulers, a/the queen might also be involved in these preparatory meetings.[35] But still, a shared symbolical language must have existed. A study of "The Psychology of Diplomacy" claims that in the modern age, "the ritual exchange of diplomats, like any ritual, can be a powerful tool for creating and perpetuating social solidarity," and can "reinforce among states an awareness of the existence of a 'community of nations'."[36] Whether or not we decide to speak of 'diplomatic ritual', an awareness of a multiplicity of powers and a sense of solidarity between persons involved in diplomatic exchanges can surely be detected in our sources. For instance, in Priskos's report Roman diplomats and returning Hun envoys travel together to Attila's

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32 Isidore, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX* 5.6, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911).

33 *De cerimoniis* 1.87–90, ed. Reiske, pp. 393–410.

34 See below.

35 W. Pohl, "The *regia* and the *hring*: Barbarian Places of Power," in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. M. de Jong, F. Theuws, and C. van Rhijn (Leiden, 2001), pp. 439–66.

36 J. K. Walker, " 'Fiction versus Function': The Persistence of 'Representative Character' Theory in the Law of Diplomatic Immunity," in *The Psychology of Diplomacy*, ed. H. J. Langholz and C. E. Stout (Westport, CT, 2004), pp. 243–68, at pp. 260 and 258.

court, establishing mutual relations through gifts and banquets.[37] There was also, at least from the Byzantine side, a notion of a plurality of states and peoples, and even of a 'family of kings'.[38] The subtle formality of the addresses to external rulers in the *Book of Ceremonies* testifies to carefully modulated forms of reciprocity.[39] Family imagery was already used in late Roman diplomacy: the khagan of the Avars could address the emperor as "his father," and Emperor Herakleios once flattered the khagan (albeit to no avail) as the guardian of his son.[40] All of this may not amount to establishing a ritual community between the Byzantine elite and its counterparts in the steppe; but there was some common ground on which one played by the rules. The relatively extensive accounts of diplomatic missions in Priskos, Menander, or Theophylaktos Simokattes mostly show a surprising sense that Byzantine diplomats could generally expect to be dealt with professionally and smoothly. Ernst Stein noted already in 1919 that the diplomacy of the Avars and other steppe peoples displayed a sophistication that seemed to contradict their general cultural level (or, as we might prefer to put it, the stereotypes with which they were normally described).[41]

There are, of course, examples of 'bad' or disrupted diplomatic ritual in the sources. Accounts of them are often connected with barbarian stereotypes, which does not come as a surprise. One of the most dramatic cases of a disrupted encounter took place outside the Long Walls in 623, when Herakleios came out to meet the khagan of the Avars with the aim of concluding a treaty. "He decided to meet the Avar in the city of

37 Priskos, fr. 11, ed. R. C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus* (Liverpool, 1983), pp. 247–53.

38 F. Dölger, "Die 'Familie der Könige' im Mittelalter," in F. Dölger, *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt, 1976), pp. 34–69; M. Grünbart, *Formen der Anrede im byzantinischen Brief vom 6. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 2005), at pp. 148–54.

39 See also G. Dagron, "Byzance et ses voisins. Etudes sur certains passages du *Livre des cérémonies*, II, 15 et 46–48. Introduction," *Travaux et mémoires* 13 (2000), pp. 353–57, and the contributions by B. Martin-Hirsad, É. Malamut, J.-M. Martin and C. Zuckermann, ibid., pp. 359–672.

40 Menander 12.6, ed. Blockley, p. 139; here, the Avar envoy Targitios says: "I am here, emperor, on a mission from your son. For you are truly the father of Baian, our master"; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. De Boor (Leipzig, 1883), p. 303 (AM 6113), trans. C. Mango and R. Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813* (Oxford, 1997), p. 435: Herakleios "wrote an exhortation to the Chagan of the Avars (…) and named the Chagan guardian of his son."

41 E. Stein, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches vornehmlich unter den Kaisern Justinus II. und Tiberius Constantinus* (Stuttgart, 1919), p. 10 (cf. Pohl, *Die Awaren*, p. 47).

Herakleia as had been agreed. He sent in advance some theatrical equipment and made preparation for chariot races to be held at the reception; he also brought along splendid vestments for him [the Chagan] and his companions." When the khagan arrived, he hid armed men in the surrounding hills to encircle the emperor. The emperor had no choice but to take off his purple robe and crown and barely escaped.[42] It is interesting that this diplomatic encounter was to be blended with elements of theatrical performance and games. Byzantine diplomacy was not least geared towards impressing the barbarians, using its entire range of cultural achievements.

Still, it is quite remarkable that Byzantine authors did not always rely on barbarian stereotypes in their accounts, but often explained barbarian breach of diplomatic convention by extraordinary circumstances. For instance, Priskos's mission to Attila ran into unexpected adversity, but that was because one of the members of his mission hoped to organize an assassination plot against Attila, which was disclosed to the king. Even so, the Huns respected diplomatic forms and did not violate diplomatic immunity. A late-sixth century Byzantine embassy to the Turks was also badly received, as Theophylaktos Simokattes reports. The ambassador Valentinus was reproached and threatened by Khagan Turxanthos because of a Byzantine peace treaty with the Avars. But there was another reason for the unfriendly reception. The khagan's father Sizabulos had just died, so the khagan told the envoys: " 'You must follow the custom which prevails among us for the dead and slash your faces with daggers.' Immediately Valentinus and his companions slashed their own cheeks with daggers."[43] The Roman envoys participated in a Turkic funerary ritual, and thus, if on a different plane, temporarily became part of the ritual community of the host society. Of course, the text clearly implies that after the khagan's death threats, they complied with the required gestures, but only superficially. A steppe ruler could also risk the consent of his nobles by disrupting the "laws of friendship," as an example in Theophylaktos indicates.[44] After the Roman ambassador Comentiolus had delivered a frank and high-blown speech, the khagan fell into a frenzy and "destroyed the sanctity of the ambassadors, dishonoured Comentiolus with chains,

[42] Nikephoros 10, ed. Mango, pp. 51–53. See also Pohl, *Die Awaren*, pp. 245–46.

[43] Menander, fr. 19.1, ed. Blockley, p. 177.

[44] Theophylaktos Simokattes, *Historiae* 1.6, ed. C. de Boor and P. Wirth (Stuttgart, 1972), pp. 50–51, trans. M. Whitby and M. Whitby, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta: An English Translation with Introduction* (Oxford, 1986), p. 28. See also Pohl, *Die Awaren*, p. 82.

crushed his feet in the clamp of wooden stocks, tore apart the ambassador's tent, and hence, according to native custom, threatened the death-penalty." But the Avar nobles intervened: "The most powerful of the Avars soothed their leader with persuasive arguments, gradually persuading him not to pronounce the death-penalty against Comentiolus, and convinced him that the fetters would be sufficient injury for the ambassadors." In the clash of values between the 'sanctity of the ambassador' (an extension of the principle of hospitality) and 'native custom', the former prevailed in the end.

Different religious creeds, of course, posed a problem of ritual concord. For instance, if an ethnocentric religion only valued oaths and promises between its own members, that was what classical ethnography regarded as the 'faithlessness' of the barbarians. In Christianity, with its strong focus on the 'right' creed, problems of adapting to foreign ritual could also occur. This still created problems in early modern Europe in diplomatic exchanges between different Christian confessions.[45] Between Christian Romans and barbarians, one would expect major problems in this respect, and there are some indications that religious difference could create problems. Menander relates how Khagan Baian, shortly before his siege of Sirmium, offered to swear that his intentions were peaceful. "He immediately drew the sword and swore the oaths of the Avars, invoking against himself and the whole Avar nation the sanction that, if he planned to build the bridge over the Save out of any design against the Romans, he and the whole Avar tribe should be destroyed by the sword, heaven above and God in the heaven should send fires against them (...)." Then, he also swore by the Bible: "He, most treacherously concealing his intent, stood up from the throne, pretended to receive the books with great fear and reverence, threw himself to the ground and most fervently swore by God who had spoken the words on the holy parchment that nothing of what he had said was a lie."[46] Certainly a case of 'bad' ritual, manipulated by a treacherous barbarian, at least from the Byzantine point of view. Formal oaths that establish a lasting bond between two partners and invoke supernatural sanctions may well be regarded as rituals. But oaths often

[45] See, for instance, S. Bogatyrev, "Diplomats and Believers. Herberstein and Cross-Confessional Contacts in the Sixteenth Century," in *450 Jahre Sigismund von Herbersteins Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii 1549–1999*, ed. F. Kämpfer and R. Frötschner (Wiesbaden, 2002), pp. 215–34.

[46] Menander, fr. 25.1, ed. Blockley, p. 221.

only bind members of the same ritual community.[47] The exceptionally elaborate language of ritual serves here as a literary device to underline the khagan's treachery. Bi-ritual exchange of oaths with pagans could also create problems for Christians. In 900, for instance, the archbishop of Salzburg, Theotmar, wrote a letter to the pope defending himself against the accusation that he had concluded a pact with the Hungarians swearing by dogs and wolves.[48] This time, it was the Christian bishop who argued that he had only superficially taken part in a shockingly alien ritual.

A spectacular case of alien ritual appears in Menander's account of the voyage of the Byzantine envoy Zemarchos to the Turks. When the embassy crossed the border into Turkish Sogdia, some Turks appeared,

> who, they said, were exorcisers of ill-omened things (...), set fire to branches of the frankincense tree, making noise with bells and drums, waved above the baggage the frankincense boughs as they were crackling with the flames, and, falling into a frenzy and acting like madmen, supposed that they were driving away evil spirits.

At last, they "led Zemarchos himself through the fire," and "thought that by this means they had purified themselves also."[49] These unfamiliar shamanistic rites roused Menander's attention. Again, we are in the realm of ritual in the narrow sense. Much could be said about purification, and we could reflect about the cold gaze of the ethnographer that Menander's account evokes. In any case, it was definitely a unilateral ritual that did not create a ritual community between the two parties of the encounter, but it was part of the diplomatic framing of these encounters that the Romans should play along.

One means of creating community between visiting diplomats and the hosting court were ceremonial banquets. They also raised the issue of precedence, both between visitors and courtiers, and among the members of court. In Priskos's extensive account of his mission to the court of Attila

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[47] Generally on early medieval oath-taking, see S. Esders, *Sacramentum fidelitatis. Treueidleistung, Militärorganisation und Formierung mittelalterlicher Staatlichkeit*, Habilitationsschrift Bochum 2003 (forthcoming), and idem, "Treueidleistung und Rechtsveränderung im frühen Mittelalter," in *Rechtsveränderung im politischen und sozialen Kontext mittelalterlicher Rechtsvielfalt*, ed. S. Esders and C. Reinle, Neue Aspekte der europäischen Mittelalterforschung 5 (Münster, 2005), pp. 25–62.

[48] *Epistola Theotmari*, ed. F. Lošek, *Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und der Brief des Erzbischofs Theotmar von Salzburg*, MGH Studien und Texte 15 (Hannover, 1997).

[49] Menander, fr. 10.3, ed. Blockley, pp. 117–19. Cf. M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, 2nd impr. with corr. (London, 1969); for Turkish shamanism: J.-P. Roux, *La religion des Turcs et des Mongols* (Paris, 1984).

in 450, there is a remarkable description of the great banquet in Attila's hall.[50] Priskos noticed the intricate seating order, which is also known from other sources about steppe peoples:

> The places on the right of Attila were held chief in honour, those on the left, where we sat, were only second. Berichus, a noble among the Scythians, sat on our side, but had the precedence of us. Onegesius sat on a chair on the right of Attila's couch, and over against Onegesius on a chair sat two of Attila's sons; his eldest son sat on his couch, not near him, but at the extreme end, with his eyes fixed on the ground, in shy respect for his father.

Priskos also described the formal drinking ceremony with successive toasts to the king:

> When all were arranged, a cup-bearer came and handed Attila a wooden cup of wine. He took it, and saluted the first in precedence, who, honoured by the salutation, stood up, and might not sit down until the king, having tasted or drained the wine, returned the cup to the attendant. All the guests then honoured Attila in the same way, saluting him, and then tasting the cups; but he did not stand up. Each of us had a special cupbearer, who would come forward in order to present the wine, when the cup-bearer of Attila retired. When the second in precedence and those next to him had been honoured in like manner, Attila toasted us in the same way according to the order of the seats. When this ceremony was over, the cup-bearers retired.

This was repeated after each course. For the Romans, insight into the social hierarchy among the barbarians was crucial, and it is unlikely that Priskos would have made it all up. Such ceremonies are also known from other steppe peoples, and are a chief means of affirming status.[51] But the careful enactment of orders of precedence to express informal hierarchies is also well-known from European courts up to the early modern period.

Of course, we need to be critical towards our written sources about late antique and early medieval encounters between Romans and barbarians, all of which come from the Roman sphere, stylize imperial superiority, and carry a heavy load of barbarian stereotypes (Corippus is a clear example for that). The sources become most interesting if they depart from this conventional frame of interpretation; but that often betrays a more or less veiled critique of certain political actors on the Roman side and does not necessarily reflect the actual circumstances of the encounter. There is, of course, an inbuilt tension between diplomatic ceremonial and its

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[50] Priskos, fr. 13.1, ed. Blockley, p. 285.

[51] R. Bleichsteiner, "Zeremonielle Trinksitten und Raumordnung bei den turko-mongolischen Nomaden," *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 6/7 (1951/1952), 181–208.

representation. 'Good' ritualized action should create trust, express a balance in interest, and nuance existing power relations and respective status, without too much pretence on either side. Symbolic communication had to be carefully modulated at the reception of ambassadors because it was essentially tri-lateral: apart from the ruler (and perhaps his immediate entourage) and the envoys, there was also a larger public of aristocrats, high officials, and guardsmen who needed to be impressed by the ruler's superiority and performance. But the public for the accounts of the meeting often mainly consisted of the third group, while the foreigners had long gone. Therefore, any caution not to offend the diplomatic guests could be dropped, and the scene recast (as in Corippus's poem) as a triumph over fear-ridden foreigners. We can take an example from *The Deeds of Charlemagne* by Notker of St. Gall, written at the end of the ninth century. In this fictive account (which has also been transmitted about other rulers in similar form), Byzantine ambassadors arrive at Charlemagne's court. They are first led before the marshal in his splendid attire, and prostrate themselves because they mistake him for the emperor. The same scene repeats itself with the steward and the chamberlain before they are finally led before Charles, dazzled by his presence.[52] As with many of Notker's stories, this one also expresses an implicit critique of late Carolingian rulers that they had squandered Charlemagne's glory, which had overwhelmed even Byzantine ambassadors.

A similar ambiguity was created by diplomatic gift-giving. Marcel Mauss, in his fundamental book on the gift, has underlined that giving larger gifts than one receives establishes superiority in status.[53] On the other hand, a powerful ruler is also proud to receive rich gifts and tribute from many peoples. This also affects the relationship between gift exchange, which may follow the logic of the gift, and texts about gift exchange, which tend to underline how many precious gifts a ruler had received. In my interpretation, this tension can also be found behind a curious story in Theophylaktos Simokattes, in which the khagan of the Avars hears that elephants are being kept in Constantinople, and demands that one be sent to him.[54] The emperor sends "the most outstanding of

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52 Notker, *Gesta Karoli* 2.6, ed. H. F. Haefele, MGH SS rer. Germ., n.s. 12 (Berlin, 1959), pp. 55–57.

53 M. Mauss, *Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques* (1925). Introduction de F. Weber (Paris, 2007); see also W. Davies and P. Fouracre, eds., *The Languages of Gift* (Cambridge, 2010).

54 Theophylaktos Simokattes 1.3, ed. de Boor and Wirth, pp. 45–6, trans. Whitby and Whitby, p. 24.

the beasts bred by him," but as soon as the elephant arrives, the ruler of the Avars requires that it should be returned immediately, "whether in terror or scorn of the marvel, I cannot say," as Theophylaktos adds. The same scene occurs with an ostentatious gold couch which the khagan successively demanded; when the emperor "royally conveyed it," the khagan, "as if he had been besmirched by the unworthiness of the gift" sent the couch back "as though it were something cheap and common." In the end, he demanded a higher tribute. This parable of barbarian arrogance plays with the notions of outbidding and belittling, demanding and refusing. It demonstrates that in international relations, the preciousness of the gift is in itself a matter of negotiation. But once again, telling the story may also raise different questions; here the story can also be read as an implicit critique of the emperor Maurice.

Extolling a ruler may require underlining how many embassies he had received,[55] how many and how precious gifts the ruler had received from foreign envoys, and from often exotic peoples; or even, that these presents had not been precious enough for him. In these texts, there is little need to dwell on the precious gifts that a ruler had given away himself. They may even be played down as in a spurious exchange of letters between Charlemagne and a Byzantine emperor preserved in several southern Italian manuscripts.[56] The latter solicits Frankish help against the Muslims and closes with the announcement: "I am sending you 100.000 solidi." Charlemagne replies that he has his own empire to care for, and retorts: "I am sending you 100 dogs." Out-witting instead of out-bidding, even offending a foreign ruler by ridiculous gifts could be very popular with one's own subjects.[57] Already Marcel Mauss has shown how the language of the gift can be used for ridicule. But thus, the Maussian logic inherent in gift exchange—establishing superiority by superior gifts—may also be reversed.[58] Different audiences may have required different, even diametrically opposed strategies of gift-giving.

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55 Gillett, *Envoys and Political Communication*, p. 253.

56 W. Pohl, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung. Montecassino und die langobardische Vergangenheit*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Erg. Bd. 39 (Vienna, 2001), p. 196.

57 See J. Nelson, "The Settings of the Gift in the Reign of Charlemagne," in *The Languages of Gift*, pp. 62–88.

58 About the reciprocity of the gift, see also F. Curta, "Merovingian and Carolingian Gift-Giving," *Speculum* 81 (2006), pp. 671–99; and the remarks by Chris Wickham, "Conclusion," in *The Languages of Gift*, pp. 238–61, at 254.

In any case, displays of wealth and splendour were a recurrent part in the reception of ambassadors. At the court of the Turkish khagan Sizabulos, for instance, the Romans were honoured by successive invitations in three tents, each more lavishly furnished with treasures than the previous one. On the last day, "they came to another dwelling in which there were gilded wooden pillars and a couch of beaten gold which was supported by four golden peacocks. In front of this dwelling were drawn up over a wide area wagons containing many silver objects, dishes and bowls, and a large number of statues of animals, also of silver and in no way inferior to those which we make; so wealthy is the ruler of the Turks."[59] Menander's report indulges in the details of the treasures of the khagan, and of the honours bestowed on the ambassadors. But sometimes, the modesty of a mighty barbarian ruler could also be noted with some subdued admiration, as in the case of Attila: "A luxurious meal, served on silver plate, had been made ready for us and the barbarian guests, but Attila ate nothing but meat on a wooden trencher. In everything else, too, he showed himself temperate; his cup was of wood, while to the guests were given goblets of gold and silver. His dress, too, was quite simple, affecting only to be clean. The sword he carried at his side, the latchets of his Scythian shoes, the bridle of his horse were not adorned, like those of the other Scythians, with gold or gems or anything costly."[60] When Maximinus, the leader of the embassy, handed over the emperor's letter, Attila sat on a wooden chair.[61]

As we have seen, the reports of Byzantine embassies at barbarian courts are somewhat richer in circumstantial detail than those about barbarian envoys in Constantinople. But ritual is not a primary concern. We can compare the interests of our texts to the common elements in the prescriptions of the *De Cerimoniis*, as summarized by Averil Cameron:[62] movement, either real or symbolic; dress and dress codes; the identity of the participants, normally qualified by their office or rank; elaborately prescribed acclamations; and finally, food, and the closely regulated dinners where it was taken. Typically, in all these elements, sacred and profane were brought together. We might add symbolical gestures and objects. All these public acts and symbols were heavily ritualized, and imbued with Christian liturgy. Some of this is also present in Corippus's poem. It is

59 Menander, fr. 10.3, ed. Blockley, p. 121.
60 Priskos, fr. 13.1, ed. Blockley, p. 285.
61 Priskos, fr. 11.2, ed. Blockley, p. 255.
62 Cameron, "The Construction of Court Ritual," pp. 112–13.

much less important in the historiography of Roman-barbarian encounters, in the *Excerpta de legationibus* and in other texts. Here, the stress is on rhetoric. What the authors are mainly interested in is their own art, "the ancient, sure-working magic of words," as Peter Brown has put it.[63] Even barbarians get their long and well-constructed, if often preposterous speeches, not only Tergazis in Corippus. Of course, Roman rhetoric also was ritualized performance to some degree. But the ritual frame recedes in the narrative. The impression is that even where elements of ritual or ceremony appear in the sources of the period, the interest is not in the ritual itself. The texts rarely address the invariant character of the performance, that is, its 'script'. What was repetitive about rituals was, of course, the least interesting to relate.[64] Priskos's report about Attila's residence contains relatively little about court ceremonial, and the proceedings at the diplomatic receptions are only sketched very roughly.[65] Ritual only interested our authors where it was unusual or exotic, such as the shamanistic purification ritual performed by the Turks.

At first glance, this may not seem surprising. But the difference may become clearer if we compare the story about the Byzantine ambassadors at Charlemagne's court in Notker with Corippus's poem. Both make a similar point, they underline the unique glory of an emperor in panegyric fashion and use foreign envoys as a counterfoil. But while Notker uses the language of ritual, Corippus employs poetic images and political rhetoric to achieve his goal. Underlining the clemency and the wisdom of the emperor required showing that he was acting on his own accord, and not by someone else's encoding. Conversely, stressing the savage nature of the barbarians and their unpredictability made it hard to acknowledge the formal character of an encoded performance on their side. Only occasionally the texts might highlight the breach of diplomatic rules or the manipulation of the 'script' by barbarian actors, for instance in the case of Baian's oath. But there is an underlying awareness that script mattered; occasionally the texts do refer cursorily to the 'customs' or the 'laws of

63 P. Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison, Wisconsin, and London, 1992), p. 41.

64 This has already been noted, for instance, in Gillett, *Envoys and Political Communication*, p. 252.

65 Priskos, fr. 11.2, ed. Blockley, p. 255: "Scottas came to fetch us, and we entered Attila's tent, which was surrounded by a multitude of barbarians. We found Attila sitting on a wooden chair. We stood at a little distance and Maximin advanced and saluted the barbarian, to whom he gave the Emperor's letter, saying that the Emperor prayed that he and his followers were safe and well."

friendship' that regulated diplomatic encounters. No doubt such encounters were much more strictly codified than our texts make explicit; only when a barbarian ruler oversteps the mark does it become obvious that most diplomatic contacts actually followed ceremonial usage, with its displays of exquisite hospitality, gift exchange, formalized rhetoric and codes of honour. Diplomatic encounters more or less fulfilled several functions: apart from the actual negotiations between powers, they were designed to create trust and personal bonds, or at least the illusion of harmony, impress the envoys and the ruler's own entourage or population, and collect and channel information. Diplomatic ceremonial was aimed at marking off a sphere of symbolical and political communication in which disruption and a breach of rules would come at a cost. Accounts of diplomatic ritual or solemnities in texts may serve different functions: stylize a ruler (or a diplomat) in favourable or unfavourable light, legitimate the power of a state or empire, explain why conflict had broken out,[66] underline political integration or the settlement of disputes, or impress the reader with colourful descriptions of acts of state. While the formalized encounter itself was aimed at establishing common ground to ease negotiations and to establish trust, many accounts rather used their descriptions to mark off boundaries between Romans and barbarians. That they did not always do so is remarkable in itself. Of course, some authors (such as Priskos) were specialists of the middle ground between the powers themselves, and their experience as 'cultural brokers'[67] reflects back on their texts. But most accounts, whatever their intention, fade out the ceremonial framing of the encounters. The fifth and sixth centuries would have offered ample opportunities to employ narratives of ritual to highlight the integration of barbarians into the transcendental community of the Christian empire, or at least, their pacification. But as it seems, our authors preferred other discursive strategies to deal with barbarians. After all, diplomatic ceremonial involves both sides on an essentially equal footing, and that is perhaps the impression that many late antique authors tried to avoid. Thus, descriptions of 'ritualized encounters' between Romans and barbarians represent only a peripheral element in the historiography of the period.

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[66] Many of the examples cited here can also be used for studies of conflict management; see W. Pohl, "Konfliktverlauf und Konfliktbewältigung: Römer und Barbaren im frühen Mittelalter," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 26 (1992), 165–207.

[67] Cf. H. Reimitz, "Cultural Brokers of a Common Past: History, Identity and Ethnicity in Merovingian Historiography," in *Strategies of Identification—Early Medieval Perspectives*, ed. W. Pohl and G. Heydemann (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 257–301.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ARCHITECTURE OF ALLEGIANCE IN EARLY ISLAMIC LATE ANTIQUITY: THE ACCESSION OF MUʿĀWIYA IN JERUSALEM, CA. 661 CE*

Andrew Marsham

Introduction

The public accession in Jerusalem of the fifth caliph, Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, is unique among early Islamic ceremonies of accession because of the existence of a near-eyewitness account of events. An anonymous Syriac fragment, now known as the *Maronite Chronicle*, explains that, having been "made king" by the "Arab nomads," Muʿāwiya went up to Golgotha, where a complex of Christian churches stood. There, he sat down and prayed, before setting out for Gethsemane, outside the east wall of the city, where he visited the church of the tomb of Mary, and prayed. A separate report states that "in July of the same year" the "emirs and many Arab nomads gathered." They "proffered their right hand" to Muʿāwiya. An order went out that he should be "proclaimed king in all the villages and cities of his dominion;" their inhabitants were ordered to "make invocations and acclamations to him." Coins were struck that lacked the cross that had been a feature of Roman coinage. Muʿāwiya chose not to wear a crown, unlike "other kings in the world."[1]

For the historian familiar with the early Islamic historical tradition, at least some of this is unsurprizing. Nonetheless, it is important, because no Islamic historical text took its extant form as early as the *Maronite Chronicle*, and so the chronicle confirms many aspects of Islamic ceremonial which are

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[1] For the full text and references, see pp. 93–94, below.

otherwise only firmly attested about a century later. The proffering of the right hand was a standard gesture of allegiance throughout the ancient and late antique Near East, and it found its Islamic corollary in the *bayʿa*, 'the pledge of allegiance', which was contracted by a handclasp (*ṣafqa*)—as in a commercial sale, to which the term *bayʿa* is related. In early Islamic thought, this "sale" or contract expressed the covenant between Man and God, first concluded between God and Adam at Creation.[2] The promulgation of the accession of the caliph throughout his dominions is also familiar.[3] The striking of coins for an accession is known from later accession rituals;[4] a case has been made that extant gold "Arab-Byzantine" coins, which have been modified so that they lack a cross may be related to Muʿāwiya's accession.[5]

Whereas an historian who knew only the later Islamic tradition would be unsurprized by much of the account, they might find the visits to Golgotha and Gethsemane a little more remarkable. There appears to be one precedent: following his triumphal entry into Jerusalem, which is usually dated to 637 or 638, the second caliph, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, is said to have chosen to pray outside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which was adjacent to Golgotha and inside the Church of Mary. However, there are serious problems with this material, which may indicate that it was retrospectively connected with ʿUmar.[6] If it is accepted that the account of Muʿawiya's actions is based in fact—and there are good reasons to believe that it is—then this is an important insight into a particular moment in the history of the political culture of early Islam, which may help to contextualize the more tenuous evidence about ʿUmar's actions.

Of course, accounts of ceremonial, like all literary historical evidence, are composed with a purpose—very often a polemical one. In this case, the

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[2] On the pledge of allegiance in Islam, see A. Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy: Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire* (Edinburgh, 2009); the accession of Muʿāwiya is discussed on pp. 86–90; on the Islamic source material, see pp. 11–16.

[3] A. Silverstein, *Postal Systems in the Pre-Modern Islamic World* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 42–59; Marsham, *Rituals*, pp. 136–38, 157. On the invocation of the caliph's name at Friday prayer, see *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. Second Edition*, 13 vols. (Leiden, 1960–2004) (hereafter *EI*²), "Khuṭba" (A. J. Wensinck).

[4] *EI*², "Māl al-bayʿa" (H. Kennedy); Marsham, *Rituals*, pp. 218, 260.

[5] C. Foss, "A Syrian Coinage of Muʿāwiya?," *Revue Numismatique* 158 (2002), 353–67. As was first noted by Michael Bates, Muʿāwiya's striking of silver on which crosses had been *removed* seems unlikely. However, Foss has recently suggested that this refers to the import of Sasanian silver struck in Muʿāwiya's name: C. Foss, "Muʿāwiya's State," in *Money, Power and Politics in Early Islamic Syria*, ed. J. Haldon (Farnham, 2010), p. 86. Silver coins were struck only in post-Sasanian Iran and Iraq, where they were modelled on Sasanian types; the currencies in post-Roman Syria were gold and copper.

[6] See below, pp. 102–03.

Maronite ("monothelete") compiler of our source is critical of the Jacobite ("miaphysite") Christians' close relationship with their Arab rulers. The chronicler is also loyal to the Byzantines, downplaying Arab successes against them.[7] Furthermore, the accession rituals of Muʿāwiya appear to have deliberately been juxtaposed with natural disasters—earthquakes follow two of the pledges of allegiance and a withering spring frost, which destroyed grapevines, is placed adjacent to a third account. The use of natural disasters to indicate God's disapproval is a common feature of late antique and early medieval chronography. Indeed, here it appears that the compiler may have altered both his chronology and selection of material in order to achieve this effect.[8] However, selecting and organizing material for polemical reasons is different from fabricating it, and there are good reasons to think that the account is accurate in most of its details. Indeed, as Philippe Buc has noted, in order to be persuasive even a highly partial account of a ritual needs to respect the forms that such rituals usually take.[9] Furthermore, the chronicle is close to being a contemporary source, and may be based on eyewitness accounts of the accession. It is extant in an eighth- or ninth-century manuscript. The monothelete (Maronite) and pro-Roman stance of its compiler indicates that it was certainly composed before 727, and quite possibly before 681.[10]

As a near-contemporary account of an accession ritual, the chronicle serves as a reminder of four general points about the historical record of ritual. First, ritual tends to bring the symbolic world of its participants into sharp focus, and so it remains a very useful tool in understanding their worldview—for all that the agenda of the source must be borne in mind.[11] Second, even where rituals are superficially similar, much of their

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7 A. Palmer, S. Brock and R. Hoyland, *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles* (Liverpool, 1993), pp. 29, 35.

8 Palmer, *Seventh Century*, p. 24, 35.

9 P. Buc, "Text and Ritual in Ninth-Century Political Culture: Rome, 864," in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. G. Althoff, J. Fried and P. J. Geary (Cambridge, 2002), p. 138; G. Althoff, "The Variability of Rituals in the Middle Ages," in ibid., p. 87.

10 Palmer, *Seventh Century*, p. 29; J. D. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a World Crisis: Historians and Histories of the Middle East in the Seventh Century* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 175–76.

11 For scepticism about such uses of anthropological ideas about ritual in history, see P. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, 2001). But cf. G. Koziol, "Review article: The Dangers of Polemic: Is Ritual still an Interesting Topic of Historical Study?," *Early Medieval Europe* 11 (2002), 367–88. On the particular importance of accession rituals and royal progresses to the performance of monarchy, see C. Geertz, "Centers, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," in *Culture and Its Creators: Essays in Honor of Edward Shils*, ed. J. Ben-David and T. Nichols Clark (Chicago, 1977), p. 153.

meaning to participants is rooted in their precise context; and so they should be read as belonging to a specific historical moment, which must be reconstructed as carefully as possible. Third, ritual has an essentially communicative nature: political ritual is a form of argument—a dialogue that depends upon the mutual intelligibility of the symbolism it deploys.[12] Fourth, where rituals make extensive use of space, movement and gesture, they have the merit of great polyvalence—they can appeal to diverse constituencies, and can, if used carefully, emphasize shared values rather than contradictory ones.

All of these general points about ritual are relevant to Muʿāwiya's accession. Diverse constituencies were present, and so the polyvalence of such ritual was important. The accession also took place at a very specific historical moment, before many of the "orthodoxies" of Islamic religion and politics had taken shape. With hindsight, we know that when Muʿāwiya was proclaimed caliph on the Temple Mount in 661, the ceremony was equidistant in time between the triumphal restoration of the True Cross to Jerusalem by the Roman emperor, Herakleios, in 630 and the completion of the Dome of the Rock on the same Temple Mount by ʿAbd al-Malik in 692. The status of Jerusalem as a holy city in the new dispensation of Islam was yet to be fully worked out and certainly differed from later orthodoxies; its status was also contested—a symbolic term that could be manipulated for political gain. As Muʿāwiya brought the civil war with ʿAlī and his son al-Ḥasan to a close, the recent triumphal entry of Herakleios, and perhaps also of ʿUmar, served as a template for his own triumph.

In what follows, the sources for the accession of Muʿāwiya are presented, and the difficulties of their chronologies resolved as far as is possible. Then, the evidence for the congregational mosque and its use as the location for the taking of the pledge of allegiance is set out, followed by a reconstruction of Muʿāwiya's pilgrimage itinerary. Finally, the question of participation in the rituals, and the meaning of the symbolism deployed to the participants, is discussed.

Chronology and the Sequence of Events

Muʿāwiya's accession took place in the context of the civil war, or *fitna*, of AH 36–41/656–661 CE. This was the first time that extensive violent

[12] On ritual as persuasion, see D. Cannadine, "Introduction: Divine Rites of Kings," in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. by D. Cannadine and S. Price (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 1–19. On the communicative dimension of ritual, see Althoff, "Variability of Rituals," pp. 71–87, esp. 73–76.

conflict had taken place within the Ḥijāzī (West Arabian) ruling elite of the new monotheist polity. In the Islamic historical tradition the war is said to have been triggered by the murder of the third caliph, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (r. 644–656). Following ʿUthmān's death, the Prophet's cousin, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, was proclaimed caliph at Medina in Arabia, before moving the caliphal capital from there to Kufa, in Iraq. ʿAlī was not universally recognized as caliph—not least because ʿUthmān's assassins were among his supporters. Muʿāwiya, who was at that time the long-standing governor of the province of Syria, was among those who did not declare his allegiance, but neither did he participate in an alliance against ʿAlī. ʿAlī defeated this alliance at the "battle of the Camel" in Jumāda II 36/December 656. At this juncture Muʿāwiya took up arms against ʿAlī, demanding that he hand over ʿUthmān's assassins. A battle at Ṣiffīn, on the northern Euphrates, was inconclusive, and the two parties agreed to a truce and negotiations. Some of ʿAlī's followers rebelled at this decision, and ʿAlī was forced to fight them. ʿAlī won, only to be assassinated by one of the rebels in the congregational mosque at Kufa—an event usually dated to mid-to-late Ramaḍān 40/late January 661. ʿAlī's son, al-Ḥasan, was proclaimed caliph in Iraq, but surrendered shortly thereafter to Muʿāwiya and his Syrian army.

These events remained central to some of the fiercest doctrinal disputes in early Islam. In part because of the importance of the civil war for on-going doctrinal debates, a vast amount of literature about it was generated in the first centuries of Islam, much of it contradictory and confused. That Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (r. 661–680) emerged as the victor is of course beyond doubt, but the chronology and sequence of events is not at all clear. Here, we are concerned specifically with the formal recognition of Muʿāwiya as caliph.

The early Islamic tradition mentions at least seven occasions on which a pledge of allegiance (*bayʿa*) to Muʿāwiya took place:

1. Muʿāwiya is said to have received the *bayʿa* as *amīr*, 'commander', and for "avenging the blood of ʿUthmān" at some point between ʿAlī's call for allegiance after ʿUthmān's death (ca. 18 Dhū al-Ḥijja 35/ca. 17 June 656) and the failure of arbitration discussions (Dhū al-Qaʿda 37/April–May 658).[13] The pledge as *amīr*, 'commander', is implicitly or explicitly contrasted with a later pledge to him as *amīr al-muʾminīn*, 'commander

[13] Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul waʾl-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, 3 parts in 15 vols. (Leiden, 1879–1901), 2:199 (ʿUmar [b. Shabba]—ʿAlī [al-Madāʾinī]: *wa-kānū qablu bāyaʿūhu ʿalā ṭalab bi-dam ʿUthmān*). Cf. ibid., 2:4–5.

of the faithful',—the latter being the title of the caliph, the former merely one of his sub-commanders.[14]

2. Following the failure of negotiations with ʿAlī's representatives, a *bayʿa* was given to Muʿāwiya as caliph (as opposed to merely *amīr*) by the Syrian army in Dhū al-Qaʿda 37/April–May 658, or after Shaʿbān 38/January 659.[15]
3. During the conflict with ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Muʿāwiya and the conqueror and former governor of Egypt, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, made an agreement between themselves in Jerusalem, described as a *bayʿa* by the sources, perhaps in 38/June 658–June 659.[16]
4. In 40/May 660–May 661 Muʿāwiya received a *bayʿa* as caliph in Jerusalem.[17]
5. Immediately after the defeat of ʿAlī's son, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, at Kufa in Dhū al-Qaʿda 40, Rabīʿ I, Rabīʿ II, or Jumāda I 41/March–April or July–September 661 Muʿāwiya received a pledge of allegiance from al-Ḥasan and his followers.[18]

[14] See the discussion in E. L. Petersen, "ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah: The Rise of the Umayyad Caliphate 656–661," *Acta Orientalia*, 23 (1959), 176.

[15] Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. de Goeje, 1:3396 (s. a. 38/June 658–May 659: Abū Mikhnaf: *bāyaʿa ahl al-Shām Muʿāwiya bi'l-khilāfa*), 2:198–9 (citing ʿUmar [b. Shabba]—ʿAlī [al-Madāʾinī]: *bāyaʿa ahl al-Shām* . . . 92 *bi'l-khilāfa fī sana 37 fī Dhī l-Qaʿda ḥīna tafarraqa al-ḥakamān*); cf. Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. V. Guirgass (Leiden, 1888), p. 215. For the failure of negotiations being in 37/658–9, see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. de Goeje, 1:3354–60; for Shaʿbān 38/January 659, see ibid., 1:3360; see, also, E. L. Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya in Early Arabic Tradition: Studies on the Genesis and Growth of Islamic Historical Writing until the End of the Ninth Century* (Copenhagen, 1964), p. 30.

[16] On this agreement, see A. Marsham, "The Pact (*amāna*) between Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ (656 or 658 CE): 'Documents' and the Early Islamic Historical Tradition," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 57 (2012), pp. 69–96.

[17] Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. de Goeje, 2:4 (s. a. 40/May 660–May 661: *wa-fī hādhihī l-sana būyiʿa li-Muʿāwiya bi'l-khilāfa bi-Īliyā*). Cf. al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-Badʾ wa'l-taʾrīkh*, ed. C. Huart, 6 vols. (Paris, 1899–1913; repr. 1975), 4:87 (see below, p. 97). See further: L. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica ossia riassunto chronologico della storia di tutti i popoli musulmani dall'anno 1 all'anno 922 della Higrah* (*622–1517 dell'Era Volgare*), 5 vols. (Paris, 1912–1922), 1:453; J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall*, trans. M. G. Weir (Calcutta, 1927), p. 101; A. A. Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period: 7th to 11th Centuries AD," in *Jerusalem in History*, ed. K. J. Asali (London, 1997), pp. 108–9, who also cites, Anonymous, *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ*, ed. P. A. Gryaznevich (Moscow, 1967), fol. 50b, line 17. See also Marsham, *Rituals*, pp. 86–90; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 482.

[18] Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. de Goeje, 2:3–4, 198–99; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār*, ed. Guirgass, pp. 231–2; Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. M. Houtsma, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1883), 2:256; ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi'l-taʾrīkh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, 13 vols. (Leiden 1862–1876; repr. Beirut, 1965–1967), 3:404–7. See also Caetani, *Chronographia*, 1:462; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 385–6.

6. Following the surrender of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, in late Rabīʿ I 41/late July 661 "the people as a whole pledged allegiance to Muʿāwiya, and so it was called 'the year of unity'."[19] Other traditions date this to Rabīʿ II 41/August 661,[20] or to Jumāda I 41/September 661.[21]
7. According to al-Masʿūdī, "Muʿāwiya received the pledge of allegiance in Shawwāl of the year 41/February 662 in Bayt al-Maqdis [i.e. Jerusalem]."[22]

The various Arabic sources are chronologically confused. Furthermore, they could scarcely be more laconic about the pledges of allegiance—most merely stating that Muʿāwiya took or was given the pledge of allegiance (*bayʿa*). As we have seen, some of the same sources also locate the accession to the caliphate in Jerusalem (*Īlyā* or *Bayt al-Maqdis*). We would know almost nothing more of the accession of Muʿāwiya than this, were it not for the *Maronite Chronicle*'s account of events.

> ('A') [*Lacuna in the MS, followed by a very short fragment*] . . . ʿAlī, too, threatened to go up once again against Muʿāwiya, but they struck him while he was at prayer at al-Ḥīra and killed him. Muʿāwiya went down to al-Ḥīra, where all the nomad (*Ṭayyāyē*) forces there pledged allegiance to him (lit. "proffered their right hand to him," *yhab(w) leh īdā*), whereupon he returned to Damascus. In 970 of the Seleucid era, the 17th year of Constans, on a Friday in June [June 659; Muḥarram-Ṣafar 39], at the second hour, there was a violent earthquake in Palestine . . . [*A short discussion of the Jacobite Christians' relations with Muʿāwiya follows here*].
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> . . . ('B') In 971 of the Seleucid era [39–40/September 659–August 660], Constans' 18th year [39–40/Autumn 659–Summer 660], many nomads gathered at Jerusalem and made Muʿāwiya king (*w-ʿabdū(h)y malkā l-Maʿwiyā*) and he went up and sat down on Golgotha; he prayed there, and went to Gethsemane and went down to the tomb of the blessed Mary to pray in it. In those days, when the nomads were assembled there with Muʿāwiya,

[19] Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. de Goeje, 2:199 (ʿUmar [b. Shabba]—ʿAlī [al-Madāʾinī]: . . . *wa-sallama lahū al-amr sana 41 li-khams baqīn min shahr rabīʿ al-awwal fa-bāyaʿū al-nās jamīʿan Muʿāwiya fa-qīla ʿām al-jamāʿa*).

[20] Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ al-ʿUṣfurī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. S. Zakkār, 2 vols. (Damascus, 1968), 1:234.

[21] Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. de Goeje, 2:199 (Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī); Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Zakkār, 1:234.

[22] Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-maʿādin al-jawhar*, ed. C. Pellat, 7 vols. (Paris, 1966–1979), 5:14 (*wa-būyiʿa Muʿāwiya fī Shawwāl sana iḥdā wa-arbaʿīn bi-bayt al-Maqdis*). Cf. al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ waʾl-taʾrīkh*, 4:87 (see below, p. 97); Caetani, *Chronographia*, 1:466. There is some evidence that in earlier texts "Bayt al-Maqdis" refers specifically to the Temple Mount, whereas in later ones it refers to the city of Jerusalem as a whole: *EI*[2], "al-Ḳuds. A. 2. Names" (O. Grabar).

> there was an earthquake and a violent tremor and the greater part of Jericho fell . . . [*short description of the damage wrought by the earthquake*] . . .
>
> ('C') In July [*Tamūz*] of the same year [Ṣafar-Rabīʿ I 40/July 660] the emirs and many nomads (*āmīrē w-Ṭayyāyē*) gathered and pledged allegiance (*yhab(w) yāmīnā*, lit. "proffered their right hand") to Muʿāwiya. Then an order went out that he should be proclaimed king (*netkrez malkā*) in all the villages and cities of his dominion and that they should make acclamations and invocations (Gk., *klēseis, phōnás*) to him. He also minted gold and silver, but it was not accepted, because it had no cross on it. Furthermore, Muʿāwiya did not wear a crown (*klīlā*) like other kings in the world (*a(y)k malkē (ʾ)ḥrānē da-hwaw b-ʿālmā*). He placed his throne (*kūrsīs*) in Damascus and refused to go to Muḥammad's throne.
>
> The following year [40–41/660–661] there was frost in the early morning of Wednesday 13 April [*NB weekday in fact fits 17 Dhu al-Ḥijja 41/662*], and the white grapevines were withered by it.[23]

The first notable thing about this account is that it contradicts the Islamic tradition on the date of ʿAlī's assassination ('A'). Whereas most of the Islamic tradition dates ʿAlī's death to Ramaḍān 40/January 661,[24] this chronicler appears to place the assassination of ʿAlī in 969 of the Seleucid Era, or Rabīʿ II 38–Jumāda I 39/October 658–September 659. This dating is echoed by the Greek chronographer Theophanes (d. ca. 818). He places an account of the assassination deriving from Theophilos of Edessa (fl. ca. 750) in *anno mundi* 6151, which equates with September 658–August 659:

> . . . While the Arabs were at Sapphin [Ṣiffīn], ʿAlī (the one from Persia) was assassinated and Mauias [Muʿāwiya] became sole ruler. He established his kingly residence at Damascus and deposited there his treasury of money.[25]

On the basis of these two non-Muslim sources, it has recently been suggested that ʿAlī was in fact assassinated "in 658 at the latest," rather than in Ramaḍān 40/January 661, as the Islamic tradition tends to indicate.[26] This possibility must be accepted: the confusion of the Arabic tradition does suggest serious difficulties with the chronology of the civil war. However,

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[23] *Chronica Minora* (*Textus*), ed. E. W. Brooks, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 3, Scriptores Syrii 3 (Louvain, 1955), pp. 69–71; trans. Palmer, *Seventh Century*, pp. 29–32, with slight alterations.

[24] Caetani, *Chronographia*, 1:451, where the alternative date of Rabī II 40/August–September 660 is also noted. Given the symbolic importance of Ramaḍān, this alternative should perhaps be taken seriously.

[25] Theophanes, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284–813*, ed. C. Mango and R. Scott (Oxford, 1997), p. 485; see also the discussion of chronology, pp. lxiv–lxvii.

[26] Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 385–86. Cf. Palmer, *Seventh Century*, p. 30, n. 134. On the Islamic tradition, see above n. 24.

neither non-Muslim source appears to have a very robust chronology itself. The *Maronite Chronicle* takes pains to juxtapose both Arab and Jacobite Christian successes with natural disasters.[27] Theophanes' world-chronicle has very well-known problems with its chronology,[28] and a recent attempt to reconstitute Theophilos' chronicle, upon which it depends here, has argued that the chronology of this source should be seen as relative rather than accurate.[29] Both sources also see the death of ʿAlī as the end of the civil war, making no mention of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī. This almost certainly was not the case—there is good evidence that hostilities did not completely end until the surrender of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī in Iraq in 41/661.[30]

After the death of ʿAlī, two more pledges of allegiance then follow in the Syriac account—the second ('B') at an unspecified point between September 659 and August 660 (Rabīʿ II 39–Rabīʿ II 40), the third ('C') in July 660 (Ṣafar-Rabīʿ I 40). The earthquake that coincides with the former may, if it indeed occurred, have been an aftershock from the earthquake of June 659, also mentioned by the *Maronite Chronicle*, and in a number of other sources.[31] However, it is odd that the day of the month in the next notice, for "the following year" (i.e. 972/661) in fact corresponds with 973/662 (i.e. when 13 April was indeed a Friday). Either a year has been skipped, perhaps to make the second accession account immediately precede the withering frost, or Muʿāwiya's accession has been moved forward a year from 661 to 660, perhaps to coincide with the earthquake.[32] If the latter is the case, it is notable that July 661 would coincide with 26 Ṣafar to 27 Rabīʿ I 41, matching al-Ṭabarī's dating of the pledge by "the people as a whole" to "five days before the end of Rabīʿ I 41 (27 July 661)" (no. 6).[33]

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[27] See above, p. 89 and below, following passage on this page.

[28] Theophanes, *Chronicle*, pp. lxiv–lxvii.

[29] Theophilos of Edessa, *Theophilus of Edessa's Chronicle and the Circulation of Historical Knowledge in Late Antiquity and Early Islam*, trans. and ann. R. G. Hoyland (Liverpool, 2011), pp. 21–22.

[30] See n. 18 and 19 to nos. 5 and 6, above.

[31] K. W. Russell, "The Earthquake Chronology of Palestine and Northwest Arabia from the 2nd through the Mid-8th Century A.D.," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 260 (Autumn, 1985), 46–47, citing for the aftershock: D. J. Chitty, "Two Monasteries in the Wilderness of Judaea," *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund* 60 (1928), 176; D. J. Chitty, "The Monastery of St. Euthymius," *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund* 64 (1932), 196.

[32] Palmer, *Seventh Century*, p. 31 and n. 141 (though here the chronology is confused—the editors seem to read this account as placing the accession in 659, whereas in fact it more likely dates it to the first half of 660); Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 178, n. 52.

[33] If this dating is correct, it would suggest that Hishām al-Kalbī and al-Masʿūdī both misdated the same ceremony to Jumādā I and Shawwāl 41/September 661 and February 662, respectively (nos. 6 and 7).

A related problem raised by the *Maronite Chronicle* is the number of ceremonies that it in fact describes. As we have seen, the chronicle implies that two formal accession ceremonies took place—the first between September 659 and July 660 (Rabīʿ II 39 and Rabīʿ I 40) and the second in July 660 (Ṣafar-Rabīʿ I 40). (Or if, as seems likely, the chronicle is one year out—the first between September 660 and July 661 [Rabīʿ II 40 and Rabīʿ I 661] and the second in July 661 [Ṣafar or Rabīʿ I 661]). In the first, "many nomads gathered at Jerusalem" and "made Muʿāwiya king" ('B'). This was followed in July ('C') by the gathering of "emirs and many nomads" in an unspecified location, who "proffered their right hand." Wellhausen, following Nöldeke, concluded that these are "two different narratives of the same event," compiled from earlier accounts by the Maronite chronicler.[34] This is plausible.[35] However, it seems more likely that they were closely related but separate events—the first ('B') an accession ceremony in Jerusalem at some point in late 660 or early 661; the second ('C') reflecting the widespread acknowledgement of Muʿāwiya as caliph later in July of the same year, probably following the defeat of ʿAlī's son, al-Ḥasan, in Iraq.

Hence, taken together, the Islamic tradition and the non-Muslim sources tend to suggest the following sequence of accessional rituals:

i. Pledges to Muʿāwiya as "emir" early in the civil war (no. 1), perhaps followed by pledges to him from the Syrians as "caliph" (no. 2).
ii. A pledged agreement between ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and Muʿāwiya, perhaps in 38/658–659 (no. 3).
iii. Muʿāwiya's accession in Jerusalem, at some point in late 660 or early 661, either before or after the death of ʿAlī ('B' and no. 4).
iv. Pledges to Muʿāwiya in Iraq in 41/661, after the defeat of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī in 41/661 (no. 5).
v. A "general pledge of allegiance" to Muʿāwiya, most likely in Rabīʿ I 41/July 661 ('C' and no. 6, preferring the dating of al-Madā'inī's version of '6', as transmitted by al-Ṭabarī).

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[34] Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, p. 101, citing T. Nöldeke, "Zur Geschichte der Araber im 1. Jahrh. d. H. aus syrischen Quellen," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 29 (1875), 85, 89, 95–96.

[35] This analyzis is tentatively accepted in Marsham, *Rituals*, p. 88; I have now changed my mind on this point. For alternative assessments, see Petersen, "ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah," pp. 176–77; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 177.

It must be stressed that the chronology of the civil war remains highly problematic, and can only be relative, and somewhat tentative. However, whereas the chronology, and even the number of separate ceremonies, cannot be tied down with certainty, it is possible to say rather more about participation in and performance of the accession at Jerusalem, and hence to consider what these tell us about the physical spaces used for the ceremonial, about the accession rituals themselves, and what all this suggests about the character of very early Islamic political culture. These questions are addressed in turn in what follows.

Location: Jerusalem and the Mosque on the Temple Mount

It is very likely indeed that the specific location for Muʿāwiya's taking the pledge of allegiance at Jerusalem was the sole congregational mosque of the city. This mosque had originally been constructed on the Temple Mount by the second caliph, and conqueror of Jerusalem, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 634–44). There is also evidence that Muʿāwiya himself had further developed the same site, while he was governor of Syria.

Al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī (fl. 966) specifically states that Muʿāwiya received the pledge in the mosque on the Temple Mount, and implies that he had already developed the site while he was governor. In laconic Arabic, al-Maqdisī explains that the origins of the sanctuary go back to the Prophet Jacob and his vision of the ladder, when God bequeathed the Holy Land to him and commanded him to build a mosque there. Subsequent rulers either destroyed or rebuilt it:

> . . . Jacob marked out [a mosque] there. Then, after him (there was) the Dome of Aelia [i.e. Jerusalem], which was [constructed by] al-Khiḍr. Then David developed it after him, Solomon completed it and Nebuchadnezzar destroyed it. God inspired Cyrus, the Persian King of Kings, so he restored it. Then Titus the Cursed Roman destroyed it and it remained destroyed until Islam came and ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb restored it. Then Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān [developed it], and he received the pledge of allegiance for the caliphate there.[36]

[36] Al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ waʾl-taʾrīkh*, 4:87: . . . *faʾkhtaṭṭa ʿalayhi Yaʿqūb [masjidan] thumma baʿdahū qubbat Īlyā wa-huwa al-Khiḍr thumma banā baʿdahū Dāwūd wa-atammahū Sulaymān wa-kharrabahū Bukht Naṣr fa-awḥā Allāh ʿazza wa-jalla ilā Kawshak malik min mulūk Fāris fa-ʿammarahā thumma kharrabahā Ṭiṭus al-Rūmī al-Malʿūn fa-lam yazal kharāban ilā an qāma al-Islām wa-ʿammarahū ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb raḍiya Allāh ʿanhu thumma Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān wa-bihī bāyaʿūhu liʾl-khilāfa. . . .*

This account of Muʿāwiya's building work is partially corroborated by the apocalyptic Hebrew *midrash*, which refers to Muʿāwiya building the walls of the Temple Mount.[37]

Little if any of this mid seventh-century mosque is architecturally extant.[38] However, it is nonetheless possible to reconstruct its location and character with a degree of confidence. Theophilos of Edessa, as cited in the ninth century *Chronicle of Siirt*, indicates that it was adjacent to a palace, which is typical of the administrative centres of many Umayyad urban foundations:[39]

> ʿUmar ordered that a mosque be built on the place of the tomb [*sic*, *sc.* temple][40] of Solomon, son of David, and a palace (*qaṣr*) next to it. Then he left and returned to Medina. He entrusted Syria to Muʿawiya ibn Abi Sufyan . . .[41]

Mention of the 'tomb' (*sc.* 'temple') of Solomon indicates that the mosque was built on the Temple Mount, in East Jerusalem. The "palace next to it" was probably a precursor of the complex of administrative buildings that has been excavated just to the south of the Temple Mount, which have been dated to the early Marwanid period.[42]

Further information about the mosque can be gleaned from Adomnan's *De Locis Sanctis*. This Latin text purports to be based on a travel account by one Arculf, an Anglo-Saxon pilgrim in the 670s. Although significant doubt has now been cast on Arculf's historicity, the description of Jerusalem is certainly based on knowledge about the Holy Land circulating in northern

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[37] I. Levi, "Une apocalypse Judéo-Arabe," *Revue des Études Juives* 67 (1914), 178–79; A. Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage* (Leiden, 1995), p. 24 and n. 8.

[38] R. Grafman and M. Rosen-Ayalon, "Two Great Syrian Umayyad Mosques: Jerusalem and Damascus," *Muqarnas* 16 (1999), 1–15.

[39] A. Walmsley, *Early Islamic Syria: An Archaeological Assessment* (London, 2007), p. 88.

[40] Other versions of this material refer to the temple of Solomon, not his tomb. See Theophilos, *Chronicle*, trans. Hoyland, pp. 126–27, and n. 301.

[41] *Histoire Nestorienne* (*Chronique de Séert*), seconde partie, fasc. 2, ed. and trans. S. G. M. Addai Scher and R. Griveuau, Patrologia Orientalis 13.4 (1919), p. 624: . . . *wa-amara an yubnā bihā masjid fī mawḍiʿ qabr Sulaymān b. Dāwūd wa-qaṣr ilā jānibihī wa'nṣarafa wa-ʿāda ilā al-Madīna wa-qallada Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān al-Shām*; see also Theophilos, *Chronicle*, trans. Hoyland, p. 127.

[42] M. Ben-Dov, *In the Shadow of the Temple: The Discovery of Ancient Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1985), pp. 293–321; M. Rosen-Ayalon, *The Early Islamic Monuments of al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf: An Iconographic Study* (Jerusalem, 1989), pp. 8–11; Theophilos, *Chronicle*, trans. Hoyland, p. 127, n. 301.

Europe no later than the end of the seventh century.[43] Despite the clearly polemical contrast of the former "magnificent Temple" and the Saracens' "house in ordinary style," the more objective aspects of the description of the structure may well be accurate:

> . . . in that renowned place, where once the Temple had been magnificently constructed (*magnifice constructum*), placed in the neighbourhood of the [city] wall from the east, the Saracens now frequent a quadrangular house of prayer, which they have made with upright slabs (*subrectis tabulis*) and large beams (*magnis trabibus*) on top of the remains of some ruins, in an ordinary style (*vili fabricati*); this house can, it is said, hold about 3,000 men at once.[44]

Modern formulas for mosque design would imply a building with an area of about 2,100 m^2—perhaps 70m wide and 30m deep, or, alternatively, 45m square.[45] If this estimate is combined with Adomnan's description, and with what is known of the design of slightly later, extant Umayyad mosques, then a square or oblong covered prayer-hall stretching across the southern end of the Temple Mount should be imagined. The hall would be in hypostyle form. It probably had internal marble decoration ("upright slabs").[46] This is also implied by mention of one archdeacon Johannes, a specialist in marble construction, being involved in building it.[47] The roof would have been constructed of wood ("large beams"), probably

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[43] T. O'Loughlin, *Adomnán and the Holy Places: The Perceptions of a Biblical Monk on the Locations of the Biblical Drama* (London and New York, 2007). The total absence of reference to the Dome of the Rock strongly suggests a date of before 692 for the text.

[44] Adomnan, *De Locis Sanctis* 1.1.14, CCSL 175:186. Cf. Bede, *De Locis Sanctis* 2.3, CCSL 175:257, who depends on Adomnan. Cf. R. G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey of Jewish, Christian and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton, 1997), p. 221; J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, 2nd ed. (Warminster, 2002), pp. 170, 219.

[45] See, e.g., *Architectural Graphic Standards: The American Institute of Architects* (New Jersey, 2007), p. 510, which allocates 0.62m^2 per person for praying; 0.7m^2 has been used here. Cf. Grafman and Rosen-Ayalon, "The Two Great Syrian Umayyad Mosques," p. 1, where they propose a much larger area of 4,800 m^2 on the basis of 1.5 m^2.

[46] On the earliest mosques, see: O. Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art. Revised and Enlarged Edition* (New Haven, 1987), pp. 104–13; J. Johns, "The 'House of the Prophet' and the Concept of the Mosque," in *Bayt al-Maqdis: Jerusalem and Early Islam*, ed. idem, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art 9.2 (Oxford, 1999), pp. 107–12.

[47] B. Flusin, "L'esplanade du Temple à l'arrivée des Arabes, d'après deux récits byzantins," in *Bayt al-Maqdis: ʿAbd al-Malik's Jerusalem*, ed. J. Raby and J. Johns, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art 9.1 (Oxford, 1992), p. 29, citing Johannes Moschos, Georgian Add. Nr. 19; A. Kaplony, *The Ḥaram of Jerusalem 324–1099*, Freiburger Islamstudien 22 (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 210–11 and n. 4.

carved as in other Umayyad buildings.[48] These dimensions would make Muʿāwiya's mosque about a quarter of the size of the Umayyad Great Mosque of Damascus.

Given what is known architecturally of all the earliest mosques, it is almost certain that the building was oriented towards Mecca, with a south-facing *qibla*.[49] However, it should be noted that there are some hints in the sources of prayer north towards the rock near the centre of the platform being a possibility.[50] There is also some indication that the Jewish community of Jerusalem may have shared the Temple platform space with their Arab conquerors.[51]

The mosque was probably located centrally on the southern end of the Temple platform—that is, with its north-south axis a little to the east of that of the modern Masjid al-Aqṣā. The al-Aqṣā is aligned 'off-centre', but with its central axial aisle in line with the rock over which the Dome of the Rock stands to north. Buildings on the eastern side of the current al-Aqṣā are remembered in some accounts as the *Jāmiʿ ʿUmar*, "Umar's Congregational Mosque'. Within them is the *miḥrāb ʿUmar*, 'Umar's mihrab. The extant mihrab is not seventh century but, given its alignment with the centre of the Temple platform (now marked by the Dome of the Chain adjacent to the Dome of the Rock), it seems likely to indeed commemorate the middle of the *qibla* wall of the seventh-century mosque (Fig. 4.1).[52]

A pre-existing underground gate led up from the city south of the Temple Mount onto the level of the platform, probably emerging near the mosque. Some pre-Islamic buildings had occupied the southeast corner of the platform and these may have been incorporated into the mosque. The interior of the platform, to the north was strewn with debris and was overgrown. Two thirds of the way north along the east wall of the platform was the eastern Golden Gate, from where a path led down to Gethsemane (Fig. 4.2).[53]

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48 Rosen-Ayalon, *Early Islamic Monuments*, p. 4; R. Hillenbrand, "Umayyad Woodwork in the Aqṣā Mosque," in *Bayt al-Maqdis* (see above, n. 47), pp. 271–310, with references.

49 Rosen-Ayalon, *Early Islamic Monuments*, pp. 4–5; Kaplony, *Ḥaram*, p. 209.

50 Rosen-Ayalon, *Early Islamic Monuments*, p. 4; Kaplony, *Ḥaram*, pp. 34–5, 209, 229. See also: S. Bashīr, "*Qibla musharriqa* and early Muslim prayer in churches," *The Muslim World* 81 (1991), 267–82.

51 Kaplony, *Ḥaram*, pp. 34, 373–75.

52 See Rosen-Ayalon, *Early Islamic Monuments*, pp. 4–5, 25–29; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, pp. 76–77; Kaplony, *Ḥaram*, p. 212.

53 On the pre-Islamic and early Islamic Temple Mount, see Kaplony, *Ḥaram*, pp. 23–27, 179–212, with references.

The Pilgrimage Itinerary

Account 'B' in the *Maronite Chronicle* reports Muʿāwiya's peregrinations in and around Jerusalem immediately after he was "made king" by the nomads:

> . . . many nomads gathered at Jerusalem and made Muʿāwiya king (*w-ʿabdū(h) y malkā l-Maʿwīyā*) and he went up and sat down on Golgotha; he prayed there, and went to Gethsemane and went down to the tomb of the blessed Mary to pray in it. . . .

The churches at Golgotha and Mary's Tomb near Gethsemane were both important Christian pilgrimage sites in seventh-century Jerusalem. They were located each side of the Temple Mount: the Church at Golgotha stood on the hill overlooking the Temple Mount from the northwest—about 400 metres away. To the west, about 200m down a steep hill below the Golden Gate lay the Church of the Tomb of Mary (Fig. 4.3).

According to Adomnan, there was a large church at Golgotha itself. This adjoined the rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which dominated both late Roman and very early Islamic Jerusalem. A church of the Virgin Mary was also located nearby.[54]

> [The Holy Sepulchre] is a very large church, entirely made of stone, and built on a remarkable round plan . . . Next to the round church we have been describing (it is called *Anastasis*, meaning 'Resurrection', and was built at the place of the Lord's resurrection) is a rectangular church of Saint Mary the Lord's Mother . . . Further to the east has been built another huge church on the site which in Hebrew is called Golgotha. From the roof hangs a large bronze wheel for lamps, and below it stands a silver cross . . .[55]

Exactly which of these churches Muʿāwiya visited is not made completely clear, although the impression is that it was the church on Golgotha—where the relic of the True Cross was located. Besides the site of the cross, and nearby, Christ's tomb, Golgotha and its environs had accrued a number of other important associations for late antique pilgrims. The reconstructed text of the late fourth-century *Breviarum* indicates that it was already known as the site of the creation of Adam and the location of relics from the anointing of David and the execution of John the Baptist.

[54] For a discussion of the evidence for these sites, see Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, pp. 361–68.
[55] Ibid., pp. 171–73.

The late sixth-century source, *The Piacenza Pilgrim*, also associates an altar there with Abraham's sacrifice and the altar of Melchizedek.[56]

The church at the tomb of Mary in Gethsemane was another major centre of late antique Christian pilgrimage. This two-story, domed martyrium lay on the other side of the Temple Mount, in the valley outside the late antique walls of the city, near the garden of Gethsemane. It is mentioned by the *Breviarum*, the *Piacenza Pilgrim* and by Adomnan, who presents a detailed description of the building:[57]

> It is a church built at two levels, and the lower part, which is beneath a stone vault, has a remarkable round shape. At the east end there is an altar, on the right of which is the empty rock tomb in which for a time Mary remained entombed . . . The upper Church of Saint Mary is also round, and one can see four altars there.[58]

Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem in late antiquity would have visited a number of other sites, but these two locations, Golgotha and the Tomb of Mary were among the most important locations in that itinerary. Furthermore, these places had very significant imperial associations in the decades prior to Muʿāwiya's accession. According to the Jerusalem Lectionary, the emperor Maurice (r. 582–602) is said to have built the church of the tomb of Mary.[59] Just 30 years before Muʿāwiya's accession, Herakleios (r. 610–641) had made a triumphal entry into Jerusalem and, on 21 March 630, publicly restored the relic of the cross to Golgotha.[60] It has also been suggested, by Cyril Mango, that the Golden Gate, on the east side of the Temple Mount, directly to the west of Gethsemane and Mary's Tomb, might also have been built by Maurice or Herakleios, in either the late sixth century or in 630.[61] Herakleios's triumphant visit was well within living memory for anyone in their forties; even Maurice may have been remembered by some.

Muʿāwiya's actions may also have recalled those of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, whose entry into Jerusalem Mu'awiya himself is said to have witnessed, as a senior commander present at the fall of the city. In the earliest accounts, which can be dated to the mid-eighth century, ʿUmar is said to have

[56] Ibid., pp. 3–4, 9, 93, 362–63.
[57] Ibid., pp. 93, 138, 177–78, 306.
[58] Ibid., pp. 177–78.
[59] Ibid., pp. 7–8.
[60] J. W. Drijvers, "Heraclius and the *Restitutio Crucis*: Notes on Symbolism and Ideology," in *The Reign of Heraclius (610–641): Crisis and Confrontation*, ed. G. J. Reinink and B. H. Stolte (Leuven, 2002), pp. 175–90.
[61] C. A. Mango, "The Temple Mount AD 614–638," in *Bayt al-Maqdis* (see above, n. 47), pp. 1–16.

prayed on the Temple Mount on this occasion. Islamic material, which dates in its extant form from a little later, also mentions his prayers outside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and in the tomb of Mary. In these accounts, ʿUmar's decision to pray outside the Holy Sepulchre is said to have been motivated by a concern not to claim the shrine for Islam and he is said to have regretted praying in the tomb of Mary because Muḥammad had associated the valley east of Jerusalem with the Valley of Hell. These details show that this Islamic evidence is tendentious, reflecting the concerns of later religious communities. However, it is certainly possible that it does reflect aspects of actual events at or around the conquest. If so, Muʿawiya's actions may have recalled not just those of Heraclius in 630, but also those of ʿUmar in *c.* 637.[62]

Participation and Meaning

At his accession Muʿāwiya is said to have been between 53 and 65 years old. Since 634 he had served as a commander and then a governor in Syria, and was said to have been present at the fall of Jerusalem in c. 637. He had then ruled all Syria for more than ten years, having inherited power over much of the province from his brother, Yazīd, who had died of plague in 639, and then having been appointed to the whole province by ʿUthmān, probably in 646 or 647.[63] Two of Muʿāwiya's most senior advisors were of Syrian heritage: Sarjūn b. Manṣūr al-Rūmī ('the Byzantine') was said to have served as his head of the fiscal administration during his caliphate;[64] the head of his chancery (*dīwān al-rasāʾil*) was one ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aws al-Ghassānī ('the Ghassanid').[65] It is very likely that both had served him when he was governor, and they may well have contributed to the planning of the accession rituals in Jerusalem.[66]

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[62] *EI*^{2}, "Al-Ḳuds" (O. Grabar); H. Busse, "ʿOmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb in Jerusalem," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 5 (1984), 73–119; idem, "ʿOmar's image as the conqueror of Jerusalem," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 8 (1986), 149–68; O. Grabar et al., *The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem* (Princeton, 1996), 46 and n. 63. Both Busse and Grabar doubt that ʿUmar in fact visited Jerusalem at all. In contrast, Howard-Johnston finds it likely that ʿUmar did indeed visit, a few years after the city was first captured: Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, 173 and n. 39.

[63] *EI*^{2}, "Muʿāwiya I b. Abī Sufyān," (M. Hinds).

[64] D.W. Biddle, "The Development of the Bureaucracy of the Islamic Empire during the Late Umayyad and Early Abbasid Period," PhD dissertation, University of Austin, Texas, 1972, p. 146.

[65] Biddle, "Development of the Bureaucracy," p. 154.

[66] For the central role of such administrators in later accession rituals, see Marsham, *Rituals*, pp. 159–61.

Likewise, Muʿāwiya's military support was derived primarily not from the Arabian conquerors of Syria—whose numbers appear to have been relatively small—but from the indigenous nomads of the Syrian steppes.[67] The federations of Kalb and Tanūkh were two of the most important sources of Syrian military power. The centres of Tanūkhid settlement were in northern Syria, near Aleppo and Qinnasrīn.[68] The Banū Kalb occupied the steppes north of Damascus and led the much wider Syrian federation of Quḍāʿa, of which they were the most powerful sub-tribe. One of ʿUthmān's wives, Nāʾila b. al-Farāfiṣa, was from the Banū Kalb. Muʿāwiya also married two Kalbī women, including Maysūn, the daughter of the Kalbī chief, Baḥdal b. Unayf (d. before 657). Baḥdal's sons and grandsons served as commanders at Ṣiffīn, and partisans of the Umayyads continued to be known as Baḥdaliyya, because of the importance of this clan and the federation of Quḍāʿa to their power.[69] Other important tribal groups included the Ṭayyiʾ, who were settled in northern Syria, near Aleppo and Qinnasrīn;[70] further south, Quḍāʿa and Ghassān were settled in al-Urdunn; in Filasṭīn—in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem—were Judhām and Lakhm.[71]

The *Maronite Chronicle*'s reference to the *Ṭayyāyē* as the group that made Muʿāwiya "king," strongly suggests that the "Arab nomads," who were the mainstay of Muʿāwiya's military strength, were the main participants in the accession ritual. It also suggests one of the reasons for Muʿāwiya's visits to the holy sites of Christianity—most of these Syrian tribal groups had converted to Christianity in Roman times, and many clearly remained Christian under early Islam: at least one of the sons and two of the daughters of Baḥdal b. Unayf, chief of Kalb until the mid 650s, were Christian;[72] Tanūkh remained Christian down to the caliphate of al-Mahdī (r. 775–785);[73] some of Ṭayyiʾ are said to have remained Christian in the seventh century.[74]

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[67] On Muʿāwiya's army at Ṣiffīn, see M. Hinds, "Banners and Battle Cries of the Arabs at Ṣiffīn," *Al-Abḥāth* 24 (1971), 3–31.

[68] *EI*², "Tanūkh," (I. Shahîd).

[69] *EI*², "Baḥdal b. Unayf" (H. Lammens), "Kalb b. Wabara" (Ed.); for the marriage of Nāʾila b. ʿUmāra, see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. de Goeje, 2:204–5.

[70] *EI*², "Ṭayyiʾ" (I. Shahîd).

[71] M. Gil, *A History of Palestine, 634–1099* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 76–77.

[72] *EI*², "Baḥdal b. Unayf" (H. Lammens); R. S. Humphreys, *Muʿawiya ibn Abi Sufyan: From Arabia to Empire* (Oxford, 2006), p. 61.

[73] *EI*², "Tanūkh," (I. Shahîd).

[74] *EI*², "Ṭayyiʾ" (I. Shahîd).

Such congregations of nomad tribal federates at a centre of monotheist pilgrimage was an established feature of the politics of late Roman Syria;[75] there is also some evidence that Jerusalem itself was important to the Ghassanid Roman federates. This political culture seems to have been one deliberately perpetuated by Muʿāwiya, who combined Roman imperial tradition with the customs of the encounter between an Arab federate phylarch and his following.[76] Many of the centres developed by the Umayyad caliphs had earlier Ghassanid associations; of particular relevance is the debt owed by Muʿāwiya's audience hall at Sinnabra/Khirbat al-Karak to Ghassanid prototypes.[77] The monotheist pledge of allegiance to a ruler before God was also a familiar ritual to the Christianized Syrian Arabs:[78] it seems likely that it would have been quite easily adapted in what appears to have been a highly syncretic environment. For this constituency of the Arab nomads, the accession ritual was a display of unity and power—a reaffirmation that their support for Muʿāwiya was a wise course of action.

The mosque on the Temple Mount would have been well suited to the large congregation that gathered for the pledge of allegiance. Not only the mosque, but perhaps the Temple Mount itself could be used for an assembly—echoing in monumental form the use of the "desert palace" audience hall and its environs by both the Ghassanids and the Umayyads.[79] In later Islamic ceremonial, the *bayʿa* ceremony was elaborately hierarchical, usually involving both palace and mosque.[80] In contrast, in almost all Umayyad accounts, there is just one public ceremony, in the main congregational mosque.[81] This Umayyad use of the congregational mosque as the single location of the accessional pledge reflects the less hierarchical political context: the early mosques are comparatively egalitarian, open spaces, in which the monarch meets his subjects in person without being separated from them by a whole series of courtyards and antechambers.

75 E. Key Fowden, *The Barbarian Plain: Saint Sergius between Rome and Iran* (Berkeley, 1999), esp. pp. 141–73.

76 I. Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century* 2/2: *Economic, Social and Cultural History* (Washington, D.C., 2009), pp. 69–70.

77 D. Whitcomb, "Khirbat al-Karak identified with Sinnabra", *Al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā* 14 (2002), 1–6.

78 For a *foedus* concluded with the Arabs, see I. Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century* 1/1: *Political and Military History* (Washington, D.C., 1995), p. 8.

79 S. Helms, *Early Islamic Architecture of the Desert: A Bedouin Station in Eastern Jordan* (Edinburgh, 1991).

80 Marsham, *Rituals*, pp. 185, 196–98, 201–5.

81 Ibid., pp. 134–38.

This early egalitarianism may also be reflected in the idea of "God's true sovereignty"—a theme in the Qurʾān but also with important precedents in pre-Islamic Syriac Christianity—which seems to have prompted Muʿāwiya's decision not to "wear a crown like other kings in the world."[82]

The use of a new building on the Temple Mount also symbolized the new religio-political dispensation. The Temple Mount had for the centuries before Islam been, as Kaplony neatly puts it, "a place of non-architecture."[83] For the Christians it was a location that had been superseded by the "New Covenant," represented by the monuments on Golgotha; for the Jews, it was a location where the destruction of the Temple was mourned and where there had recently been an attempt to restore it.[84] The new ruling elite that constructed and developed this building must have been fully conscious of the symbolism of the restoration of the Temple, but what they built was probably now oriented south, towards Mecca—reflecting the restoration of the true covenant, as re-established by Muḥammad and maintained by his successors.

This political context, where the settled population of the city was also an important constituency, was another reason for Muʿāwiya's visits to the pilgrimage sites of the city. Although the numbers of Jews may have been small, following persecutions in the wake of the Byzantine re-conquest of the city in 628,[85] there is no doubt that the use of the Temple Mount resonated with Jewish ideas about the city as much as with Christian ones. However, the impression from the pilgrimage itinerary is that it was the dialogue with the Christian conception of the sacred status of Jerusalem that was particularly important. The population was probably predominantly Jacobite ("miaphysite") Christian, with significant minorities of other Christian denominations. Muʿāwiya's reference to the Roman imperial tradition and his veneration for the key Christian sites in the city asserted his claim to rule the Christian population of the city as a legitimate monotheist monarch. Even though our Maronite source is a hostile

82 For God's sovereignty in the Qurʾān, see Q 20:114; 23:116. For Syriac Christian ideas, see P. Wood, *"We Have No King But Christ": Christian Political Thought in Greater Syria on the Eve of the Arab Conquests* (*c. 400–585*) (Oxford, 2010). On the absence of crowns from early Islamic caliphal ritual, see Marsham, *Rituals*, pp. 140–41.

83 Kaplony, *Ḥaram*, p. 23.

84 Ibid., p. 28.

85 The status of the Jews of Jerusalem in the wake of the early Islamic conquests is not clear, but it seems likely that some of the population had returned by the mid-seventh century: J. Raby, "In Vitro Veritas. Glass Pilgrim Vessels from 7th-Century Jerusalem," in *Bayt al-Maqdis* (see above, n. 47), pp. 158–61.

witness, its author was left in no doubt that Muʿāwiya was an imperial monarch—a "king in the world." Others, whose relations with the Arabian monotheists were more cordial, may have been more willing to see him as an effective protector of their interests.

Conclusions

In order to be effective, rituals need to deploy a symbolic vocabulary with which their participants are familiar—they are theatrical acts of communication.[86] The primary term in the symbolic vocabulary of this accession was the city of Jerusalem itself. Jerusalem had been a major centre of the Roman province of Palestina I and retained this position in the Islamic *jund* (Syrian province) of Filasṭīn, but its real significance lay in its importance as the pre-eminent focus of Judaeo-Christian pilgrimage and as the recent location of triumphal progressions by imperial monarchs. Jerusalem was literally the centre of the universe, associated with the Creation of Adam (and hence God's first covenant with Man), the kingship of David and Solomon, and the mission, execution and resurrection of Christ. When Herakleios had entered the city in 630, it was to proclaim the reunification and renewal of the Roman Empire after the crisis of the war with Iran.[87] If ʿUmar indeed visited Jerusalem in *c*. 637, then his visit would have recalled this earlier occasion. In 661, Muʿāwiya was also reunifying a monotheist empire after the crisis of a violent and divisive war; for him as for Herakleios, and perhaps also ʿUmar, the city was ideally suited to emphasizing the sacred charisma of a monotheist sovereign.

However, although the rituals deployed some of the symbolic vocabulary of Roman imperial and provincial practice, their forms and meanings were transformed by the new political realities following the Arab conquests. Indeed, the *Maronite Chronicle* provides an insight into a very early moment in the formation of the Muslim polity, when the new rulers of Syria appear to already have a sense of themselves as a distinct religious community, but before discourse about legitimate leadership in Islam had assumed its "classical" form. Many of Muʿāwiya's military following were Christian, others were very recent converts to Islam; most were former Christian Arab federates of Rome, or their descendents; all

[86] See above, n. 12. For other discussions of the meaning of the ritual, see Humphreys, *Muʿawiya*, p. 84; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 177–78.

[87] Drijvers, "Heraclius and the *Restitutio Crucis*," 183.

were steeped in the political culture of post-Roman Syria. Veneration of Jesus and Mary (as well as Adam, Abraham, David, and Solomon) was deployed by Muʿāwiya in polyvalent fashion—resonating simultaneously, and sufficiently ambiguously, with expectations about how both a triumphant *basileus* and the newly acclaimed *amīr al-muʾminīn* should act.

This last point appears to have been especially important to Muʿāwiya in 661. Some aspects of his actions were fairly unequivocal in a region where Christian Roman political culture was ubiquitous—like Herakleios, he was a monotheist imperial sovereign, who had inherited the mantle of David and Solomon (and ultimately, Adam);[88] like them, he venerated Jesus, a prophet of the monotheist God, and his mother Mary. However, Muʿāwiya's actions were polyvalent, in that they spoke to both Syrian Christians and Arabian monotheists, and to both the settled population of the city and the nomads who had gathered there from across *Bilād al-Shām*.

Hence, while the ritual spoke to diverse audiences, it also affirmed recently established hierarchies. The *Maronite Chronicle* witnesses events as a fairly hostile outsider, viewing the *Ṭayyāyē* as "the other," but it is in no doubt that the "nomads" are in power—the *Ṭayyāyē* are the political actors who "make Muʿāwiya king." In this context of Arab political dominance, the pilgrimage to the Christian holy sites was probably also intended to affirm Muʿāwiya's role as the protector of the holy sites of the city, and hence the protector of the Christian population, too.[89]

The extent of the doctrinal divide between the Arabian conquerors and the conquered population at this point has been the subject of long debate. Certainly, it seems likely that the labels "Islam" and "Muslim" had yet to gain currency.[90] However, although it is hard, in the light of

[88] On the importance of Old Testament kingship for later Roman emperors, see G. Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2003). For the succession of the covenant from Adam in Syriac Christian thought, see Pseudo-Ephraim the Syrian, *The Book of the Cave of Treasures*, trans. E. A. W. Budge (London, 1927).

[89] It is notable that the chronicle places the accession immediately after an audience for the Maronite and Jacobite Christians at Damascus, which had included an agreement for payment of annual tribute from the Jacobites in return for protection from the Muslims: Palmer, *Seventh Century*, pp. 30–31. For the story of another adjudication of a dispute by Muʿāwiya, in which he was said to find favour with Christians over Jews, see Bede, *De Locis Sanctis*, 4.1–2; Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, pp. 220–21.

[90] For a recent statement of the case for very blurred doctrinal boundaries in early Islam, see F. M. Donner, *Muḥammad and the Believers at the Origins of Islam* (New York, 2010); also F. M. Donner, "From Believers to Muslims: Confessional Self-Identity in the Early Islamic Community," *al-Abḥāth* 44 (2002–3), 9–53.

Muʿāwiya's visit to Golgotha, to imagine that the later, classical Islamic understanding of Jesus' crucifixion was widely-held by his Arabian following, it does seem very likely that there was already a mutual sense of a religious distinction between the Arabians and other monotheists, in which the anti-Trinitarian stance was already salient.[91] Any such religious distinction was complicated by the fact that identities also had an ethnic dimension which overlapped with, but was not identical to, the religious one (as we have seen, Arab Christians were important to Muʿāwiya's military power). The evidence strongly suggests that many of the new ruling elite viewed themselves as the adherents of a religion specific to the Arabs, who were to remain separate from the "protected" conquered populations.[92] They probably did conceive of themselves as a movement of "believers," or "emigrants," rather than "Muslims," but they already had their own Arabian Prophet and, very likely, an Arabic scripture, and distinctive ritual practice, which almost certainly included some prayer in the direction of Mecca, not the Temple. That is, the rituals performed at Jerusalem are reflective of a complex and highly dynamic religio-political environment—one in which the new political hierarchies partially overlapped with new distinctions between existing monotheisms and a new Arabian confession.

The choice of Jerusalem as the site for the pledge of allegiance should also be viewed in this wider history of the nascent Islamic movement. Muʿāwiya's interest in Jerusalem is well-attested in the later Islamic tradition—one tradition describes Muʿāwiya, with his son Yazīd, as "the king of the Holy Land."[93] His accession was probably not the first pledged agreement he had made there.[94] In contrast, the first three caliphs had been proclaimed at Medina, in Arabia, which was the site of the foundation of the new community by Muḥammad, and leadership of the pilgrimage to Mecca, 300 kilometres to the south, seems to have already become an important ceremonial of legitimacy. Once Muʿāwiya had regained

91 As noted by Donner, *Muḥammad and the Believers*, pp. 58–59.

92 P. Crone, "The Early Islamic World," in *War and Society in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, ed. K. Raaflaub and N. Rosenstein (Cambridge, Mass., 1999), pp. 311–12; reprinted in eadem, *From Arabian Tribes to Islamic Empire: Army, State and Society in the Near East c.600–800* (Aldershot, 2008), no. IX.

93 Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Zakkār, 1:258 (ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ: *malik al-arḍ al-muqaddasa Muʿāwiya wa-ibnuhū*). For traditions on Muʿāwiya's interest in Jerusalem, see Abū Bakr, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, ed. I. Hasson (Jerusalem, 1979), Arabic introduction, pp. 19–20, French introduction, pp. 18–19.

94 Marsham, "The pact (*amāna*)," pp. 69–96.

control of Mecca, he also went there on pilgrimage and to take a pledge of allegiance.[95] However, he visited Mecca far less frequently than the first three caliphs. Furthermore, it is notable that Syrian centres—and especially Jerusalem—remained very important to the Umayyads.[96] In 684 Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was recognized at the old Ghassanid centre of al-Jābiya;[97] Marwān's son, ʿAbd al-Malik, at Jerusalem, again in the context of civil war in 685.[98] The "classical" position of Mecca as the holiest location in Islam may not have been completely cemented.[99] Certainly, for the early Umayyads, Jerusalem was a major holy city, association with which affirmed their sacred status as monarchs; their capital was Damascus, but the proper venue for their accession was Jerusalem.

Hence, Muʿāwiya's accession was very much more than that of a Ghassanid phylarch associating himself with Christian holy sites. A new architecture of assembly and prayer was at the centre of Muʿawiya's accession ceremonial, and Muʿāwiya was not claiming leadership of Roman federates, but of a new world-empire. Indeed, the Arabs of West Arabia and post-Roman Syria seem to have been far less encumbered by a consciousness of inhabiting Hauck's "late antique margins" than their German precursors.[100] They were confident appropriators and manipulators of the semiotic *koine* of the defeated empires. It seems that all the elements of Mu'awiya's accession rituals at Jerusalem were never again combined: the political and ideological circumstances of the empire moved on. But the pledged covenant in the mosque remained, as did exuberant experimentation with the inheritance of late antiquity.

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[95] Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Zakkār, 1:240, 250, 258; Marsham, *Rituals*, pp. 90–92.

[96] Tradition has ʿAlī's governors (all sons of al-ʿAbbās) lead the pilgrimage in 36–39/657–660 (the year 39/660 may have been contested). In 40/April 661, an ally of Muʿāwiya's al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba is said to have led it. See Caetani, *Chronographia*, 1:370, 397, 413, 431, 444, 453; Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Zakkār, 1:214, 217, 225, 227 (for conflict and negotiation over the pilgrimage in 39/660), 228. See also: M. E. McMillan, *The Meaning of Mecca: The Politics of Pilgrimage in Early Islam* (London, 2011), 29–61.

[97] *EI*², "al-Djābiya" (H. Lammens [J. Sourdel-Thomine]).

[98] Marsham, *Rituals*, p. 135 and n. 2.

[99] Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, p. 222. On the development of the *ḥajj* rituals, and the status of Mecca, see: G. Hawting, "The *Ḥajj* in the Second Civil War," in *Golden Roads: Migration, Pilgrimage and Travel in Mediaeval and Modern Islam*, ed. I. R. Netton (Richmond, 1993), pp. 31–42; McMillan, *The Meaning of Mecca*.

[100] Cited in J. Nelson, "Symbols in Context: Rulers' Inauguration Rituals in Byzantium and the West in the Early Middle Ages," in eadem, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1976), p. 265.

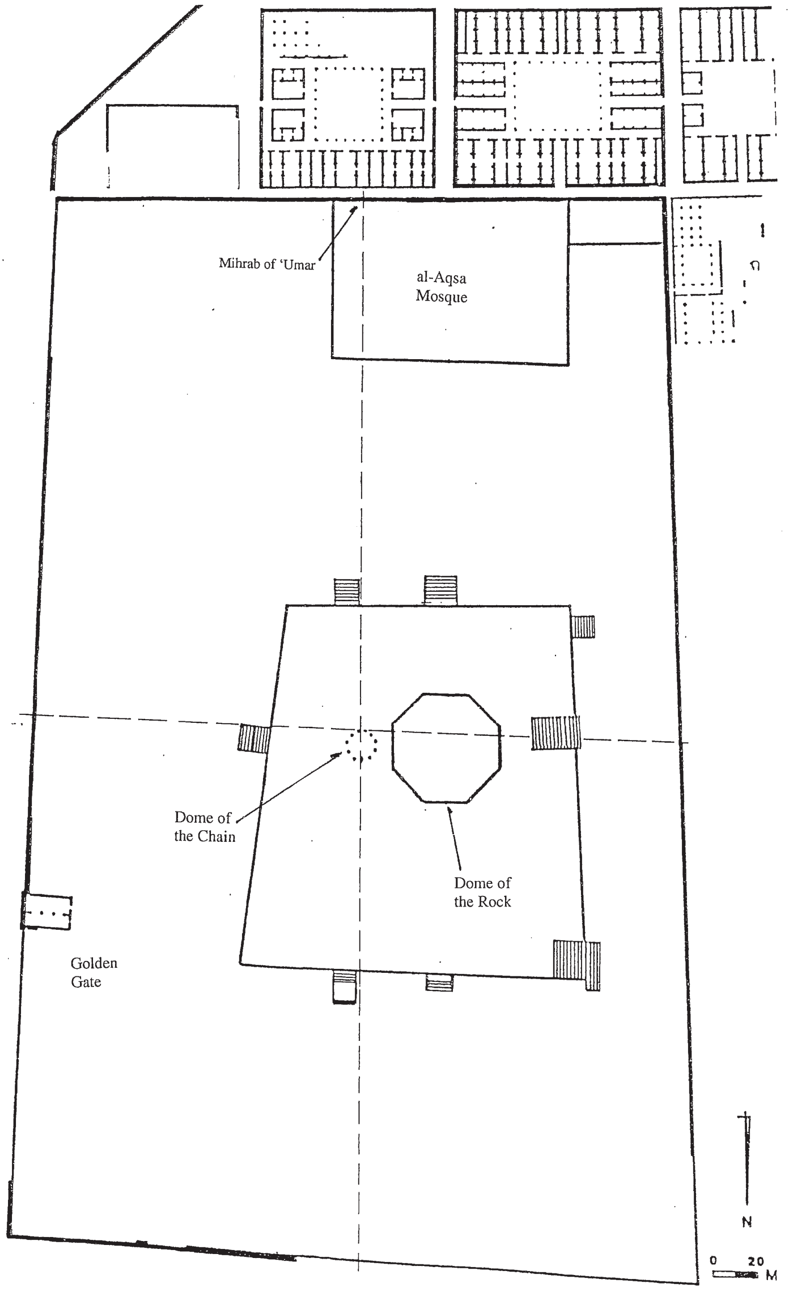


Fig. 4.1. Plan of the Temple Mount, with Marwanid-era buildings and imaginary lines of axes (after Rosen-Ayalon).

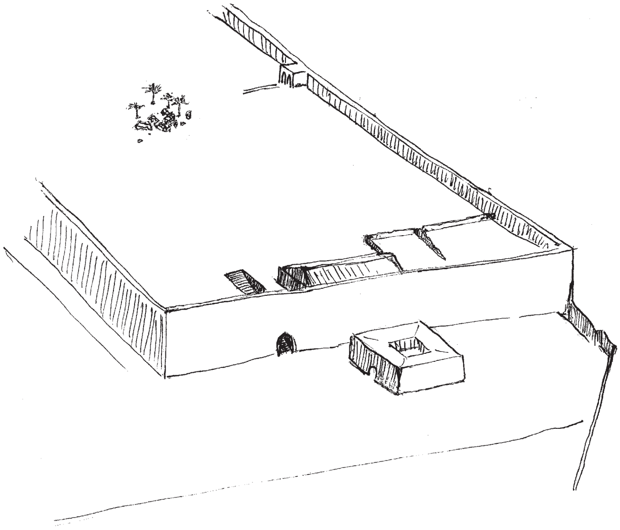


Fig. 4.2. Speculative reconstruction of Muʿāwiya's mosque and palace at the Temple Mount.

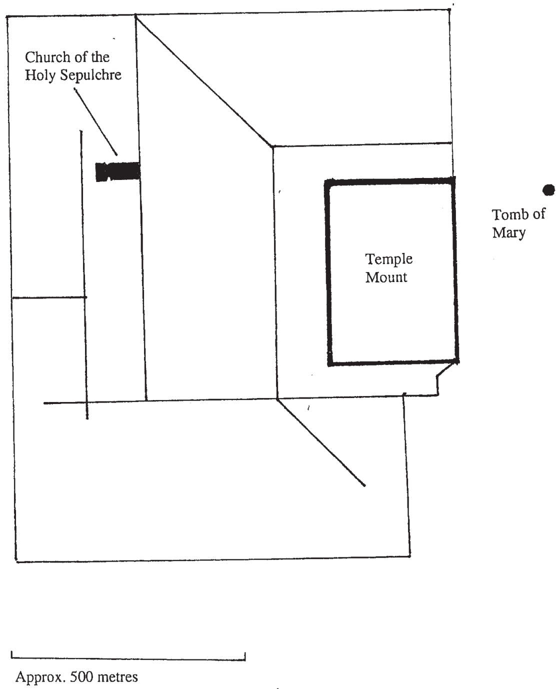


Fig. 4.3. Schematic plan of Jerusalem, with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Temple Mount and the Tomb of Mary (after Kaplony).

PART TWO

SUCCESSION PROCEDURES AND THEIR RITUAL ARTICULATIONS

CHAPTER FIVE

DESCRIBING RITUALS OF SUCCESSION AND THE LEGITIMATION OF KINGSHIP IN THE WEST, CA. 1000–CA. 1150

Björn Weiler

In one sense, royal successions were moments of crisis. Those close to the late monarch strove to maintain their status, to ensure a continuing ability to intervene successfully on behalf of their dependants, friends, family, and followers. Those out of favour, in turn, demanded that wrongs be righted, that those favoured unduly be brought to account, properties returned, rights acknowledged, old scores settled. At the same time, successions were moments of opportunity. To the leading men of the realm, they offered an occasion to demonstrate status, to cement their position in relation to rivals and peers; to neighbours and unwilling subjects an opportunity to seize lands and rights, to throw off the yoke of foreign lordship. On a moral plane, succession held the promise of a new beginning, of the affirmation of basic principles of royal lordship, often neglected by the previous king, or fallen into abeyance under the guiding hand of his now maligned counsellors and confidants.

Negotiating such conflicting expectations, to promise both a continuation of the status quo and the return to an idealized status quo ante, was the challenge faced by any new monarch. To meet that challenge, he had several means at his disposal, among them the public display of lordship. With this I mean the sum of actions subsumed into Gerd Althoff's concept of "symbolic communication", a term encompassing ritual and ceremonial, but also public demeanour, the demonstrative performance of royal functions, the manner in which the king interacted with those attending, etc.[1] In the words of Timothy Reuter: "To be a king is not simply a matter of status or action, but also of style . . . If you were perceived as a king, then

[1] G. Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter. Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt, 1997); idem, "Zur Bedeutung symbolischer Kommunikation für das Verständnis des Mittelalters," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 31 (1997), 370–89; idem, *Inszenierte Herrschaft. Geschichtsschreibung und Politisches Handeln im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2003); idem, *Die Macht der Rituale. Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2003).

you were one."[2] This is not to say that the exercise of patronage, the doing of justice, the use of armed might were not important. Clearly, the king would not last who could not instil respect, even fear, among his people and neighbours. Controlling the material sources of power lent force and substance to the public display of kingship. Yet, especially during the early days of a ruler's reign, such material tools were also extensions and continuations of that initial display, steps to turn into concrete reality the abstract norms expressed by the king's performance.

Successions included the election of a king, his coronation, and his taking possession of the material resources of power (the appointment of officials, taking charge of royal lands and properties, etc.). Each step required that a new monarch promise not only to uphold shared norms, but also that he demonstrate moral and material capability, the mind set and means to perform his duties. The sequence of events here labelled "succession" constituted a public enactment of royal power, one that was observed, judged, and analyzed as much by those present as by those writing about it from often considerable geographical and chronological distance. Reporting the public elements of the succession process therefore also provided an opportunity to comment upon the principles underpinning the king's office, to hold up performances as examples to be emulated, or as presaging subsequent depravity and decline.

From this circumstance emerge basic methodological points. When reading accounts of successions, we are not necessarily dealing with eyewitness reports, but with renditions of a past reality, reflected through and interpreted via the prism of a writer's worldview, his expectations and those of his audience, patrons, and peers.[3] While this limits the questions that can be asked as to the actual event (what exactly happened during a particular coronation, election etc.), it also allows us to focus on the expectations surrounding the office of kingship. What was it that observers wanted kings to do? How were kings meant to act? What were

[2] T. Reuter, "*Regemque, quem in Francia pene perdidit, in patria magnifice recepit*: Ottonian Ruler-Representation in Synchronic and Diachronic Comparison," in *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im Ottonischen Sachsen*, ed. G. Althoff and E. Schubert (Sigmaringen, 1998), pp. 363–80, at p. 364.

[3] P. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual. Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, 2001); idem, "Political Rituals and Political Imagination in the Medieval West from the Fourth Century to the Eleventh," *The Medieval World*, ed. P. Linehan and J. L. Nelson (London and New York, 2001), pp. 432–50; idem, "Rituel politique et imaginaire politique au haut Moyen Âge," *Revue Historique* 306 (2002), 843–83.

the values they were supposed to uphold, and how were they proven to be able to uphold them?

Moreover, just because a text offered an idealized image, this does not mean that it was divorced from reality. We are not dealing with just textual constructs, with mere products of elite discourses that existed independently of the society that produced them and of the material, social, and cultural conditions of their creation. There remains a reality beyond the text. One aim of this chapter is therefore to point out patterns. Patterns of norms and values, but also of structures, evidence of processes, and actions that can tell us something about both the ideal and the reality of kingship in the high medieval West. Different textual conventions and strategies notwithstanding, despite writing about distinct regnal experiences and customs, at different times, and in different kingdoms, authors nonetheless invoked similar norms, used similar means to express those norms, and described similar occasions when those norms were (or were at least meant to be) invoked. It is from these recurrent patterns, I would like to suggest, that concrete realities of political practice can be surmised.[4]

What follows does not claim to be comprehensive. Rather, it will focus on three texts—Wipo's account of the succession as king of the future western Emperor Conrad II in 1024, written ca. 1040; the report by the so-called "Gallus Anonymus" of the succession to kingship in 999/1000 of Bolesław I of Poland, penned ca. 1110–1113; and the anonymous *Gesta Stephani*'s report on the succession to the English throne of Stephen of Blois in 1135, written from the 1140s until ca. 1154. These will be used to offer those unfamiliar with western European materials an introduction to basic structures and norms of royal power in the Latin world. The sample offers a broad geographical and chronological spread, and distinct types of succession. Wipo may have witnessed the events he described, or may at least have had access to those who had. Moreover, he wrote about a succession in an already established monarchy, in the context of the succession to a ruler who had died without nominating an heir. What were the principles Wipo sought to uphold, and how did he describe Conrad as enacting them? By contrast, when "Gallus" wrote his *Gesta*, the rulers of Poland had ceased to claim a royal title, though the author still described

[4] An approach magisterially employed by T. Reuter, *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. J. L. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006).

them as of royal stock.[5] We are also dealing with a small regnal community, under constant pressure from its overmighty neighbours to the west, and in perpetual rivalry with its neighbours to the east and south. More importantly, Bolesław was the first king (as opposed to duke) ruling the Poles. "Gallus" was certainly not an eyewitness, but rather wrote from the vantage point of a century or so after the events described, fully aware of the subsequent demise of Piast kingship. How did this influence his depiction of monarchical rule? Finally, Stephen of Blois became king of England by pushing aside a rival who had already been designated as his predecessor's heir. How were these circumstances reflected in the symbolic celebration of his new royal status?

Wipo's Gesta Chuonradi *and the Succession of Conrad II (1024)*

A start can be made with Wipo's account of the succession of Conrad II as Holy Roman emperor-elect in 1024. Wipo remains an elusive figure, and we know only that he was a court chaplain successively under Emperors Henry II, Conrad II, and Henry III. He probably died not long after Henry III's imperial coronation in 1046. Apart from the *Gesta*, a rhymed Easter sequence of his survives, about 100 proverbs, and the *Tetralogus*, a 326-verse work on the relationship between poetry, inspiration, law, and justice.[6] Conrad's succession was the *Gesta*'s central focus: of its 59 pages in the modern printed edition, 26 deal with events between the death of Conrad's predecessor and Conrad's coronation as king, 9 with those between then and his coronation as emperor three years later, and 23 with the remaining twelve years of Conrad's life. That is, almost sixty percent of Wipo's narrative treated Conrad's path to power. The reasons for such detail were rooted in the purpose of Wipo's writing, and the circumstances of Conrad's succession. Wipo composed his text not long after

[5] *Gesta Principum Polonorum. The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, ed. and trans. P. W. Knoll and F. Schaer, with a preface by T. N. Bisson (Budapest, 2003), pp. 88–89, 104–5.

[6] V. Huth, "Wipo, neugelesen. Quellenkritische Notizen zur 'Hofkultur' in spätottonisch-frühsalischer Zeit," in *Adel und Königtum im mittelalterlichen Schwaben. Festschrift für Thomas Zotz zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. A. Bihrer, M. Kälble, and H. Krieg (Stuttgart, 2009), pp. 155–68; J. Banaszkiewicz, "Conrad II's *theatrum rituale*: Wipo on the Earliest Deeds of the Salian Ruler (*Gesta Chuonradi imperatoris cap.* 5)," in *Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages. A Cultural History*, ed. P. Górecki and N. van Deusen (London and New York, 2009), pp. 50–81.

Conrad's death, and dedicated it to Conrad's son and heir, Henry III.[7] He stressed the need to preserve Conrad's memory,[8] but also pointed out that the *Gesta Chuonradi* was meant as a guide to kingship, as the history of a truly good, just, and pious ruler, to be copied and emulated by the *Gesta*'s recipient.

It was above all in the context of his succession that Conrad's qualities shone forth most clearly. That succession had, however, been anything but smooth. Not only had Henry left no heirs, he even failed to designate a successor. A generation earlier, in 1002, such circumstances had resulted in repeated unrest, with wounds not yet healed in 1024.[9] Perhaps unsurprisingly, cordiality and peaceful understanding were thus central to Wipo's account of Conrad's succession. The princes, he reported, convened quickly and sought to whittle down the list of potential kings—some because they were too young or too old, others because little was known about their inner virtue and strength (*virtus*), or because they had in the past caused offence—until only two candidates remained: Conrad the Elder and his cousin and namesake, Conrad the Younger. Both were of truly noble stock—in fact, their ancestry was said to have stretched back all the way to Troy—and numbered among their relatives a pope, as well as kings, dukes, counts, and prelates. The majority of the electors sided with Conrad the Elder due to his probity and virtue (*probitas*), but others worried about the might and power of the younger Conrad. The elder therefore decided to have a private conversation with his cousin, in which he expressed his joy at the glory conferred upon them. However, were they unable to agree who between them should be king, a third candidate might emerge, which would mean a loss not only of power, but also of fame and standing. In addition, as the presence of a king within the family would exalt the whole family, so even he who would not become king would be exalted by his relationship with the new monarch. The younger Conrad agreed, and the election began. The archbishop of Mainz opened the proceedings by casting his vote for Conrad the Elder, and was soon

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[7] Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi II*, ed. H. Bresslau in *Opera omnia Wiponis*, ed. H. Bresslau, MGH SS rer. Germ. 61, 3rd ed. (Hannover, 1915), pp. 3–4.

[8] Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi*, ed. Bresslau, pp. 5–8. They were meant to be followed by those of Henry III, but it seems that Wipo either never composed them, or that he changed the plan for his work in the process of composing it. No manuscript with Henry's deeds survives.

[9] H. Wolfram, *Konrad II. 990–1039. Kaiser dreier Reiche* (Munich, 2000), pp. 60–63. K. Ubl, "Der kinderlose König. Ein Testfall für die Ausdifferenzierung des Politischen im 11. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift* 292 (2011), 323–63.

followed by all the other princes and prelates. Once Conrad the Elder had unanimously been chosen, Kunigunde, the widow of Henry II, handed over the imperial insignia. To Wipo, this display of unanimity and peacefulness was a token of divine favour, considering the many strong and powerful men attending the meeting.[10] Conrad, he concluded his account, was a man of great humility, prudent counsel, truthful in his words, brave and forceful in his actions, of little greed, and most generous in giving to all the people of his realm.[11]

I have dwelled on Conrad's election not only because of its central place in Wipo's narrative—together, the two chapters covering it run to twenty percent of the overall text—but also because it encapsulated key values. Conrad stood out for his truthfulness, vigour, humility, and generosity. To these, other qualities can be added: he was of the right age (neither too young nor too old), of noble status, well-known virtue, one of the German—as opposed to Latin—Franks, and had never caused offence to the great men of the realm. Equally important was Wipo's insistence on honour and unanimity: the two Conrad had been chosen because of their virtue and illustrious pedigree, and when Conrad and his cousin held their colloquy, Conrad employed a discourse of honour. Honour was furthermore rooted in the unanimity of a ruler's election, and the motivation of his electors. Those who had wanted to choose Conrad the Younger did so either for fear of the younger's might, or in a desire to profit from it. Fear and greed were not, however, appropriate motives for choosing a king. Finally, unanimity reflected the force not only of Conrad's virtuous reputation, but also of the political and military might that he would now be able to muster.

Worldly power, the means by which Conrad the Younger had almost been chosen, was, though not incidental, nonetheless subordinate to a ruler's character. There were many as powerful as Conrad, but few as suitable. This, I would suggest, was a key theme of the *Gesta*, and the axis around which spun much of Wipo's narrative. This would certainly explain two of its distinctive features: the frequent speeches outlining basic moral principles, and the symbolic enactment of these principles. Conrad's conversation with his cousin was only the first of several such occasions. Wipo inserted a similar oration, delivered by the archbishop of Mainz,

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[10] Though he noted that the archbishop of Cologne and the Lotharingians left the assembly angered at the defeat of the younger Conrad.

[11] Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi*, ed. Bresslau, pp. 12–20.

when describing Conrad's coronation, and another, by Conrad himself, during an emblematic encounter *en route* to the event. The archbishop expounded how all power had been granted by God, and it was God who had installed the princes of the earth. God would forsake those who polluted their dignity through pride, envy, lust, avarice, anger, impatience, or cruelty. Conrad should therefore maintain justice and keep the peace, be a defender of the Church and its clergy, and a protector of widows and orphans.[12] Wipo followed this statement with an account of Conrad's appointment of officials, before recording a speech that the king gave on the way to his coronation. Three supplicants interrupted Conrad's procession: a peasant from Mainz, a young boy, and a widow. When Conrad stopped to hear their grievances, several of the princes urged the king not to delay his coronation. Conrad responded by stating that it was better to do good than to hear about doing good. A little later, a man who claimed to have unjustly been expelled from his lands approached: Conrad seated him on the throne, and ordered the princes to hear the case.[13] The placing of this anecdote is important: in Wipo's text, it followed the archbishop's sermon, and the appointment of those who would exercise justice on the king's behalf. Yet, in the chronology of events, it preceded them. That is, in line with the opening sections of the *Gesta*, Wipo constructed Conrad as innately capable, as being able to grasp and understand the basic duties of his office by the force of his inner moral disposition. Even before his coronation, he enacted the principles that, during the ceremony itself, the presiding archbishop would exhort him to uphold.

Interspersed with these moral messages was Wipo's account of Conrad taking material control of his kingdom: after his coronation, Conrad received the oath of loyalty of all bishops, dukes, and knights;[14] appointed officials more prudently and wisely than any of his predecessors;[15] and then set out to tour his kingdom.[16] Short shrift was given to much of that itinerary: Wipo ended the passage by mentioning how Conrad had come to Saxony to confirm the cruel laws of its people, exerted tribute from the barbarians peopling its borders, before returning to Bavaria, eastern Franconia, and Alemannia. The central event of the itinerary, though, and

[12] Ibid., pp. 21–23.
[13] Ibid., pp. 26–27.
[14] Ibid., p. 24.
[15] Ibid.
[16] A ritual commonly known as "Königsumritt:" R. Schmidt, *Königsumritt und Huldigung* (Sigmaringen, 1981).

the one to which Wipo gave most room, was Conrad's first stop: Aachen, where the *archisolium*, the arch-throne, of the empire had been situated since the days of Charlemagne. Holding court and conducting a public assembly, Conrad gained the admiration and love of all who came to see him. He was praised as the foremost keeper of the peace, most generous and benevolent, and most regal in his demeanour. Though unlettered, he impressed the clergy with his intuitive wisdom; he earned the love of the knights by granting them the fiefs of their forebears. It was wondrous to behold, Wipo recounted, how generous Conrad was, how joyful, constant in mind, and unperturbed, how mellow to good and how severe to evil men, how kind to the people, how stern with his enemies, how astute and successful in settling the affairs of his kingdom. Truly, Wipo continued, nobody more suitable had occupied the throne since the days of Charlemagne.[17] Having established control over Germany, Conrad turned his attention to its neighbours: the archbishop of Milan and the leading men of Italy came to offer their obedience;[18] Conrad arranged the appointment of the bishop of Basel, nominally under the control of the king of Burgundy;[19] prepared to settle the Polish succession;[20] and called an assembly to prepare for his journey to Rome to receive the imperial crown.[21] While in Italy, he punished the citizens of Pavia for having destroyed an imperial palace;[22] quelled an uprising at Ravenna;[23] and received envoys from the king of Burgundy.[24] The imperial coronation itself was given short shrift—King Rudolf of Burgundy and King Cnut of England attended.[25] But then, by this stage, Conrad had already demonstrated the rightfulness of his claim to the throne. Conrad spent some more time in Italy,[26] and, after defeating various tyrants, returned to Germany, where he quickly subdued a rebellion led by his estranged stepson, had his son Henry elected king, and forced Rudolf of Burgundy to cede his kingdom to the empire.[27] With this ended Wipo's narrative of Conrad's early years.

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17 Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi*, ed. Bresslau, pp. 28–29.
18 Ibid., pp. 29–30.
19 Ibid., pp. 30–31.
20 Ibid., pp. 31–32.
21 Ibid., pp. 32–33.
22 Ibid., pp. 33–34.
23 Ibid., pp. 34–35.
24 Ibid., pp. 35–36.
25 Ibid., p. 36.
26 Ibid., p. 37.
27 Ibid., pp. 37–49.

What, then, does Wipo's narrative tell us about ideals and practices of kingship? One should, for instance, note the decreasing frequency of elaborately described acts of symbolic communication. They predominated in the early parts of the text, culminating in Conrad's election and coronation. In fact, the last series of such acts recorded in any detail concerned Conrad's trip to Aachen. In later sections, they were alluded to without being described. Wipo's narrative may thus be divided into two parts, one centring on symbolic demonstrations of suitability, on the rhetorical exposition of the principles of good royal lordship, and the other on the implementation of these principles. The distinction must not, of course, be drawn rigidly: Wipo thus reported Conrad appointing his officials between the coronation and the itinerary, and when he described, later on in the text, how the future Henry III had subjugated the Slavs, he returned to an elaborate language of praise echoing earlier accounts of Conrad.[28] Even so, the relative distribution of narrative elements confirms the general pattern. Ritual acts demonstrated that Conrad had the moral disposition to be king and emperor. Once enthroned as *rex et imperator*, he proved that he possessed the mind and means to exercise the functions of his office.

What made Conrad so good a ruler? There was, of course, his sense of justice: he delayed his coronation to aid those in need, persecuted, killed, and executed tyrants in Italy as well as Poland and Bohemia, and he was generous to good men. He was also an accomplished peacemaker, and maintained the essential virtues that allowed him to act in this fashion: equipoise of mind, a calm and joyful demeanour. All of which would, however, have been of little use, were it not also for the strong backing that Conrad received from his people. The relationship between royal virtue and the support of one's subjects was a mutually reinforcing one: Conrad gained the backing of his people because he promised to be a good ruler; through this backing, he had the means to act as a good king should, which increased his might and standing further, thus allowing him to be an even better king, and so on. Moreover, Conrad promised both continuity and the return to an ideal status quo ante. When Wipo referred to Conrad as the best ruler since Charlemagne, he placed Conrad in an illustrious tradition of rulership, but also depicted him as someone capable of restoring what, by the eleventh century, had become a much mythologized golden

[28] Ibid., pp. 51–53.

age of Frankish rule.[29] Similarly, Conrad's loyalty to the aims and goals of his predecessor offered reassurance to Henry II's partisans, while his rather greater success in realizing these goals further emphasized the similarities between Conrad and Charlemagne. Truly, Conrad rode in the stirrups of Charlemagne. The sense of continuity also served to maintain the material basis of Conrad's power. During the vacancy of the throne, for instance, the citizens of Pavia had destroyed an imperial palace. They claimed that, with Henry dead, it had been without proprietor, and they could thus not be held to account for its destruction. To which Conrad responded that the empire was like a ship: it continued to sail, even if the navigator had died.[30] That is, he was a steward and protector of an imperial tradition reaching back into the mists of time (the palace, Wipo reported, had first been built by Theoderic).

Much of the image painted by Wipo was, of course, rooted in the specific circumstances of Conrad's election: his legitimacy had to be ascertained, and celebrating both Conrad's virtues and his successes was one means of doing so. Equally, though, by the time of Wipo's writing, most of those challenges had been overcome: Conrad had been crowned emperor, rebels had been brought to heel, and Conrad had ensured the election and succession of Henry III. In this sense, the *Gesta* was thus a eulogy of the late emperor and an exhortation to Henry to follow his example.[31] The panegyric aspect may initially even have predominated: after all, Wipo at first intended to produce a history of both Conrad and his son, and only changed tack at some point in the process of writing. Unlike Helgaud of Fleury's *Epitoma Vitae Regis Rotberti Pii*,[32] for instance, the *Gesta Chuonradi* was not primarily a *speculum principis*, a king's mirror. Still, it was a paradigmatic text: the virtues espoused by Wipo were universal ones, and other authors similarly used the stages of the king's succession as a means of both exhortation and praise. At the same time, different contexts of writing also led to different emphases, and the time has thus come to contextualize the *Gesta Chuonradi* by setting it alongside other narratives of royal succession.

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[29] H. Keller, "Die Ottonen und Karl der Große," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 104/105 (2002–2003), 69–94; M. Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory. The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 20–21.

[30] Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi*, ed. Bresslau, pp. 29–30.

[31] Without neglecting to allude to some of the failings he should shun: notably Conrad's lax marital mores.

[32] Helgaud of Fleury, *Vie de Robert le Pieux. Epitoma Vitae Regis Rotberti Pii*, ed. and trans. R.-H. Bautier and G. Labory (Paris, 1965).

Gallus Anonymus *and the Act of Gniezno (999/1000)*

Writing ca. 1110–1113, an unknown author composed a history of the rulers of Poland, the *Gesta Principum Polonorum*.[33] Of the writer, we know little: he was a cleric, and a newcomer to Poland. Traditionally, it has been assumed that he may have been either of French origin or at least educated in France (and is hence often referred to as the "Gallus Anonymus"). The *Gesta* falls into three books, the first dealing with events since the emergence of the legendary first Piasts, but centring on Bolesław I (r. 992–1025) and his successors, the second and third with Bolesław III (r. 1096–1138). The narrative follows a trajectory of glorious ascent to power under the first Bolesław, the decline of Piast fortunes under his heirs, and an incipient revival under the third Bolesław. That is, the Anonymus wrote a history primarily of Bolesław III (whose deeds occupy about two-thirds of the text). His forebears situated Bolesław in time, established him as part of a tradition of Piast rule, but also served as a means of offering moral and political guidance.

The Anonymus left little doubt as to the central role of Bolesław I: the letter of dedication was followed by a poem outlining the miraculous context of Bolesław's birth (his parents, lacking a child, received a vision in which they were advised to send a golden statue of a child to Sainte-Foy).[34] Bolesław was not the first duke: that honour belonged to an unnamed duke later replaced by the mythical first Piast.[35] He was, however, the first duke born a Christian,[36] and the first king of Poland. The Anonymus had nothing to say about Bolesław's inauguration as duke.[37] Instead, he

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[33] On the text, see T. N. Bisson, "On Not Eating Polish Bread in Vain: Resonance and Conjuncture in the *Deeds of the Princes of the Poles* (1109–1113)," *Viator* 29 (1998), 275–89; the important summary of the current state of knowledge by P. Oliński, "Am Hofe Bolesław Schiefmunds. Die Chronik des Gallus Anonymus," *Die Hofgeschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Europa*, ed. R. Schieffer and J. Wenta (Toruń, 2006), pp. 93–106; and the essays collected in K. Stopka, ed., *Gallus Anonymus and His Chronicle in the Context of Twelfth-Century Historiography from the Perspective of the Latest Research* (Kraków, 2010).

[34] *Gesta Principum Polonorum*, ed. and trans. Knoll and Schaer, pp. 6–11.

[35] Ibid., pp. 16–23: the son of an impoverished smallholder, who welcomed two mysterious strangers who had been refused entrance at the ducal court. For the wider theme see J. Banaszkiewicz, "Slavonic origines regni: Hero the Law-giver and Founder of Monarchy," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 60 (1989), 97–131; idem, "Königliche Karrieren von Hirten, Gärtnern und Pflügern. Zu einem mittelalterlichen Erzählschema vom Erwerb der Königsherrschaft," *Saeculum* 33 (1982), 265–86.

[36] Note the parallel with Stephen of Hungary: *Legenda Maior*, ed. E. Szenpétery, Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum, 2 vols. (Budapest, 1937–1938), 2:384.

[37] *Gesta Principum Polonorum*, ed. and trans. Knoll and Schaer, pp. 30–31.

listed his many glorious deeds—the conquests of Bohemia and Hungary, subduing of the Saxons, destruction of the Pomeranians, but also the friendship with and patronage of St. Adalbert of Prague.[38] It was in the context of the latter that the Anonymus described in some detail the coronation of Bolesław I. The emperor, Otto III, desired to visit the relics of his erstwhile teacher, St. Adalbert. On entering Poland, he received a most splendid welcome at Gniezno. After several days of festivities, Otto decided that someone as powerful and rich as Bolesław deserved to be more than a mere prince, placed his imperial crown on the duke's head, and granted him authority over the Church in his domains. After a few more days of celebration, and after Bolesław continued to embarrass the emperor with the splendour and value of his gifts, Otto departed.[39]

As far as the *Gesta* is concerned, Otto's crowning was a token of respect, raising Bolesław to the level of his imperial guest, as a friend of the empire, not its subject.[40] Equally, the welcome offered to the emperor was a sign of friendship, not submission, a mark of equality when one great ruler met another. In fact, the Anonymus's narrative stressed that Bolesław merely received due recognition for his many great and honourable deeds, his martial prowess and piety chief among them. In this sense, he only continued the noblest traditions of his house: Pazt, the first Piast, had been able to raise his son to the ducal dignity because he and his forebears were more virtuous and capable than the rulers they displaced. This line of reasoning provided both legitimation and exhortation. The Anonymus's narrative legitimized Piast kingship by stressing the meritorious nature of Bolesław's title (it was a just reward for valiant deeds), and the parity between emperor and king (the latter had never been a dependant of the former). It also reflected subsequent challenges to Polish kingship: in the end, Bolesław had to serve as a vassal to Otto's successor, and the illegitimate nature of Piast kingship was a theme played upon not only

[38] Ibid., pp. 30–35.

[39] Ibid., pp. 34–41.

[40] The Anonymus's account has triggered a rich literature: H. Samsonowicz, "Die deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen in der Geschichte des Mittelalters aus polnischer Sicht," in *Polen und Deutschland vor 1000 Jahren. Die Berliner Tagung über den "Akt von Gnesen"*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin, 2002), pp. 19–28; and K. Zernack, "Die deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen in der Mittelalterhistorie aus deutscher Sicht," ibid., pp. 29–42; J. Wyrozumski, "Der Akt von Gnesen und seine Bedeutung für die polnische Geschichte," ibid., pp. 281–92; R. Michałowski, "Polen und Europa um das Jahr 1000. Mit einem Anhang: zur Glaubwürdigkeit des Berichts von Gallus Anonymus über das Treffen in Gnesen," in *Der Hoftag von Quedlinburg 973. Von den historischen Wurzeln zum neuen Europa*, ed. A. Ranft (Berlin, 2006), pp. 51–72.

by imperial chroniclers, but also by Hungarian, Italian, and even, it could be suggested, by Polish hagiographers.[41] Piast kingship was disputed, and the Anonymus sought to counter such challenges. Yet the strategy also contained a warning, an attempt to explain a later loss of royal status: the Piasts had acquired the title through merit, and they lost it because of their moral and religious decline. The example of Bolesław I offered a critique of his successors, and showed a path by which kingship might yet be regained.

The Anonymus wrote from greater chronological distance than Wipo, about a kingship that did not survive the challenges it faced, and, of course, a different type of royal lordship (an entirely new one, not merely the succession of yet another in an already long line of kings). Still, both the virtues he saw in Bolesław I and their public demonstration echo (without replicating) those Wipo saw in Conrad. Such parallels extended to the stages of the king making process: Conrad's coronation, for instance, was followed by his campaigns in the east, and Bolesław's by a campaign against the ruler of Kiev. Such structural similarities should not, however, blind us as to different hierarchies of virtue, and distinct ways of identifying that virtue. Wipo never specified the barbarians fought by Conrad. The Anonymus, by contrast, went into considerable detail and used the campaign to celebrate virtues, which, though not absent in Wipo's case, were nonetheless assumed to exist rather than that they were described: in this instance, Bolesław's might and valour. Before he took flight, the king of the Ruthenians, sitting in a boat fishing, thus declared that, while he was good at fishing, Bolesław was good at fighting.[42] As if this had not been indication enough of Bolesław's superior mettle, when, on returning to Poland, he was attacked by a superior force of Kievans, the king "plunged like a thirsting lion into the thickest of the foe."[43] Bolesław's martial prowess was a central virtue and was matched by the size of his army: in his time there had been more knights than now lived people in Poland.[44] Such military might furthermore reflected both great material wealth and its prudent use: "In Bolesław's time not only the *comites*, but

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41 *Vita Sancti Stanislai Cracoviensis Episcopi (Vita Maior)*, ed. W. Ketrzyński, Monumenta Poloniae Historica 4 (Llow, 1864; repr. Warsaw, 1964), pp. 391–94; *Legenda S. Stephani regis ab Hartwico episcopo conscripta*, ed. E. Szentpétery, Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum, 2 vols. (Budapest, 1937–1938), 2:412–14; *Petri Damiani Vita Beati Romualdi*, ed. G. Tabacco, Fonti per la storia d'Italia (Rome, 1957), pp. 59–60.

42 *Gesta Principum Polonorum*, ed. and trans. Knoll and Schaer, pp. 40–47.

43 Ibid., pp. 46–47.

44 Ibid., pp. 48–49.

all the nobles used to wear enormously heavy gold necklaces, for they had money in such abundance and excess."[45] Similarly, the Anonymus celebrated the lavish royal table: each day that was not a holiday saw forty courses served (not counting, the Anonymus stressed, the minor ones).[46] That is, Bolesław spent his wealth by sharing it, by ensuring that his military entourage was sizable, capable, and loyal. Fighting for Bolesław was a sure means of gaining wealth, power, and standing. The theme also played a central role in the Anonymus's account of the king's coronation. The emperor had been impressed by Bolesław's might not the least because of the splendour of his entourage: "the ranks first of the knights in all their variety, and then of the princes, lined up on a spacious plain like choirs, each separate unit set apart by the distinct and varied colours of its apparel, and no garment there was of inferior quality, but of the most precious stuff that might anywhere be found."[47] It was on beholding this might and splendour that Otto declared: "So great a man does not deserve to be styled duke or count like any of the princes, but to be raised to a royal throne and adorned with a diadem in glory."[48] The Anonymus's list of Bolesław's virtues was designed to echo and amplify his account of the duke's rise to kingship.

This does not, however, mean that military success and skill outweighed other qualities. Already when outlining, prior to the meeting with Otto III, the duke's many deeds, the Anonymus reported how Bolesław had forced the denizens of Selencia, Pomerania, and Prussia to convert, and how he had welcomed St. Adalbert into his lands.[49] He was a forceful promoter of the Faith, and a devout son of the Church. Such less bellicose characteristics formed the core of much of the remainder of the *Gesta*'s list of royal virtues: Bolesław never remained seated when bishops or chaplains were standing, and gave many gifts to the Church.[50] Like Wipo's Conrad, he displayed an earnest desire for justice: "if some poor peasant or some ordinary woman came with a complaint against a duke or count, no matter how important the matters he was engaged in (...) he would not stir from the spot before he had heard the full account of the complaint and sent a chamberlain to fetch the lord against whom the complaint had been

45 Ibid., pp. 56–57.
46 Ibid., pp. 62–63.
47 Ibid., pp. 34–35.
48 Ibid., pp. 36–37.
49 Ibid., pp. 32–35.
50 Ibid., pp. 48–49.

made."[51] Neither, though, would he pass judgement without having listened to both sides. "His sense of justice and fairness," the Anonymus concluded, "raised Bolesław to such glory and dignity—the virtues by which the Romans in the beginning rose to power and empire."[52] Justice, moreover, was not merely a matter of treating legal cases, but also of protecting one's people: Bolesław did not extract forced labour from peasants, carefully planned his journeys through the realm, and, on his approach, "no one on the road or at work would ever hide his sheep and cattle, but rich and poor alike would smile upon him as he passed and the whole country would come hurrying up to see him."[53] He also fought steadily in their defence, and once declared that he would rather defend a single chicken from being snatched by his enemies than be seen idly feasting. This only served to increase the admiration felt for the king by both his leading men and the people at large.[54] Through justice, fairness, and piety, Bolesław "attained the heights of greatness. Justice, in that he decided cases in law without respect to persons; fairness, for his concern and tact extended to both princes and commoners; and piety, for he honoured Christ and his Bride in every way."[55] Finally, as in the case of Conrad II, justice required accessibility: those banished from court, for however short a period, felt "as though he was dying rather than alive, and not free, but cast into a dungeon until he was readmitted to the king's grace and presence."[56] The Anonymus painted a prelapsarian idyll, but also reflected political realities: without easy access to the royal person, justice could not be done, the king would remain unable to perform his functions, would risk forfeiting both divine blessing and the loyalty of his people.

The *Gesta Principum Polonorum* thus shared several features with the *Gesta Chuonradi*, but also diverge from it in important ways. The commonalities resided in the values espoused, the differences, in the rather different narrative strategies and aims. Wipo sketched an image of Conrad II as an ideal ruler, centring on a series of exemplary acts performed during and in the wider context of the king's coronation. The depiction of rituals served to exemplify what abstract norms meant in concrete political practice, and the meaning of these acts was expounded by lengthy speeches from

51 Ibid.
52 Ibid., pp. 50–51.
53 Ibid., pp. 58–59.
54 Ibid., pp. 64–65.
55 Ibid., pp. 56–57.
56 Ibid., pp. 58–59.

Conrad and his entourage. That Wipo wrote, though perhaps not as eyewitness, but certainly as an indirect participant in the events around which he structured his narrative, mattered, as did the fact that he wrote as Conrad's contemporary, addressing the emperor's son and heir. Concrete historical events provided the framework within which moral lessons could be inculcated. In the Anonymus's case, probably too little information survived, too few eyewitnesses to do anything but structure the deeds of Bolesław as a series of exemplary anecdotes. The events at Gniezno mattered, but few knew what exactly had occurred. Instead, the Anonymus used them to provide a moral and political lesson, a celebration of past glory, and an attempt to explain subsequent decline.

That he constructed a catalogue of virtues so similar to Wipo's should not be read as borrowing. There is no evidence that the Anonymus had access to the earlier text. Rather, we are dealing with a shared pool of norms in evidence across the Latin West. To what extent those were rooted in Carolingian models and to what extent, in distinct indigenous developments, is a point too complex to consider here.[57] What matters at present is the degree to which shared norms emerged in often quite distinct historical settings. They were, of course, employed to serve different needs. Not every list of virtues was simply praise and panegyric. They could contain criticism, and they could convey exhortation. They could also reflect an earnest desire to come to grips with a reality that easily defied established conventions of good and bad kingship. Nowhere is this mix of motivations more evident than in the *Gesta Stephani*'s account of the early years of King Stephen of England (1135–1154).

The Gesta Stephani *and Stephen of Blois (1135)*

The author of the *Gesta Stephani* remains unknown. Most likely, the text was produced in the south west of England, probably in at least two stages.[58] The author, initially a—by no means uncritical—supporter of King Stephen, became increasingly doubtful as to the likelihood of the

[57] N. Berend, ed., *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy. Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus', c.900–1200* (Cambridge, 2007).

[58] See the discussion in *Gesta Stephani*, ed. and trans. K. R. Potter, with a new introduction and notes by R. H. C. Davis (Oxford, 1976), pp. xviii–xxviii. See also E. King. "The *Gesta Stephani*," in *Writing Medieval Biography. Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, ed. D. Bates, J. Crick, and S. Hamilton (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 195–206. See also A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550–1307* (London, 1974), pp. 188–93.

king's success. Stephen, son of the eponymous count of Blois who had participated in the First Crusade, and through his mother Adela, a grandson of William the Conqueror, had come to the English throne in 1135 by overriding the claims of his cousin Matilda, the daughter and sole surviving legitimate child of King Henry I (1100–1135). After early successes, his fortunes turned, and in 1141 he was even captured and temporarily imprisoned by Matilda's followers. Though quickly released, England remained divided. When Matilda surrendered her claims to her son Henry (the future Henry II), Stephen's support became ever more fragile and, in the end, he had to accept Henry as his successor at the expense of his own son.[59] The *Gesta* differed from the examples considered so far in its reporting and outlook. It was not a guide to royal lordship. Rather, it offered a continuing narrative, largely recounting events in sequence, providing a record of the rapidly changing political landscape in England. This in not to say that the *Gesta* aimed for an elusive ideal of objectivity: at least partially, it formed part of a lively outpouring of historical writing that sought to defend the legitimacy of either Stephen's or Matilda's claim.[60] Describing the *Gesta* as "propaganda" would go too far, but it certainly aimed to reassure those supportive of Stephen's kingship of his suitability and legitimacy. Only with the arrival of Henry II in England did the author change stance, seeking to reconcile both the legitimacy of Stephen while remaining supportive of his young challenger.

The *Gesta*'s narrative opened with just the kind of situation that, in Wipo's account, the German princes had been so eager to avert: with the death of Henry I in 1135, ". . . England, formerly the seat of justice, the habitation of peace, the height of piety, the mirror of religion, became thereafter a home of perversity, a haunt of strife, a training ground of disorder, and a teacher of every kind of rebellion."[61] The bonds of friendship had been ruptured, the laws were disobeyed, and greed dominated relations between men.[62] With England in turmoil, Stephen of Blois crossed the Channel. He was, the author tells us, "a man distinguished by illustrious

[59] Stephen's reign has triggered an unexpectedly rich literature. See, most recently, E. King, *King Stephen* (New Haven, CT, and London, 2010); P. Dalton and G. White, eds., *King Stephen's Reign (1135–1154)* (Woodbridge, 2008); D. Matthew, *King Stephen* (London and Hambledon, 2007); D. Crouch, *The Reign of Stephen* (London, 2000); M. Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English* (Oxford, 1991).

[60] B. Weiler, "Kingship, Usurpation and Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Europe: The Case of Stephen," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 22 (2001 for 2000), 299–326, at pp. 299–302.

[61] *Gesta Stephani*, ed. and trans. Potter, pp. 2–3.

[62] Ibid., pp. 4–5.

descent," the favourite of Henry I's nephews "because he was so peculiarly eminent for many conspicuous virtues. He was in fact a thing acknowledged to be very uncommon among the rich of the present day, rich and at the same time unassuming, generous, and courteous; moreover, in all the conflicts of war or in any siege of his enemies, bold and brave, judicious and patient."[63] On reaching London, Stephen was joyously greeted by its inhabitants, while the leading citizens convened an assembly, in which they elected Stephen king. The reasoning attributed to them merits attention, as do the conditions set before the count: "For, they said, every kingdom was exposed to calamities from ill fortune when a representative of the whole government and the fount of justice was lacking. It was therefore worth their while to appoint as soon as possible a king who, with a view to re-establishing peace for the common benefit, would meet the insurgents of the kingdom in arms and would justly administer the enactment of laws." Reviewing the candidates, they felt that Stephen was the only one suitable for so onerous a task, "on account both of his high birth and his good character." In the end, the Londoners unanimously chose Stephen to be their king, but also entered into a separate agreement: they would support him with all their wealth and power, "while he would gird himself with all his might to pacify the kingdom for the benefit of them all."[64] A king was meant to be above all a lion of justice and keeper of the peace, and Stephen's kingship was ultimately rooted in the premise that he had the virtuous disposition, the means and mettle, to be a just and victorious king.

There was little unusual about the virtues attributed to Stephen. He combined ease of manners and accessibility with martial prowess and a desire to do justice. Some qualities were, of course, deemed more prominent than others: ease of access, approachability, but also a willingness to use both smooth words and main force to restore tranquillity and public order. Before turning to the coronation proper, the *Gesta* thus dwelled on Stephen's peacemaking endeavours: he defeated disturbers of the peace in battle and either put them in chains, or had them executed. Having thus proven his suitability, Stephen proceeded to Winchester, home both of the royal treasury and Stephen's brother, the bishop and resident papal legate in England.[65] Stephen took possession of the treasury, while Bishop

[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid., pp. 6–7.
[65] Ibid., pp. 6–9.

Henry began to spread news about Stephen's election. Among those subsequently hurrying to Winchester was the archbishop of Canterbury, William, whose prerogative it was to crown a king, but who had qualms about Stephen: "(…) just as a king is chosen to rule all, and, once chosen, to lay the commands of his sovereign power on all, assuredly in like manner it is fitting that all should meet together to ratify his accession and all should consider in agreement what is to be enacted and what rejected."[66] The prelate reminded those present that an oath had already been sworn to Matilda. Stephen's supporters responded that such an oath had indeed been sworn, but under duress, and that Henry I himself had, on his deathbed, absolved his subjects from their oath. Those assembled should therefore support Stephen, not only because the Londoners had chosen him already, but also "because now the kingdom is being plundered, torn to pieces, and trampled under foot it is acknowledged that it can be changed for the better (…) by a man of resolution and soldierly qualities, who, exalted by the might of his vassals and by the fame of his wise brothers, will, supported by their assistance, bring to greater perfection whatever is thought to be lacking in him."[67] With William's mind thus put at ease, the coronation could at last be celebrated.

The ceremony was reported in an almost incidental fashion: the archbishop consecrated and anointed Stephen.[68] Considerably more attention was paid to the measures subsequently taken by Stephen: he received the backing of those who had at first stayed neutral or hostile,[69] and then toured the realm, displaying the splendour of his royal majesty. He received the homage and submission of his people; was received with great joy in all the churches; those who implored his help received it willingly and gladly; and he made great strides towards re-establishing peace.[70] The author then dedicated several chapters to Stephen's campaigns in Wales,[71] before turning to his tackling of domestic affairs. Stephen had been "energetic in calming the kingdom and establishing peace; he showed himself good-natured and agreeable to all; he restored the disinherited to their own; in awarding ecclesiastical benefices he was completely immune from the sin of simony; in dealing with cases and calling men to account he did nothing

66 Ibid., pp. 10–11.
67 Ibid., pp. 12–13.
68 Ibid.
69 Ibid., pp. 12–15.
70 Ibid., pp. 14–15.
71 Ibid., pp. 14–23.

under the influence of presents or for the sake of money; he bowed with humble reference to all who were bound by any religious vows; he made himself affable and amenable to all of whatever age."[72] Stephen was pious, just, fair, and generous, an ideal king in almost every respect.

At first, such tranquillity was marred only by the persistence of low born knaves, favourites of the former king, who continued to defy Stephen, fearing to "come into the king's presence (...) lest they should be overwhelmed before the king by the cries of the poor and the complaints of the widows whose lands they had appropriated (...)."[73] Even they, though, were eventually won over. With his lordship firmly established, Stephen called an ecclesiastical council to London. It was on this occasion that the *Gesta* for the first time directly impugned Stephen's predecessor. At first, Henry I had been described as "the peace of his country and father of his people,"[74] but in reporting the London meeting, much space was given to complaints against him: the late king had acted like a second Pharaoh, "the Church had been a downtrodden handmaid and had suffered most disgraceful wrongs,"[75] had seen its riches seized by the king, and its offices sold to the highest bidder. Those who sought to admonish the king were persecuted, oppressed, and terrorized. Stephen, by contrast, willingly corrected the abuses put before him, and promised to abide by proper norms of royal conduct.[76]

Unlike Wipo or the Anonymus, the *Gesta*'s author wrote not primarily to instruct kings or their heirs. He did, of course, establish a moral contrast between Stephen and those opposing him: Stephen, of noble lineage, warlike, desirous to restore peace and justice, genial and approachable, was thwarted by corrupt advisors, and by men of low birth, greedy and bellicose, who feared he might yet hold them to account for their past crimes. The *Gesta* did not, however, construct him as an exemplar of royal lordship. The cracks in Stephen's claims were all too evident, as was, by the time of the author's writing, the fact that his early successes were but an illusion, a period of calm before an even more ferocious storm was unleashed upon the English people. In this sense, the *Gesta* was also an attempt to explore why something that had started so promisingly

72 Ibid., pp. 22–23.
73 Ibid., pp. 22–25.
74 Ibid., pp. 1–2.
75 Ibid., pp. 26–27.
76 Ibid., pp. 24–27.

would end so ignominiously. Stephen's moral superiority made all the more visible the tragic reversal of fortune he and his kingdom were about to experience. Stephen possessed all the qualities of a good king, yet he failed. The *Gesta Stephani* sought to chronicle and understand, to come to terms with a present that inverted so many established norms, where heroes failed and tyrants flourished.

Still, the *Gesta Stephani* espoused familiar values. The emphasis on Stephen's approachability and lack of airs, for instance, bears close resemblance to the qualities ascribed to Bolesław I: the Polish king was so amenable and kind in conversation that nobody feared to come before him, and Stephen won over rebels and doubters with his charm and ease of manners. The same holds true of Stephen's desire to do justice: Conrad's demonstratively halted his coronation procession to do justice to a widow, an orphan, and a poor man; Bolesław was always ready to hear the cases of widows and poor men against the great and powerful; and Henry I's erstwhile favourites feared that they might yet be called to account for having seized the possessions of widows and poor men. Just as importantly, all three kings refused to be swayed by gifts or worldly status in deciding cases, and they showed due respect to holy men: Bolesław never remained seated when a churchman remained standing, and Stephen bowed with reverence to those who had taken religious vows, and Conrad at least impressed the clergy with his intuitive intelligence. All three had, moreover, the most distinguished ancestry—Conrad numbered popes and emperors among his forebears, and could trace his descent back all the way to Troy; Stephen was the Conqueror's grandson; and Bolesław, the most recent in a long line of Piast dukes. The different contexts and purposes of their writing notwithstanding, these authors resorted to a shared pool of norms and values.

They also highlighted shared structures and patterns of rule: successful kingship thus manifested itself in the ready subjugation of uncivilized neighbours—Conrad brought to heel the ferocious neighbours of the Saxons, Bolesław Rus', and Stephen Wales. New kings also had to demonstrate willingness to heed the counsel they received. That Conrad enacted his moral duties before they had even been espoused to him only confirmed his suitability for the throne. The key difference between Henry I and Stephen, in turn, was that the former persecuted and oppressed his critics, while the latter embraced their grievances as his own. More importantly, an election had to be unanimous, or at least had to be followed by quick recognition from those who had been absent or opposed to a candi-

date. After their coronation, both Conrad and Stephen thus embarked on a ceremonial traversing of their realm, designed to demonstrate willingness and ability to fulfil the obligations of their office, and to solicit the backing of those not initially party to their elevation.

A shared moral framework did not, however, militate against each author structuring his narrative so as to reflect specific historical realities. Bolesław had thus succeeded his father to the duchy, whereas Conrad had been chosen after the demise of a ruler without progeny, and Stephen had seized the throne from his predecessor's heir. As a result, succession and election played no part in the *Gesta Principum*. Similarly, there was no indication that Bolesław ever desired a crown: his kingship was entirely the emperor's doing, unsolicited and unexpected. Like Charlemagne, made emperor by the pope without prior warning (or so his biographer Einhard tells us),[77] Bolesław, too, suddenly found himself elevated to the royal dignity. By contrast, there had been little hesitation on Conrad and Stephen's part about seizing the throne: once the list of candidates for the imperial succession had been whittled down, Conrad had no qualms about claiming the throne for himself. There was nothing of the *rex renitens* in him, the king, who, reluctantly under protest, assumed the throne.[78] The *Gesta Stephani*'s author, in turn, may have likened Stephen's arrival in England to that of Saul in the Old Testament (who, on searching for lost sheep, encountered the prophet Samuel, who recognized in him the chosen king of Israel, though Saul then hid in a hut to avoid being made king), but otherwise left little doubt as to the motivation underpinning the count's journey (he left for England as soon as he heard of Henry's death, having "formed a mighty design").[79] Perhaps because of this, moral admonition took centre stage in both Wipo and the *Gesta Stephani*: in the former, a lengthy sermon by the archbishop presiding over Conrad's coronation, and in the latter the deliberations first of the Londoners, and then the archbishop of Canterbury. That moral admonition, in turn, but above all Stephen's conditional acceptance by the Londoners, also points to broader shifts in the western culture of kingship, and the time has thus come to place our examples in a broader European context.

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77 Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS rer. Germ. 25 (Hannover, 1911), pp. 32–33.

78 This contrary to Banaszkiewicz, "*Theatrum rituale*." For the type of the reluctant king, see B. Weiler, "The *rex renitens* and the Medieval Idea of Kingship, c. 900–c. 1250," *Viator* 31 (2000), 1–42.

79 *Gesta Stephani*, ed. and trans. Potter, pp. 4–5.

Conclusion

Kings were mightier than mere princes. Narratives about new kings frequently stressed that the newly minted monarch was too rich and mighty to be a mere duke: these had, after all, been Otto III's words to Bolesław I, as reported by the Anonymus. Conrad II, similarly, had already been among the greatest and most powerful of the German princes, and comparable statements can be found, for instance, about Roger II of Sicily,[80] or the candidates for the succession of Emperor Henry V in Germany in 1125.[81] Even the title of king denoted power: when, in the 1170s, Sverrir began leading the Birkebeinar, an impoverished band of exiles, erstwhile followers of King Eystein of Norway, they insisted that Sverrir adopt the title of king. They would not follow him, unless he was known to be greater than his men.[82] That this concept was not always an accurate reflection of reality is exemplified by the travails of King Stephen. Yet it was an idea that permeated contemporary images of royal power. In the 1060s, for instance, Cardinal Peter Damian had warned the duke of Tuscany that, should he find the burdens of secular office to cumbersome, he should cede his lands to the emperor, that is, someone more powerful.[83] Similarly, in the twelfth century various papal letters to kings stressed just this kind of relationship.[84] All of which has repercussions for how observers used, and how they perceived the inauguration of kings.

First, there was a fear that so great a power might be abused. Such concerns shone through in the statement by Archbishop William of Canterbury in the *Gesta Stephani*: because the king would have great control over the affairs of his subjects, due care had to be taken in ensuring that the right person was chosen. Similar thinking may explain why the limits and purpose of royal power had to be expounded, why models of

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80 Alexander of Telese, *Ystoria Rogerii Regis Sicilie Calabriae atque Apulie*, ed. L. de Nava, with a historical commentary by D. Clementi (Rome, 1991), pp. 23–26.

81 *Narratio de electione Lotharii*, ed. W. Wattenbach MGH SS 12 (Hannover, 1856), p. 510.

82 *Norwegische Königsgeschichten*, 2, *Sverris- und Hakonssaga*, trans. F. Niedner (Cologne, 1925; repr. 1965), p. 24; *Morkinskinna. The Earliest Icelandic Chronicle of the Norwegian Kings (1030–1157)*, trans. T. M. Andersson and K. E. Gate (Ithaca, NY, 2000), pp. 320–21.

83 Peter Damian, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, ed. K. Reindel, MGH Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit 5/1–4, 4 vols. (Hannover, 1983–1993), 2: nos. 67–8.

84 *Das Register Gregors VII.* 5.10, ed. E. Caspar, MGH Epistolae Selectae, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1920), 2:361–63. An English translation, with the same numbering of book and item, is provided by *The Register of Pope Gregory VII*, trans. H. E. J. Cowdrey (Oxford, 2002); *Innocentii II Epistolae*, PL 179:416, no. 250.

appropriate conduct needed to be established. After all, both Wipo and the Anonymus sought to construct narratives of exemplary royal action and demeanour. As such, they reflect a key function of historical writing in high Medieval Latin Europe: until the end of the twelfth century, history was alongside Biblical commentaries the primary means with which to expand on political ideas and norms, with which to offer instruction and guidance. Kings' mirrors simply were not produced for most of the period between the tenth and the early thirteenth century. When the genre was revived in the years around ca. 1200, early works still expounded political ideas with reference to often recent history.[85] Of course, not every piece of historical writing was primarily a piece of instruction. Our sample amply demonstrates that this was not the case: the Anonymus created the first coherent narrative of Polish history, sought to provide a history for his adopted community, while the author of the *Gesta Stephani* strove to make sense of events as they unfolded around him. Yet they also resorted to a familiar set of norms, sought to explain and understand that past with reference to a shared heritage of history as a depository of political and moral norms.

Second, power was a sign of divine benevolence, could even be a token of suitability in its own right. This had been implicit in the *Gesta Principum Polonorum*: Bolesław's elevation to the royal office was merely the formal recognition of his innate suitability. St. Stephen of Hungary, similarly, became not only the first king of his people, but also their first Christian ruler, because, unlike his father, he had the moral mettle to serve the divine will.[86] However, suitability had to be ascertained. It could be demonstrated through actions and through the way in which observers structured their narratives. It is in this context, too, that acts of symbolic communication and their description developed their full potential as a means of conveying highly condensed moral and political messages, but also of structuring the kind of pivotal event with which to analyze both the past and the present. One ought, furthermore, not to be blinded by the fact that, distinct historical, geographical, and regnal conditions notwithstanding, similar sets of values were invoked across the Latin West. The seemingly timeless conservatism of the resulting imagery was rooted

[85] Godfrey of Viterbo, *Gesta Friderici I. et Heinrici VI. Imperatorum*, ed. G. H. Waitz, MGH SS rer. Germ. 30 (Hannover, 1870); *De Principis Instructione Liber*, ed. G. F. Warner, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 8, Rolls Series 21/8 (London, 1891).

[86] *Legendae S. Stephani Regis*, ed. E. Bartonick, Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, 2 (Budapest, 1938), pp. 376–78.

in the abstract nature of the values espoused. An ability to ensure the safety of the realm, a lack of airs and pretensions, a desire to do justice, and a willingness to protect those who could not protect themselves are essential ingredients even in modern political discourse. What mattered was what values meant in practice, how they could be used to judge and understand a given moment in time. Finally, then as now, that very abstraction also allowed for norms to be invoked as means of criticism. Such criticism frequently focused not on the implementation (how justice was done, for instance), but the hierarchy of norms (its place within a broader set of values). Kings might be deemed unsuitable because they displayed the wrong kind of virtue. The principle is echoed in the sources here discussed: in Wipo's eyes, Conrad the Younger and Conrad the Elder were almost evenly matched, but whereas the Younger's might inspire greed and fear, the Elder's inspired loyalty and devotion. Equally, those hostile to King Stephen portrayed him as practicing generosity at the expense of steadfastness, pursuing meekness and good-natured demeanor instead of rigorous justice.[87] Norms were shared, but their meaning was subject to dispute and debate.

Perhaps as a result of this, one can witness an increasing tendency from the second half of the twelfth century to use parts of the king-making process, especially the election and the coronation, to define clearly both the range and the order of royal duties. Archbishop William's statement in the *Gesta Stephani* offered an indication of what was to come, but it also formed part of an established tradition: Henry I had issued a coronation charter, in which he outlined the key duties of kingship, as did Henry II. It was not, however, a development limited to England: in the 1160s, the archbishop of Trondheim used the coronation of the king of Norway as a means of defining key principles of good governance.[88] In the second half of the twelfth century, biblical exegesis similarly stressed the need for oversight of the ruler, and the enforcement of basic norms of royal behaviour.[89] Kingship was increasingly defined, culminating in texts such

[87] Weiler, "Kingship, Usurpation."

[88] *Latinske Dokument til Norsk Historie fram til År 1204*, ed. E. Vandvik (Oslo, 1959), nos. 9–10.

[89] P. Buc, *L'Ambiguïté du livre. Prince, pouvoir, et peuple dans les commentaires de la Bible au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1994); Renate Pletl, *Irdisches Regnum in der mittelalterlichen Exegese. Ein Beitrag zur exegetischen Lexikographie und ihren Herrschaftsvorstellungen, 7.–13. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/Main, 2000).

as the English *Magna Carta*, or the Hungarian *Golden Bull*.[90] Not only was kingship defined, but mechanisms were created to enforce a particular definition of what that royal office entailed.

In this sense, the sources here discussed allow us to catch a glimpse of lively debates and incipient mechanisms of political control that defined the political culture of Western Europe well into the modern period. Norms and ideals reflected a shared heritage (Latin Christianity, mediated through the Church Fathers and the services of their Carolingian compilers and editors). Structures similarly mirrored common features: in largely agrarian societies, where personal contact between elites was essential for the governance of the realm, and where large sections of those elites defined their role by their military functions, only a limited number of means was available to communicate and enact politics. At the same time, medieval society was neither static nor uniform. One factor driving the political development of the west was the attempt to define norms of appropriate conduct, to enforce or resist specific readings of the value and meaning of shared principles. Of course, individuals engaged with these norms differently, constructed a different hierarchy, perhaps even understood differently what values meant in practice. Still, the debates themselves would have been easily recognizable across regional divides, as would have been the strands of argument from which they were constructed. They remain clearly discernible as part of a larger western tradition. Whether it was a uniquely western tradition is, of course, a different matter, and one which this volume may help explore further. Thus, it is hoped, Wipo, the Anonymus, and the *Gesta Stephani* may raise questions useful also to those more familiar with Cairo, Baghdad, or Constantinople than Aachen, Gniezno, and Winchester.

[90] *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, 1, *1000–1301*, ed. and trans. J. M. Bak, G. Bónis, and J. R. Sweeney, with a critical essay on previous editions by A. Csizmadia (Bakersfield, CA, 1989), pp. 34–37.

CHAPTER SIX

RITUAL AND REALITY: THE *BAYʿA* PROCESS IN ELEVENTH- AND TWELFTH-CENTURY ISLAMIC COURTS

Eric J. Hanne

Introduction

Of the various rituals and ceremonies associated with the medieval Islamic courts, e.g., the granting of robes of honour (*khilʿa*),[1] the sitting in mourning, and the beating of drums, the *bayʿa* ('loyalty oath') process appeared to be the essential ritual that allowed for the manifestation and transmission of a ruler's power and authority.[2] The purpose of this essay is to examine the nature and role of the *bayʿa* process with regard to the fifth-sixth/eleventh-twelfth century Abbasid court to see what impact the political arena of the day had on this traditional ceremony involving the exchanging of oaths. The term, *bayʿa*, is derived from the Arabic triliteral root, bāʾ-yāʾ-ʿayn, and according to Emile Tyan refers "in a very broad sense, [to] the act by which a certain number of persons, acting individually or collectively, recognize the authority of another person." From the third form of the root we have *mubāyaʿa* referring to two parties "making a covenant, a compact . . . as though each of the two parties sold what he had to the other . . . ," and *bāyaʿa*, "he promised or swore allegiance."[3] As Andrew Marsham has recently pointed out in his work,

[1] D. Sourdel, "Robes of Honor in ʿAbbasid Baghdad during the Eighth to Eleventh Centuries," in *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. S. Gordon (New York, 2001), pp. 137–45.

[2] G. Makdisi, "Authority in the Islamic Community," in *La notion d'autorité au moyen âge: Islam, Byzance, Occident*, ed. G. Makdisi, D. Sourdel, and J. Sourdel-Thomine (Paris, 1982), pp. 117–26; on Islamic theories on rulership in general, see A. H. Siddiqi, "Caliphate and Kingship in Medieval Persia," *Islamic Culture* 9 (1935), 560–70, 10 (1936), 97–126, 260–80, 11 (1937), 37–59; A. K. S. Lambton, "Islamic Political Thought," in *The Legacy of Islam*, ed. J. Schacht and C. E. Bosworth (Oxford, 1974), pp. 404–24; eadem, *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia: Aspects of Administrative, Economic and Social History, 11th–14th Century* (Albany, 1988); P. Crone, *God's Rule, Government and Islam: Six Centuries of Islamic Political Thought* (New York, 2004).

[3] *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, 13 vols. (Leiden, 1960–2004) (hereafter *EI*²), "bayʿa" (E. Tyan).

Rituals of Islamic Monarchy: Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire, the concept of an oath of fealty is not unique to the Muslim world and existed in the region prior to the rise of Islam. As Marsham notes, numerous terms were used in relation to the establishment of formal relationships (*ḥilf* = 'swearing, oath', *yamīn* = 'oath', *ʿaqd* = 'contract, agreement', *ʿahd* = 'pledge, compact, covenant', *aymān* = 'oath'), but the use of the term, *bayʿa*, in reference to the swearing of allegiance between individuals and/or between an individual and a group became the standard in the Muslim world following the practice (*sunna*) of the Prophet: "In this respect, the invention of the *bayʿa* as the means of recognizing religio-political authority in the early Muslim community in some ways resembles the invention of the office of the caliphate itself, and the consultative process by which it was widely held that its incumbent should be chosen."[4] The *bayʿa* ceremony served to legitimate the authority of the caliphs while also allowing for the dissemination of power throughout the elite strata of Muslim society. According to Tyan, the simplest way to view the *bayʿa* is to see it as an "act by which one person is proclaimed and recognized as head of the Muslim state."[5]

Modern scholarship on the subject has made sure to emphasize the spiritual nature of oaths, arguing that while the Muslims understood the practical nature of the *bayʿa* process, its true importance stemmed from the idea of swearing an oath before God and the penalties to come should one break said oath. According to Tyan, the *bayʿa* oath was intended to confirm the rulership on an individual, but also that the source of this rulership was as an "investiture from God." "As a result of the development of the theocratic nature of power," Tyan argues, "the obligations undertaken towards the ruler are considered as being, in reality, obligations undertaken towards Allah."[6] Roy Mottahedeh, in his *Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society*—a seminal work on the subject that focuses on the Buyid period (335–446/946–1055)—builds on this point by providing the words of al-Muqtadir to his rebellious troops: "I claim from you that oath of allegiance (*baiʿah*) which you have affirmed time after time. Whoever has sworn allegiance to me has sworn allegiance to God, so that whosoever violates that oath, violates the covenant with God (*ʿahd*

[4] A. Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy: Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire* (Edinburgh, 2009), p. 40.
[5] *EI*[2], "bayʿa" (E. Tyan).
[6] Ibid.

Allāh)."[7] Implied in this letter is the idea that oaths sworn between individuals were understood to be witnessed and sanctioned by God; breaking these oaths was tantamount to defying God.

The *bayʿa* process often involved two separate ceremonies. In the first one we find members of the immediate family, court officials, and (occasionally) military leaders recognizing the caliph and swearing their loyalty to him (*bayʿat al-khāṣṣa*). This ceremony was followed by one in which the public was given the opportunity to swear their fealty (*bayʿat al-ʿāmma*). After these initial ceremonies were completed, court officials would send messengers to the provinces to secure the *bayʿa* oaths from governors and military commanders. The Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs also found this process an effective tool with regard to establishing a relatively stable form of succession wherein the heir apparent (*walī al-ʿahd* = 'recipient of the pact/covenant') would go through a related succession process in which his name was proclaimed to the assembled court, who acted as witnesses to his investiture. Occasionally, the heir apparent's name would be found on the coinage alongside that of his father.

Whereas Andrew Marsham's study covers the Pre-Islamic period through to the beginning of the decline and fall of the Abbasid Empire in the third/ninth century, this work focuses on the *bayʿa* process during a time in which the rise and rule of warlord dynasties had rendered the Caliphate effectively impotent. By the middle of the fourth/tenth century, the Abbasid caliphs had lost their ability to govern administratively and militarily. Their Empire had shrunk considerably in the century after the devastating Fourth *Fitna* (c. 811–13), with the effective loss of direct rule over North Africa, portions of the Levant, Iraq, and the Eastern Muslim lands. A new "institution of rule," the *amīr al-umarāʾ*, was created when the caliph al-Rāḍī appointed Ibn Rāʾiq as the first 'chief *amīr*' in 323/935. Other powers took over the administrative and military capabilities of the Abbasids at this point, leaving the caliphs in the unenviable position of being bystanders at their own demise. With no ability to enforce the authority that their venerable institution afforded them, the caliphs were left to watch as others took over the succession and accession process. According to Andrew Marsham's work, the caliphs had already freely given up appointing the heir apparent in the second half of the third/ninth

7 R. Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society*, 2nd ed. (New York, 2001), pp. 40–41.

century;[8] by the beginning of the fourth/tenth century, the concept of the *walī al-ʿahd* was a distant memory as caliphs were more focused on maintaining what little power they had left as individual autonomous rulers. Any caliphal involvement in the *bayʿa* process at this point appears to have been rendered moot.

As alluded to earlier, this brief essay continues where Marsham's left off chronologically. Tying it to my ongoing research on the manifestation of power and authority in the medieval central Islamic lands, this project's goal was to highlight one aspect of the relationship between the Abbasid caliphs and their more powerful neighbours during the fifth and sixth/eleventh and twelfth centuries.[9] The Abbasid caliphate, which had reached its nadir in 334/946 with the Buyid *amīr* Muʿizz al-Dawla's deposition of the caliph al-Mustakfī, had begun to experience a revival to some degree by the end of the fourth/tenth century.[10] Part of this revitalization involved a change in the relationship between the caliphs and their rivals in which the Abbasids regained control over the succession process while asserting their autonomy with regard to the Buyid *amīrs* and Seljuk sultans.[11] Although the Abbasids eventually gained more economic and military autonomy during the latter half of the sixth/twelfth century, they did so as only one power among a number of other existing powers. In studying the nature and role of the *bayʿa* ceremony as it was manifested during this time we gain a better perspective on the dynamic nature of this caliph-*amīr*-sultan relationship.

My study encompassed the Abbasid caliphs' reigns from al-Qādir bi'llah (r. 381–422/991–1031) in the late fourth-early fifth/late tenth-early eleventh century through the reign of al-Muqtafī (r. 530–555/1135–1150) in the mid-sixth/twelfth century. This era includes the decline of Buyid

[8] Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy*, pp. 255–56. Marsham argues that the end of the *wilāyat al-ʿahd* could be tied to the shrinking of the Caliphate to the confines of Iraq and the Abbasid loss of control with regard to the military-administrative complex.

[9] E. Hanne, *Putting the Caliph in His Place: Power, Authority, and the Late Abbasid Caliphate* (Madison, NJ, 2007).

[10] For the Buyids, see H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig: Die Buyiden im Iraq (945–1055)* (Beirut, 1969); idem, "The Revival of Persian Kingship under the Buyids," in *Islamic Civilisation*, ed. D. S. Richards (London, 1973), pp. 71–92; and more recently, J. Donohue, *The Buwayhid Dynasty in Iraq 334H/945 to 403H/1012: Shaping Institutions for the Future*, Islamic History and Civilization 44 (Leiden, 2003). Both provide a sound foundation for the study of this *amiral* dynasty.

[11] For a detailed overview of the Seljuk period, see C. E. Bosworth, "The Political and Dynastic History of Iranian World (AD 1000–1217)," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 5, *The Seljuk and Mongol Periods*, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 1–202.

rule in the central Islamic lands and the rise and slow decline of Seljuk hegemony in the region. Using the Arabic chronicles of the period (e.g., al-Rūdhrāwarī, Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Bundarī, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Ḥusaynī, and Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī),[12] I addressed three major areas in my research. The first deals with the *bayʿa* process itself: Who was involved in the *bayʿa* ceremonies? How were these ceremonies conducted? What language did the chroniclers use to refer to these oaths of allegiance? I then began to look for any patterns with regard to the apparent purpose of the ceremony. Was the *bayʿa* ceremony merely a throwback to a bygone era, or was it part of the larger caliphal agenda to regain control over the succession and accession process? Alternatively, were the ceremonies simply an epilogue to the cessation of hostilities among warring factions, or were they tied more to the issue of recognition of one's position within the larger political arena and the legitimization of that role? Finally, I tried to determine the level of respect the various players had for the "oath of allegiance" process. To what degree did individuals and/or groups adhere to their oaths of fealty? Can we find corroborative evidence from other sources (e.g., material evidence in the form of coinage) that show that the *bayʿa* ceremony was recognized in a timely fashion? Ibn al-Jawzī, who focused almost exclusively on events in and around Baghdad for this period, was the most helpful in this study, as he tended to focus on the inner workings of the Abbasid caliphate more than other scholars. To avoid providing a detailed narrative for this period, after providing a brief historical overview, I will provide examples of *bayʿa* ceremonies, looking at the reasoning behind them and the respect afforded them by the individuals involved.

[12] Abū Shujāʿ Muḥammad al-Rūdhrāwarī, *Dhayl tajārib al-umam*, in *The Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate: Original Chronicles of the Fourth Islamic Century*, 3, 6, *Continuation of the Experience of the Nations*, ed. and trans. H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1921); Abū al-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam fī taʾrīkh al-mulūk wa-l-umam*, 14–18, ed. M. ʿAṭā (Beirut, 1992); al-Fatḥ b. ʿAlī al-Bundarī, *Kitāb zubdat al-nuṣra wa nukhbat al-ʿuṣra*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, *Recueil de texts relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides* 2 (Leiden, 1889); ʿAlī b. Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-saljūqiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Iqbāl (Lahore, 1933); Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī ʾl-taʾrīkh*, 8–10, ed. C. J. Tornberg (Beirut, 1965–7, reprint 1998); Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, *Mirʾâtüʾz-zeman fi tarihiʾl-âyan*, ed. A. Sevim, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları 178 (Ankara, 1968) (partial edition for the years 448/1056–480/1086); *Mirʾāt al-zamān fī taʾrīkh al-aʿyān*, ed. J. R. Jewett (Chicago, 1907) (facsimile edition for the years 495/1101–654/1256 A. H.).

Historical Summary for the Period

By the end of the fourth/tenth century, the Buyid presence in the central Islamic lands was on the wane; the political system wherein the Buyids divided their lands among family members had taken its toll on the successors of ʿAḍud al-Dawla (d. 372/983). The political and economic costs of the internecine conflicts among the Buyids created a political vacuum that other powers (e.g., Fatimids, Ghaznavids) sought to fill. After the death of Bahāʾ al-Dawla in 403/1012, the final generation of Buyids had to divide their efforts between securing their own position within the family and defending their land from the encroachment of outside powers. During this period, Baghdad became a magnet for rulers and would-be rulers; the Abbasid caliphs adjusted to the new political reality, and while largely observing the chaos around them, gradually took on a more participatory role in the proceedings, albeit in a non-military capacity. *Amīrs* from around the region came to Baghdad, seeking recognition, honorific titles (*laqab*/pl. *alqāb*), and the right to have their name recited in the *khuṭbas* ('Friday sermons') of the city. Caliphs like al-Qādir (r. 381–422/991–1031) and al-Qāʾim (r. 422–467/1031–1075) took advantage of their new position and began to assert their prerogatives within the city and its environs. The Buyids still sent their officials to oversee affairs in Baghdad, but these officials increasingly had to deal with a revitalized caliphal administration (vizierate).

In the mid-fifth/eleventh century, the Seljuk Turks took charge of the political arena, defeating the Ghaznavids and Buyids and establishing their presence in the region. Ṭughril Beg (r. 447–455/1055–1063) was recognized as the first sultan of the Great Seljuks in 447/1055, eventually marrying al-Qāʾim's daughter in a failed bid to link the two families.[13] Upon Ṭughril Beg's death, the sultanate passed to his nephew Alp Arslān (r. 455–465/1063–1072), who spent the majority of his reign securing and expanding Seljuk holdings; there is no evidence that Alp Arslān spent much time in Baghdad as his focus was directed more toward the Fatimids and Byzantines elsewhere. Alp Arslān was aided greatly by the Persian *wazīr* Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092), who oversaw the Seljuk administration for both Alp Arslān and his son, Malik Shāh (d. 485/1092), until his

[13] G. Makdisi, "The Marriage of Ṭughril Beg," in *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 1 (1970), 259–75; see also idem, "Les rapports entre calife et sulṭân à l'époque saljûqide," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 6 (1975), 228–36.

assassination at the hands of *bāṭinī* assassins in 485/1092. Niẓām al-Mulk's death was followed quickly by the untimely deaths of Malik Shāh and the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtadī (d. 487/1094). The central Islamic lands fell into complete disarray following this series of deaths; Malik Shāh's kinsmen fought in a series of battles for the position of sultan, ignoring in large part the Crusading forces that made their way into the Levant. Al-Muqtadī's successor, al-Mustaẓhir (r. 487–512/1094–1118), attempted to involve the caliphate with the wars going on between Barkyāruq (r. 487–498/1094–1105) and Muḥammad (r. 498–511/1105–1118), but was rebuffed. Al-Mustaẓhir's successors, al-Mustarshid (r. 512–529/1118–1135), al-Rāshid (r. 529–530/1135–1136), and al-Muqtafī (r. 530–555/1136–1160), were more successful in involving themselves in the political free-for-all that followed Muḥammad's death in 512/1118. Unlike with previous caliphs, these Abbasids took on a military role, each of them going out to battle themselves on more than one occasion. By the time we reach the end of al-Muqtafī's reign in 555/1160, the caliphate was acting relatively independently as an autonomous power in the region, receiving more respect from the other powers. The question remains, however, as to how this changed relationship was reflected, if at all, in the *bayʿa* process. When we couple the re-entry of a revitalized caliphate into the political arena with the myriad alliances made and broken during this period, the validity and usefulness of the various political players swearing "oaths of loyalty" to one another comes into question.

The Bayʿa *Process in Action*

In researching the Arab chroniclers' depiction of the *bayʿa* process in this period, a few key points come to the forefront, chief of which is the clear difference between the depiction of the *bayʿa* ceremony for the accession of Abbasid caliphs and that of the Buyid *amīrs* and Seljuk sultans. The sources, overall, provide more details for the caliphs' *bayʿa* ceremonies, often discussing in detail the locations and individuals involved in the process; in some cases, lists of names of those in attendance are provided. This also holds true for the investiture of the caliphs' heir apparent (*walī al-ʿahd*), a process that was renewed with vigour during al-Qādir's reign and would continue in practice for the duration of the period in question. It is also clear from the evidence that the caliphs took the *bayʿa* process quite seriously and guarded their prerogatives with regard to it on many occasions. Among the Arab chroniclers reviewed, Ibn al-Jawzī provides

the most coverage of the Abbasid ceremonies. The other chronicles (e.g., Ibn al-Athīr, al-Bundarī, etc.) do refer to the ceremonies, but not as consistently or with as much detail as Ibn al-Jawzī.

In sharp contrast to the varied coverage of the Abbasid *bayʿa* ceremonies, I have found limited detailed evidence of any *bayʿa* ceremonies among the Buyids or Seljuks; this does not mean that these two dynasties did not take part in an oath-taking process—for they did—but that there is no lengthy discussion of separate formal ceremonies held by the two dynasties for when their members ascended to office. More importantly, as will be shown in the examples to follow, the term *bayʿa* is rarely if ever used when in conjunction with ceremonies not specifically involving the Abbasid caliphs. The semantics used when describing oaths among the Seljuks, for example, refer more to achieving a resolution/accord (*ṣulḥ*) or exacting an oath (*istaḥlafa*). As the reigns of al-Qādir and al-Qā'im provide the most evidence for these claims, many of the examples will come from the earlier period covered in my study. I will, however, be bringing in examples from later periods to buttress my arguments.

Al-Qādir's accession to the caliphal throne was an unexpected turn of events in the region, and required the cooperation of a number of interested parties. The leading Buyid *amīr* at the time, Bahāʾ al-Dawla, chose al-Qādir to replace his kinsman, al-Ṭā'iʿ, as caliph in 381/991. After having literally dragged al-Ṭā'iʿ from the throne and forcing him to write a letter of abdication, Bahāʾ al-Dawla sent for al-Qādir, who was living in exile at the time in Baṭīḥa, south of Baghdad. While waiting for the would-be caliph to arrive, Bahāʾ al-Dawla had to quell a rebellion among his troops who were demanding money for their swearing of the *bayʿa* (*yuṭālibūna bi-rasm al-bayʿa*).[14] After this money was paid, they allowed the *khuṭba* (Friday prayer) to be recited in al-Qādir's name. Meanwhile, al-Qādir was being escorted from exile toward Baghdad when troops stopped him and his party, demanding more money for their *bayʿa* oath.[15] Only when they were paid was al-Qādir allowed to finish his journey to the Abbasid capital, where Bahāʾ al-Dawla and his entourage came out to formally greet him. After settling into the caliphal palace (*dār al-khilāfa*), the Buyid officials brought al-Qādir much of the wealth and other goods that had been taken

[14] Rūdhrāwarī, *Dhayl al-tajārib*, ed. Amedroz, p. 203. The Buyids gave each of the troops 800 dirhams for their *bayʿa* oath.

[15] Ibid., p. 206; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ed. ʿAṭā, 14:349. Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī's coverage of these events provides a verbatim copy of his grandfather's coverage: London, British Library, MS Or. 4619, 186b.

from the previous caliph. The next day, a variety of groups assembled to witness and take part in the *bayʿa* ceremony between Bahāʾ al-Dawla and al-Qādir. According to Ibn al-Jawzī's account,

> The *ashrāf* ('notables'), *quḍāt* ('religious judges'), and *shuhūd* ('official witnesses') assembled in the presence of the caliph (*majlis al-Qādir*) until they heard his oath of loyalty to Bahāʾ al-Dawla (*yamīnahū li-Bahāʾ al-Dawla bi-l-wafāʾ*) and the sincerity of his intentions (*khulūṣ al-niyya*)... and that was after Bahāʾ al-Dawla had sworn an oath of sincerity and obedience to [al-Qādir] (*wa dhālika baʿda an ḥalafa lahū Bahāʾ al-Dawla ʿalā ṣidqihī wa-l-ṭāʿa*).[16]

What is interesting to note about this ceremony, is that it is not clear whether or not the two key parties were present at the event. One may assume that they were, but the wording is unclear in that it refers to the audience hearing the oaths sworn between al-Qādir and Bahāʾ al-Dawla but not to any direct interaction between them. It is clear from this ceremony and others like it that face-to-face meetings were not a prerequisite for the swearing of oaths with the Abbasid caliphs; in the majority of cases court officials or messengers handled the *bayʿa* process.

A similar *bayʿa* ceremony took place when al-Qādir's successor, al-Qāʾim, succeeded to the caliphate in 422/1031. The *ashrāf, quḍāt, fuqahāʾ*, and other court officials were brought to the *dār al-khilāfa* for a ceremony in which the heir apparent appeared from behind a veil and led the prayer for his father. He then held an open audience so that the people could give him their *bayʿa* oath.[17] The Buyid leaders at the time, Jalāl al-Dawla and Abū Kālījār, were not present at the ceremony, as both were contesting the position of chief *amīr* and were also having problems with their troops. The troops, for their part, demanded the *rasm al-bayʿa* from the new caliph before they would swear their oath of loyalty to him. Al-Qāʾim's officials complained that the Buyid *amīr* and not the caliph had paid the previous caliph's *rasm al-bayʿa.* This did not appease the troops and, in the end, al-Qāʾim was forced to come up with the money himself before they would give him their *bayʿa* oath.[18] In an interesting aside, Ibn al-Jawzī relates that one of the Turks (*atrāk*) had spoken disparagingly of the new caliph and was killed by a Hashimite. When the other troops heard of this,

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[16] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ed. ʿAṭā, 14:353.

[17] Ibid., 15:217.

[18] Ibid., 15:218. The price for the *bayʿa* appeared to have increased since al-Qādir's ascension to the throne; approximately three million dinars had to be distributed among the troops prior to their giving their oath of loyalty.

they began to riot, stating that if their comrade's death had been by order of the caliph, they would quit the country. After some hasty negotiations the matter was settled.[19]

Al-Qāʾim's rise to the caliphate in 422/1031 is all the more interesting as it marked a milestone in the history of the Abbasid dynasty since the rise of the Buyids in that it represented the Abbasids regaining control over the succession process. In 391/1001, al-Qādir had proclaimed his son, Abū al-Faḍl, as his heir apparent, giving him the title al-Ghālib bi'llāh.[20] Al-Qādir took this precipitous action to forestall the machinations of a court official, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUthmān al-Wāthiqī, who had falsified a letter stating that *he* had been made the *walī al-ʿahd*. The caliph gathered his loyal court officials, judges, and members of the *ʿulamāʾ* to bear witness to his decree concerning his son. The Buyid leader at the time, Bahāʾ al-Dawla, who ten years prior had raised al-Qādir to the throne, did not force al-Qādir to retract his proclamation, but at the same time, did not officially recognize it either. This is apparent in the coinage we have from this period. Coinage from Baghdad, from 391–404/1001–1013, does not mention al-Ghālib bi'llāh. After Bahā al-Dawla's death in 402/1012, however, we do find al-Ghālib bi'llāh mentioned on the obverse fields of Baghdadi dinars.[21] Al-Ghālib bi'llāh remained the heir apparent until his death in 409/1018; it would not be until al-Qādir was near death in 421/1030 that he would proclaim a new heir apparent.

In 421/1030, rumours regarding al-Qādir's ill health and possible death were spreading throughout Baghdad. To quell any potential disturbances, the caliph held a public ceremony during which the investiture of al-Qāʾim was proclaimed (*wa-aẓhara fī hādhā l-yawm taqlīd al-amīr Abī Jaʿfar wa-tawliyatahū wilāyat al-ʿahd*).[22] Ibn al-Jawzī's account is quite detailed regarding the investiture, while Ibn al-Athīr provides a shorter summary; he does, however, use the term *bayʿa* in reference to the proceedings, setting off his account of the event with the heading *dhikr al-bayʿa li-walī al-ʿahd*, ('Report on the loyalty oath to the heir apparent').[23] Much like the

[19] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ed. ʿAṭā, 15:218.

[20] Ibid., 15:26; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, 8:17; Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin al-Ṣābī, *Taʾrīkh Abī al-Ḥusayn b. al-Muḥassin b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābī al-Kātib: History of Hilāl al-Ṣābī (389–393 A.H.)*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (Baghdad, 1914), p. 392.

[21] American Numismatic Society (ANS) (ANS 1982.159.1 (3.089 gr.). More coins, dating from 405 to 409 A.H. of similar type may be found in the ANS and British Museum cabinets.

[22] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ed. ʿAṭā, 15:205.

[23] Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, 8:195.

case with the investiture of al-Ghālib biʾllāh, the Buyids played no role in the process. Jalāl al-Dawla went so far as to question al-Qādir's authority in choosing his heir apparent, but in a clear public rebuke of the Buyids, al-Qādir responded to Jalāl al-Dawla's message with a public statement outlining his choice of al-Qāʾim as his successor.[24]

As mentioned, the actual presence at the *bayʿa* ceremony does not appear to have been a requirement. In fact, the caliphs only occasionally met the Buyid and Seljuk leaders face to face. In later ceremonies involving the Abbasids, Buyids, and Seljuks, officials representing one of the two parties involved brought the *bayʿa* oaths, often following the request for such oaths that were also relayed by messenger.[25] This practice appears to have developed from the earlier practice of sending word to the provinces of the accession of a new caliph and the taking of the required oaths of loyalty from the officials there. Another possible reason for the absence of personal meetings between the Abbasids and the other powers in the region could stem from the difficulties many of these powers had in maintaining control over their troops and lands. The lack of formal ceremonies involving the persons directly affected by these oaths of allegiance may have played a part in the chronicler's lack of coverage of the *bayʿa* process.

Barring the accession of new caliphs and the appointment of heirs apparent (*walī al-ʿahds*), the discussion of the *bayʿa* process is often relegated to a quick aside, tucked away in the catalogue of "miscellaneous events" that occurred during the year. When we do get detailed coverage of the caliphs' accession ceremonies, they often follow a formulaic path: Within a few days after the death of the previous caliph, the *wazīr* or another leading figure gathered the family members, court notables, religious judges, and other officials to swear their allegiance to the new

[24] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ed. ʿAṭā, 15:206–07. The statement is quite emphatic in its message, replete with Shīʿite symbolism: "Indeed the Commander of the Faithful, upon considering that which Allāh, may He be exalted, has bestowed upon him in the progeny of Abū Jaʿfar ʿAbdallāh, found him to be a flame (*wajadahū shihāban*) that does not conceal (*lā yakhbaʾu*) and who knows by experience of the hidden nature of his circumstances that which he still investigates (*wa khabara min mughayyabāt aḥwālihī mā lam yazal yastawḍiḥuhū*), so I appointed him as heir."

[25] Upon al-Qāʾim's ascension, according to Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, 8:199, the caliph sent al-Māwardī, who was chief *qāḍī* at the time, to Abū Kālījār to obtain his oath of loyalty; see also Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ed. ʿAṭā, 15:224–25. In 467/1075 when al-Muqtadī succeeded his grandfather, al-Qāʾim, the caliphal officials were joined by Muʾayyad al-Mulk b. Niẓām al-Mulk, who represented the Seljuks at the *bayʿa* ceremony. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ed. ʿAṭā, 16:165; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, 8:408; al-Bundarī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, ed. Houtsma, p. 51; Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, *Mirʾâtüʾz-zeman*, ed. Sevim, p. 173. Malik Shāh, who was sultan at the time, did not actually spend time in Baghdad until the 470s/1080s.

caliph; this is the *bayʿat al-khāṣṣa*. This event is followed soon thereafter by a public audience in which the people were given an opportunity to swear their oath (*bayʿat al-ʿāmma*); unfortunately, the public is referred to generically as the people (*al-nās*) without any more specifics provided. This process of installing the new caliph would play itself out in similar fashion in the century after al-Qādir's reign without much change. Barring one instance, the six caliphs after al-Qādir ascended the Abbasid throne without much fanfare.

The one exception involved the deposition of al-Rāshid in 530/1136 and the installation of al-Muqtafī by order of the Seljuk sultan of Iraq Masʿūd b. Muḥammad. Masʿūd had had a hand in the death of al-Rāshid's father, al-Mustarshid, in 529/1135 when the two were involved in a military confrontation. Assassins had killed al-Mustarshid while he was Masʿūd's captive and was finalizing his peace settlement with the Seljuk sultan. Al-Rāshid, who had been made his father's *walī al-ʿahd* in 513/1119, succeeded his father to the caliphal throne, but almost immediately made an enemy out of Masʿūd when he refused to pay the Seljuk sultan the monies his father had promised.[26] Rather than paying, al-Rāshid took up arms and left Baghdad. Masʿūd's solution to this affair was to gather the Abbasid officials that had been with al-Mustarshid in captivity to a meeting at the *dār al-khilāfa* and work with them to find a suitable replacement for al-Rāshid. According to the accounts of the affair, a letter was found stipulating that al-Rāshid agreed to give up his caliphate if he ever took up arms against Masʿūd. This appeared to satisfy the officials present, who eventually settled on al-Rāshid's uncle, al-Muqtafī, to replace him.[27] According to Ibn al-Athīr's account, Masʿūd made sure the proceedings went through in proper fashion: after having scholars determine the ineligibility of al-Rāshid's *imamate*, the sultan had the vizier Sharaf al-Dīn Zaynabī oversee the mutual oaths sworn between the Seljuk sultan and Abbasid caliph: "And the sultan and vizier came to the caliph, and the two [Masʿūd and al-Muqtafī] swore oaths to each other (*taḥālafā*).[28] The

[26] Al-Rāshid had ascended the caliphal throne when word of his father's death reached Baghdad in 529/1135. The Seljuk official (*shiḥna*), Bek Abah, had given the official Seljuk *bayʿa* on behalf of Masʿūd b. Muḥammad. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ed. ʿAṭā, 17:299.

[27] Ibid., 17:305–12, provides the details of the events leading up to al-Rāshid's fall in his account for 529/1135. See also the more abbreviated account of Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, 9:291–92.

[28] Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, 9:293. Ibn al-Athīr's account of the meeting between Masʿūd and al-Muqtafī is interesting in that he provides more details than normal with regard to the swearing of oaths between two rulers.

deposition of al-Rāshid and installation of al-Muqtafī was unique for two reasons: the first was that it was the first time in almost 150 years that a caliph had been deposed; the second reason is that the deposition went through relatively smoothly without any overt interference on the part of the troops calling for their *rasm al-bayʿa*.

The fractious nature of the troops when it came to the *bayʿa* process was the standard for this period. In the majority of the cases with the changeover of caliphates, the historians relate the precautionary measures that the ruling powers had to take, including the movement of people to the safety of the *dār al-khilāfa* and the closing of the gates to avoid civil discord (*fitna*). These measures were needed, for often when it was heard that the caliph was ill or that the gates of the *dār al-khilāfa* had been shut, the troops in the city rose up and began calling for their money for the *bayʿa*. The practice of paying the troops for their *bayʿa* oath had taken place intermittently during the late second/eighth century with the Abbasids.[29] Although up until the beginning of the fifth/eleventh century it occurred irregularly, with al-Qādir's ascension it appears to have become a requirement for ascension to rule.

The Abbasids were clearly not the only ones that had to deal with restless, acquisitive troops when it came to the *bayʿa* ceremony. After Bahā al-Dawla's death in 403/1012, his Buyid successors' main hindrance to achieving the position as chief *amīr* and holding on to it was their inability to maintain the loyalty of their support base, an issue often related to their inability to pay their troops the *rasm al-bayʿa*. In 404/1013, Sulṭān al-Dawla and his overseer in Iraq, Fakhr al-Mulk, were welcomed into the *dār al-khilāfa* and a caliphal official recited the compact investing the Buyid *amīr* with his position along with his *laqab* (*wa-qaraʾa Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ʿahd Sulṭān al-Dawla bi-l-taqlīd lahū wa-l-alqāb*).[30] This compact lasted until 411/1020 when Sulṭān al-Dawla's troops switched their loyalties to his brother, Musharraf al-Dawla, giving the latter control over Iraq and relegating the former to a much-reduced position in Kirman.[31] When Musharraf al-Dawla died in 416/1025, his younger brother Jalāl al-Dawla was positioned to succeed him. The troops swore their *bayʿa* oath to Jalāl al-Dawla, but upon hearing he did not have the *māl al-bayʿa*, they

29 H. Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate* (London, 1981), passim. Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership*, p. 52.

30 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ed. ʿAṭā, 15:98.

31 Ibid., 15:120–121; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, 8:113–14.

switched their loyalties to his nephew Abū Kālījār.[32] For the remainder of al-Qādir's reign and the first part of al-Qāʾim's the two caliphs would be drawn into the contest between the two Buyid *amīrs*. As Roy Mottahedeh notes in his summary of these events, al-Qādir reminded the troops of their oaths of loyalty when they came to offer him their allegiance directly: "You are children of the regime (*abnāʾ al-dawlatinā*)...[and] you have entered a formal agreement (*ʿaqadtum ʿaqdan*)."[33] In one particularly telling account involving the *bayʿa* between al-Qādir and Jalāl al-Dawla in 423/1031, Mottahedeh refers to the text left to us by Ibn al-Jawzī in which al-Qāʾim reminds the Buyids that *he* took the *bayʿa* oath seriously because of its connection to God: "And God is a witness (*shāhid*) to this oath of mine."[34]

The caliphs defended their prerogatives when possible with regard to the *bayʿa* process. In 415/1024, Musharraf al-Dawla's *wazīr*, al-Maghribī, gathered the caliphal officials together to swear their oaths of loyalty to the Buyid *amīr* without the caliph's consent. When al-Qādir heard of this, he took immediate action, denouncing the oaths. He chastised those involved and threatened to "quit the city" should the oaths not be retracted. Musharraf al-Dawla, who apparently had no knowledge of al-Maghribī's breach of protocol, sought to placate the caliph. In the end, he swore his sincere obedience to the caliph and the matter was settled.[35] What we can take from this event as well as al-Qādir and al-Qāʾim's agile handling of the shifting troop alliances is that the rulers of the day took the *bayʿa* process seriously, not just for ideological reasons, but more importantly to maintain a sense of stability and order in the political arena.

The Seljuks had to deal with many of the same issues as the Abbasids and the Buyids when it came to the *bayʿa* process, but on a larger scale. When the Seljuk sultan Ṭughril Beg died in 455/1063, his vizier al-Kundurī had Seljuk officials swear an oath of loyalty to his heir Sulaymān. The troops, however, were more supportive to Ṭughril Beg's nephew, Alp Arslān, and swore their *bayʿa* oath to him: this effectively settled the matter on Alp Arslān.[36] When *he* died in 465/1072, his vizier Niẓām al-Mulk

32 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ed. ʿAṭā, 15:170.
33 Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership*, p. 55.
34 Ibid.
35 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ed. ʿAṭā, 15:163–64.
36 Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, 8:362. No mention of a *bayʿa* ceremony is provided in this account; rather al-Kundurī is said to have "sat" the rule (*ajlasa*) on Sulaymān as his father Ṭughril Beg had previously designated him to rule after him (*wa-kāna Ṭughril Bek*

handled the issue of the *bayʿa* oath to the sultan's son, Malik Shāh, more effectively:

> When he [Alp Arslān] died, the armies were gathered and his son [Malik Shāh] sat on the royal seat (*suddat al-mulk*), with the *amīrs* standing by. And Niẓām al-Mulk said to him [Malik Shāh] "Speak, oh Sultan!" And Malik Shāh said: "The largest among you is my father, the middle, my brother, and the smallest my son." The troops hesitated to act, [so] he repeated his statement and they responded in acceptance. Then Niẓām al-Mulk and Abū Saʿd al-Mustawfī organized the taking of the *bayʿa* from them and dispersed money to them.[37]

While not as detailed as the accounts regarding *bayʿa* ceremonies involving the caliphs, there was still some semblance of formality involved in the process. One interesting difference to note is the family symbolism apparent in Malik Shāh's words. This same use of a family trope is apparent in a later event during the Seljuk sultanate of Sanjar b. Malik Shāh. In this episode, Sanjar learns of his nephew Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad's apparent collusion with the newly-active Abbasid caliph al-Mustarshid against the senior Seljuk leader in 520/1126. Sanjar sends a letter to his nephew chastising him for his naïveté and reminding him of the family bonds they share: "You are my right hand; the caliph has intended to deceive both me and you. Verily, if the two of you agree [to go] against me, [when] he is done with me he will return to you. So do not turn to him, for you know he is not a son to me . . . My opinion of you is as a father [to his son]."[38] Although there is no discussion of a renewal of the *bayʿa* (*tajdīd al-bayʿa*) between the two Seljuks, they do reconcile; Sanjar had good reason to be sceptical of his nephew's loyalty at this point, and remained suspicious of both his nephew and the caliph.

In the decades following Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh's death in 511/1118, the centrifugal forces—to paraphrase C. E. Bosworth—that had been in abeyance during his reign were renewed with fervour, threatening to render the Seljuk lands asunder.[39] The first half of the sixth/twelfth century is best typified by the idea of alliances made and alliances broken among all

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qad ʿahada ilayhi bi-l-mulk). Ibn al-Jawzī's account, however, states that Sulaymān received the *bayʿa* oath.

[37] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ed. ʿAṭā, 16:145. The amount was 700,000 dinars to be dispersed among the troops. Ibn al-Athīr's account (*Kāmil*, 8:394–95) does not provide Malik Shāh's statement but does mention the same amount of money being dispersed to augment the troops' pay.

[38] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ed. ʿAtā, 17:231.

[39] Bosworth, "The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World," p. 119.

the key political players of the day. This is most apparent for the Seljuks of Iraq, a branch of the Great Seljuk family, who ostensibly paid homage to its elder member, Sanjar, but who spent the majority of their time waging war against each other. The historical accounts do not refer specifically to *bayʿa* oaths of loyalty among the Seljuks as much as reconciliation (*ṣulḥ*) following battles between the family members. It was during this period that we see the caliphs (al-Mustarshid, al-Rāshid, and al-Muqtafī) taking on a more assertive role—a role that included military capability. This more active position on the part of the caliphs—in contrast to such earlier caliphs as al-Qādir and al-Qāʾim—does not appear to be opportunistic in nature; it appears to have been necessitated by the imminent threats facing them. Initially, these caliphs had attempted to remain "above the fray" much like their predecessors before them. It was only when Baghdad became the target of sieges and open warfare that al-Mustarshid and his successors began to ignore their oaths of loyalty to the Seljuk sultans. One can argue that they could justify breaking their oaths and taking up arms only when the Seljuks had not fulfilled their oath by protecting Baghdad and the Caliphate. As already mentioned, however, in the case of al-Mustarshid's death and al-Rāshid's ascension to the throne in 530/1136, the concept of adhering to one's oaths and the penalties for breaking said oaths had definite consequences. At the same time, however, it is hard to imagine that the caliphs did not experience a bit of *schadenfreude* at the plight of their overlords and their troops; they just had to find a way to manoeuvre through the delicate nature of these unstable relationships and maintain some semblance of independence in the matter.

When we expand the scope of our study beyond the Abbasid experiences with the *bayʿa* ritual and compare the accounts involving the Buyids and Seljuk rulers' struggle with maintaining a stable process of succession, we begin to see some distinct contrasts related to the level of details the chroniclers provide for these ceremonies and the language used to describe the actions taken. For events involving the Abbasids, either internally or involving interaction with external powers, the reader more often is provided details as to the individuals involved, statements made, and specific actions taken. Additionally, the term *bayʿa* is used almost exclusively. When addressing similar rituals involving oaths of loyalty not involving the Abbasids, we receive far fewer details if any, and the terminology rarely, if ever, includes specific references to the *bayʿa* oath, opting instead to use such terms as *ḥilf*. What is ironic about the differences in the ways the various historians have depicted the oath of loyalty ceremonies is the stakes involved. We have richly detailed accounts with highly

formalized practices on display when we read of the Abbasid ceremonies, and yet the influence of these ceremonies was limited to the Abbasid family and its immediate environs in and around Baghdad. While we can speak of the importance of the Abbasid Caliphate as a symbol of the unified Sunnī community and the historians' natural desire to elevate the stature of the *bayʿa* ritual to a level consummate with the prestige of the institution, the reality of the political-military arena, even with renewal of the Abbasids' military capability after al-Mustarshid, makes one think that this attention to detail was unwarranted. During the period covered in this study, the Buyids and Seljuks maintained the dominant military position on a much wider geographic scale. The necessity for creating and maintaining a stable base of support was much more important to the individual Buyid and Seljuk rulers. Moreover, as has been discussed, the fractious nature of both Buyid and Seljuk family politics, replete with contested successions and itinerant rulers, made the process of establishing a stable political arena virtually impossible. In this instance, one would think the historians would have provided more detailed discussion of the rituals and processes the warlord dynasties experienced; regrettably, they did not. Future research comparing the chronicler's depiction of the Abbasid and non-Abbasid loyalty ceremonies could bring to light further insight as to the importance afforded to these rituals by the various parties involved. Although the historical record shows that throughout this period the *bayʿa* process of swearing oaths of loyalty continued to be practiced in word if not in deed among the various claimants to positions of rulership, in the end, the necessities of the political arena superseded the necessities of remaining true to one's word.

CHAPTER SEVEN

COMNENIAN IMPERIAL SUCCESSION AND THE RITUAL WORLD OF NIKETAS CHONIATES' *CHRONIKE DIEGESIS*

Alexander Beihammer

Just as every cop is a criminal
And all the sinners saints
As heads is tails
Just call me Lucifer
Cause I'm in need of some restraint
So if you meet me
Have some courtesy
Have some sympathy, and some taste
(M. Jagger/K. Richards, Sympathy for the Devil)

1. *Introduction*

Byzantine succession procedures, i.e., the election, proclamation, and coronation of emperors, have quite appropriately been characterized as "the cornerstone of the Byzantine state edifice."[1] Based on methods and theories of traditional constitutional history and studies in Roman public law, scholars from the late nineteenth century onwards have made numerous efforts to define the rules and principles governing the accession to the imperial throne from the age of the Diocletian reforms up to the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople.[2] General textbooks on Byzantine

[1] A. Christophilopoulou, *Ἐκλογή, ἀναγόρευσις καὶ στέψις τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ αὐτοκράτορος* (Athens, 1956), p. 1: "ἡ ἀνάδειξις νέου αὐτοκράτορος ἀποτελεῖ τὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον λίθον τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ πολιτειακοῦ οἰκοδομήματος."

[2] Fundamental studies from the first half of the twentieth century are W. Sickel, "Das byzantinische Krönungsrecht bis zum 10. Jahrhundert," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 7 (1898), 511–57; F. E. Brightman, "Byzantine Imperial Coronations," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 2 (1901), 359–92; A. E. R. Boak, "Imperial Coronation Ceremonies of the Fifth and Sixth Centuries," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 30 (1919), 37–47; O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell: Vom oströmischen Staats- und Reichsgedanken* (Jena, 1938, repr. Darmstadt), pp. 7–31. The only monograph on succession procedures is the work of Christophilopoulou cited in n. 1. For the state of knowledge on the Byzantine imperial office until the 1970s, see H. Hunger, ed., *Das Byzantinische Herrscherbild*, Wege der Forschung 341 (Darmstadt, 1975). Important

history usually offer readily accessible summaries of these investigations.[3] Due to the survival of notions originating from the Roman Republic, the Byzantines drew a clear distinction between the *basileia*, i.e., the state, on the one hand, and any of the incumbents of the imperial office, on the other, engendering thus an incessant antagonism between a rather weakly developed dynastic principle and a constant readiness for usurpation. Success, measureable on the basis of a candidate's recognition by the so-called three constitutional factors or political bodies, the army, the senate, and the citizens of Constantinople, was the crucial criterion for becoming a ruler who expressed the people's will and therefore was chosen by God, irrespectively of whether he derived his claims from an ancestry born in the purple or a violent rebellion.[4]

This system of organized instability manifested itself in a lack of standardized practices regulating the process of enthronement. A collection of mainly fourth- and fifth-century protocols transmitted in Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos' treatise *De Cerimoniis* contains more or less loosely connected descriptions of acclamations, processions, and rituals of investiture,[5] offering thus a broad spectrum of freely interchangeable variants to later generations. As he explicitly states in his prologue, the author intended to compose an easily accessible summary of paternal customs and contemporary usages of imperial order,[6] not to issue prescriptive norms. Certainly, there is a clearly discernable development in the early

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chapters on the principles of legitimacy and succession and the ceremonial of proclamations and coronations can be found in G. Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 13–83. For more recent works, see, for instance, P. Schreiner, "Das Herrscherbild in der byzantinischen Literatur des 9. bis 11. Jahrhunderts," *Saeculum* 35 (1984), 132–51; G. Prinzing, "Das byzantinische Kaisertum im Umbruch. Zwischen regionaler Aufspaltung und erneuter Zentrierung in den Jahren 1204–1282," in *Legitimation und Funktion des Herrschers: Vom ägyptischen Pharao zum neuzeitlichen Diktator*, ed. R. Gundlach and H. Weber, Schriften der Mainzer philosophischen Fakultätsgesellschaft 13 (Stuttgart, 1992), pp. 129–83; in recent decades there has also been a remarkable increase in scholarly interest in the imperial office of Late Antiquity (see below, n. 8).

[3] See, for instance, I. Karagiannopoulos, *Το βυζαντινό κράτος*, 4th ed. (Thessalonica, 2001), pp. 292–94; P. Schreiner, *Byzanz*, Oldenbourg Grundriss der Geschichte 22, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1994), pp. 57–61; R.-J. Lilie, *Einführung in die byzantinische Geschichte* (Stuttgart, 2007), pp. 132–38.

[4] For a detailed discussion, see Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, pp. 13–48.

[5] Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae libri duo* 1.38.91–96, ed. I. I. Reiske (Bonn, 1829), pp. 191–96, 410–40.

[6] *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 4: "ταῦτα φιλοπόνῳ μελέτῃ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐρανίσασθαι καὶ πρὸς εὐσύνοπτον κατάληψιν τῷ παρόντι ἐκθέσθαι φιλοτεχνήματι, καὶ πατρίων ἐθῶν παρεωραμένων παράδοσιν τοῖς μεθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἐνσημῄνασθαι."

period from predominantly military forms of enthronement to a gradual strengthening of the role of the patriarch and ecclesiastical rituals, but in general these modifications depended much more upon specific circumstances and personal choice than upon regulative efforts. Even some innovations added later on, such as the coronation by the patriarch, the oath of orthodoxy, the unction, and the shield-raising ceremony, which most probably was revived in the thirteenth century, are controversial as to their meaning and the time of their first appearance.[7]

New facets related to the topic of Byzantine succession have been discussed by specialists of ancient history,[8] who investigated the late antique imperial office by shifting the focus from legal to socio-political categories and describing an emperor's power as being dependent upon the consent of dominant "groups of acceptance."[9] Since none of these groups was able to stand for the whole of the political community, legitimacy could never be created solely on the basis of a formally correct investiture. Usurpation was but an open challenge of the ruling emperor and a generally accepted mode of gaining the throne.[10] Publicly performed ritual acts and ceremonies of self-representation, therefore, have to be regarded as essential and indispensable tools to overcome the insecurity inherent in the Byzantine public order by visualizing firmly established imperial virtues and the God-protected government of a ruler. This conclusion is in

[7] See G. Ostrogorsky, "Zur Kaisersalbung und Schilderhebung im spätbyzantinischen Krönungszeremoniell," in *Herrscherbild*, ed. Hunger, pp. 94–108; Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, pp. 63–64, 67–68, 75–76.

[8] J. Martin, "Zum Selbstverständnis, zur Repräsentation und Macht des Kaisers in der Spätantike," *Saeculum* 35 (1984), 115–31; S. Diefenbach, "Frömmigkeit und Kaiserakzeptanz im frühen Byzanz," *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 35–66; E. Flaig, "Für eine Konzeptionalisierung der Usurpation im spätrömischen Reich," in *Usurpation in der Spätantike: Akten des Kolloquiums „Staatsstreich und Staatlichkeit" 6.–10. März 1996 Solothurn/Bern*, ed. F. Paschoud and J. Szidat, Historia Einzelschriften 111 (Stuttgart, 1997), pp. 15–34; F. Kolb, *Herrscherideologie in der Spätantike* (Berlin, 2001), pp. 91–102; M. Meier, "Die Demut des Kaisers. Aspekte der religiösen Selbstinszenierung bei Theodosius II. (408–450 n. Chr.)," in *Die Bibel als politisches Argument. Voraussetzungen und Folgen biblizistischer Herrschaftslegitimation in der Vormoderne*, ed. A. Pečar and K. Trampedach, Historische Zeitschrift Beihefte (Neue Folge) 43 (Munich, 2007), pp. 135–58.

[9] Flaig, "Konzeptionalisierung der Usurpation," pp. 16–18: "Ein Akzeptanz-System wird hauptsächlich dadurch charakterisiert, welche Gruppen einen Herrscher akzeptieren müssen, damit er sich hält, und welchen Erwartungen dieser Gruppen er genügen muss, damit sie ihn akzeptieren."

[10] Flaig, "Konzeptionalisierung der Usurpation," p. 19: "In meiner Theorie des Prinzipats bezeichnet der Begriff Usurpation die offene Herausforderung des amtierenden Monarchen. Somit ist er keine staatsrechtliche Kategorie mehr, sondern eine politologische Kategorie, ein systemtypologischer Begriff: er bezieht sich auf einen möglichen akzeptierten Modus des Herrscherwechsels in bestimmten Monarchieformen."

line with modern sociological theories defining rituals as culturally standardized and repetitive forms of action of symbolic character, which aim at exerting influence on human affairs or at least allow a better understanding of man's position in the universe.[11] In this sense they fulfill a crucial function in creating or securing emotional and symbolic coherence, harmony, identity, and memory among the members of a community, mark ruptures and thresholds in a community's social structure, provide mechanisms for overcoming crises, and help people communicate with a transcendent sphere of supernatural forces.[12]

As for the study of the Byzantine ritual world in general and succession procedures in particular, one comes to the conclusion that the usual distinction between legal norms and political decisions, on the one hand, and legitimizing or sanctifying ritual acts, on the other, unavoidably leads to a deadlock. It is as if we were trying to discover rules in a game in which the Byzantine political actors themselves stubbornly refused to have any. Instead, it seems more appropriate to see rituals as an intrinsic part of a highly flexible and constantly changing political process. A large number of studies on western medieval rituals have taught us that hegemonial groups were no passive victims of an unconsciously adopted and archaic system of irrational rites and religious symbols, but rather functioned as actors actively playing with and even manipulating rituals according to their political designs.[13] The same holds true for medieval

[11] D. Kertzer, "Ritual, Politik und Macht," in *Ritualtheorien: Ein einführendes Handbuch*, ed. A. Belliger and D. J. Krieger, 3rd ed. (Wiesbaden, 2006), pp. 361–85, at pp. 370–74.

[12] For the above categorization of the functions of rituals, see C. Wulf and J. Zierfas, "Performative Welten. Einführung in die historischen, systematischen und methodischen Dimensionen des Rituals," in *Die Kultur des Rituals: Inszenierungen, Praktiken, Symbole*, ed. iidem (Munich, 2004), pp. 7–45, at pp. 17–24; for a comprehensive survey of terminology, problems, and current trends in modern ritual studies, see Belliger, ed., *Ritualtheorien*, pp. 7–34.

[13] For the role of symbolic acts, gestures, and ritual behaviour in medieval forms of communication and public life, see, for instance, K. J. Leyser, "Ritual, Ceremony and Gesture: Ottonian Germany," in idem, *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries* (London, 1994), pp. 189–213; G. Althoff, "Demonstration und Inszenierung: Spielregeln der Kommunikation in mittelalterlicher Öffentlichkeit," in idem, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt, 1997), pp. 239–57; idem, *Die Macht der Rituale: Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2003); idem, "Inszenierung verpflichtet: Zum Verständnis ritueller Akte bei Papst-Kaiser-Begegnungen im 12. Jahrhundert," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 35 (2001), 61–84; H. Keller, "Die Investitur: Ein Beitrag zum Problem der 'Staatssymbolik' im Hochmittelalter," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 27 (1993), 51–86; H. Keller, "Ritual, Symbolik und Visualisierung in der Kultur des ottonischen Reiches," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 35 (2001), 23–59; J. Laudage, "Die Bühne der Macht: Friedrich Barbarossa und seine Herrschaftsinszenierung," in *Inszenierung und Ritual in Mittelalter und Renaissance*, ed. by

authors describing and reflecting upon rituals. Their narratives, rather than providing faithful reconstructions, were themselves the product of a politico-ideological process determined by preconceived beliefs and perceptive patterns, authorial intentions as well as conventions of literary genres.[14]

The present chapter constitutes a case study on one of the most influential texts of twelfth-century Byzantium, Niketas Choniates' *Chronike diegesis*, and its narrative presentation of succession procedures at the court of the Comnenian and Angeloi emperors.[15] As will be demonstrated in what follows, his narrative reflects an extraordinary sensibility in observing political rituals and perceiving their role within the innermost sphere of Constantinopolitan imperial power. In addition, unlike most historians of the same period, who are mainly concerned with certain outstanding personalities, such as Alexios I, Manuel Komnenos, or Andronikos I,[16]

A. von Hülsen-Esch, Studia humaniora 40 (Düsseldorf, 2005), pp. 97–134; S. Weinfurter, "Das Ritual der Investitur und die 'gratiale Herrschaftsordnung' im Mittelalter" in ibid., pp. 135–51; various contributions in *Die Welt der Rituale von der Antike bis heute*, ed. C. Ambos, S. Hotz, G. Schwedler, S. Weinfurter (Darmstadt, 2005).

14 For the relationship between rituals and narrative techniques and the dangers of misinterpretation by modern historians, see P. Buc, "Political Ritual: Medieval and Modern Interpretations," in *Die Aktualität des Mittelalters*, ed. H.-W. Goetz, Herausforderungen, Historisch-politische Analysen 10 (Bochum, 2000), pp. 255–72; idem, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, 2001); for the use of rituals as crucial elements of historical memory, see D. A. Warner, "Ritual and Memory in the Ottonian Reich: The Ceremony of Adventus," *Speculum* 76 (2001) 255–83, at pp. 256–60; for a case study on the significance of rituals in the narrative of one of the main authorities of the Ottonian period, see idem, "Thietmar of Merseburg on Rituals of Kingship," *Viator* 26 (1995), 53–76.

15 Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. A. van Dieten, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 11/1 (Berlin, 1975); English translation: *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. H. J. Magoulias (Detroit, 1984); the most recent discussion of the genesis of the text is A. J. Simpson, "Before and After 1204: The Versions of Niketas Choniates' Historia," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 60 (2006), 189–221; see also eadem, *Studies on the Composition of Niketas Choniates'* Historia, unpublished PhD thesis, King's College, London, 2004, a revised version of which will be published by Oxford University Press; for a summary of the present state of research with extensive bibliographical references, see A. Karpozilos, *Βυζαντινοί ιστορικοί και χρονογράφοι*, 3, *11ος–12ος αι.* (Athens, 2009), pp. 699–728; a recent collection of innovative and interdisciplinary approaches to the author is A. Simpson and S. Efthymiadis, eds., *Niketas Choniates: A Historian and a Writer* (Geneva, 2009).

16 Anna Komnena, *Alexias*, ed. D. R. Reinsch and A. Kambylis, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 40/1 (Berlin, 2001); German translation: Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, trans. D. R. Reinsch, 2nd ed. (Berlin and New York, 2001); John Kinnamos, *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, ed. A. Meineke (Bonn, 1836); English translation: John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. Ch. M. Brand (New York, 1976); Eustathios of Thessalonica, *La espugnazione di Tessalonica*, ed. and trans. S. Kyriakidis and V. Rotolo, Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, Testi 5 (Palermo, 1961); German translation: *Die Normannen in Thessalonike: Die Eroberung von Thessalonike durch*

Choniates depicts long-term developments of the Byzantine state over a period of almost ninety years. In this framework rituals and ceremonies often serve as a means of reconstructing courses of action and illustrating the meaning inherent in the historical process. The author's retrospective interpretation of ritual acts thus decisively contributes to a revision and transformation of the past according to his own viewpoint and constitutes a crucial feature in the formation of historical memory.[17]

In this way, the gradual collapse of imperial authority from the days of John II until the failed proclamation of Constantine Laskaris, who on the dreadful day of April 13, 1204, refused to wear the imperial insignia, is reflected in an analogous decay of the empire's ritual world. The author, on the one hand, accuses his contemporaries of having abused and perverted the sacred ceremonies of the imperial court and, on the other, satirizes them by distorting their original intentions and presenting them with sarcastic irony. Thus, his narrative exposes the idea of a three-step development: (a) the Comnenian successions until Alexios II (1118–1180), which, in spite of serious tensions within the ruling elite, through successfully accomplished rituals resulted in consensus and harmony; (b) the rise to power of Andronikos I (1182/1183), whose attempt to visualize the legitimacy of his claims through a meticulously orchestrated sequence of rituals is presented in the light of his subsequent acts of excessive violence as the deceitful plan of a wily and hypocritical character; (c) the successions of the Angeloi emperors until their downfall in 1204, which appear as a chain of five violent usurpations, the increasing immorality of which is expressed through the author's growing sarcasm against the protagonists and the rituals enacted by them. Succession procedures, his argument goes, eventually lost the ability to project legitimacy and to create consensus among the dominating groups of acceptance.

Notably, Choniates' interpretation has to be seen against the background of the general vicissitudes which the Byzantine imperial office underwent during the twelfth century as a result of both internal crises and the antagonism with the Western Roman Empire. John II's alliance with the German Emperor Conrad III, while primarily directed against the Norman

die Normannen (1185 n. Chr.) in der Augenzeugenschilderung des Erzbischofs Eustathios, trans. H. Hunger, Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber 3 (Graz, 1955).

[17] Warner, "Ritual and Memory," p. 258. To the best of my knowledge, there is still no study on the narrative representation of ritual acts in Byzantine historiographical texts, so that we depend on the bibliography of western medieval studies as cited above, nn. 13 and 14; see also the discussion in the introductory chapter of this volume, pp. 2–14, esp. 12–14.

kingdom of Sicily, provoked a harsh ideological dispute on the hierarchical relationship between Rome and Constantinople, culminating during the 1150s in Manuel's intervention in Italy and in the negotiations with Pope Alexander III in 1166 concerning a restitution of Byzantine imperial rights in Rome.[18] This apex of Byzantine universal claims was completely reversed a couple of decades later, when in the negotiations preceding the treaty of Kallipolis in February 1190 Frederick I Barbarossa forced Isaac II to accept an inferior status and at Christmas 1196 the emissaries of Henry VI openly mocked the court of Alexios III.[19] Simultaneously, the dismemberment of the empire's internal structures led to the emergence of local rebels claiming the title of emperor, but exercising a regionally limited authority.[20]

2. *The Comnenian Successions of 1118 and 1143*

Despite the fact that the imperial successions of 1118 and 1143 took place in an atmosphere of serious intra-dynastic conflicts caused by the rival claims of John II's elder sister, the *kaisarissa* Anna, and Manuel's elder brother, the *sebastokrator* Isaac, respectively,[21] Niketas Choniates is eager

[18] For these aspects, see P. Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer: Ricerche sui rapporti fra Bisanzio e l'occidente nel secolo XII*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1955–1957), 1:33–41, 85–242, 2:123–43; the studies by W. Ohnsorge, "'Kaiser' Konrad III. Zur Geschichte des staufischen Staatsgedankens," "Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Manuels I. von Byzanz," and "Zu den außenpolitischen Anfängen Friedrich Barbarossas," in idem, *Abendland und Byzanz: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte der byzantinisch-abendländischen Beziehungen und des Kaisertums* (Darmstadt, 1958), pp. 364–86, 387–410, 411–33; P. Magdalino, *Manuel I Komnenos 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 83–95; M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025–1204: A Political History*, 2nd ed. (London and New York, 1997), pp. 190, 200–4, 209–15, 313; for a new interpretation of the 1166 event, see J. Laudage, *Alexander III. und Friedrich Barbarossa*, Beihefte zu J. F. Böhmer, Regesta Imperii 16 (Cologne, 1997), pp. 175–80.

[19] C. M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West 1180–1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), pp. 176–88 and 191–93.

[20] R.-J. Lilie, "Des Kaisers Macht und Ohnmacht. Zum Zerfall der Zentralgewalt in Byzanz vor dem Vierten Kreuzzug," in idem and P. Speck, *POIKILA BYZANTINA*, 4, *Varia I* (Bonn, 1984), pp. 9–120; Angold, *Empire*, pp. 304–15.

[21] For the coronations of John II and Manuel I, see F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène: études sur l'empire Byzantin au XI^e et au XII^e siècles*, 2/1–2, *Jean II Comnène (1118–1143) et Manuel Comnène (1143–1180)* (Paris, 1912; repr. New York, s. a.), pp. 1–7, 192–93, 195–200; Christophilopoulou, *Ἐκλογή*, pp. 157–61; K. Varzos, *Η γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών*, Byzantine Texts and Studies 20/1–2, 2 vols. (Thessalonica, 1984), 1:104–105, 205–207 with n. 13, 423–424; P. Magdalino, "Isaac *sebastokrator* (III), John Axouch, and a Case of Mistaken Identity," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 11 (1987), 207–14, at pp. 212–14, repr. in idem, *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Byzantium*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 343 (Aldershot, 1991), no. XII; Angold, *Empire*, pp. 183–84, 191–92.

to present them as model cases of successful accessions to the throne, against the background of which subsequent developments appear as a turn for the worse. Both John and Manuel, according to the well-established practice of creating co-emperors, had been crowned and dressed with the imperial insignia, i.e., the red shoes, the fillet, and the purple-bordered *chlamys*, by their fathers' hand, the former five years after his birth, in September 1092, the latter during an assembly of kinsmen and dignitaries in a Cilician military camp shortly before John's death in April 1143.[22] Although all preparatory measures provided by the tradition of imperial successions had been taken, the candidates achieved their goal only through the use of bribery and force. While John Kinnamos coped with these dark points in his heroes' conduct either by passing them over in silence or by evoking the idea of God's providence, Choniates placed special emphasis on the predecessors' will as well as on the importance of ceremonies, which overcame the unrest and disorder caused by these tensions.[23] Accordingly, we rarely get an insight into the deeper reasons or real dimensions of the conflicts, nor do we hear anything about informal attempts at mediation.

What matters are the official arguments put into the senior emperors' mouths and put forward in support of their choices. Alexios I, who is depicted by Choniates arguing with his wife Eirene, presents John's succession as an example of "harmony and praiseful order," which is buttressed by numerous historical precedents, where the father was succeeded by his first-born son.[24] Moreover, the fact that Alexios himself "had seized the empire in a non-praiseful way," i.e., by means of usurpation, forced him to

[22] Varzos, *Γενεαλογία*, 1:204 with n. 7, 213; for the insignia, see Choniates, ed. van Dieten, p. 5, ll. 88–90, and p. 46, ll. 43–45, trans. Magoulias, pp. 5, 26.

[23] John II: Kinnamos 1.2, ed. Meineke, p. 5, trans. Brand, p. 14 (gives no other details apart from the fact of his proclamation), Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 5–9, trans. Magoulias, pp. 5–7. Manuel I: Kinnamos 2.1–2, ed. Meineke, pp. 29–32, trans. Brand, pp. 32–35; Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 48–52, trans. Magoulias, pp. 29–31. Another important source for John II's accession to the throne is John Zonaras, *Epitomae Historiarum libri XIII–XVIII* 18.28.13–29.14, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst (Bonn, 1897), pp. 760–65. In addition, both Kinnamos 1:10, ed. Meineke, pp. 26–28, trans. Brand, pp. 29–31, and Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 41–47, trans. Magoulias, pp. 24–27, give a detailed account of John II's speech to the state dignitaries and military commanders and the ensuing proclamation ceremony in the Cilician military camp. Varzos, *Γενεαλογία*, 1:205–6, n. 13, argues that both emperors were proclaimed by the clergy of Hagia Sophia on 15 August and officially crowned by the patriarch on 28 November 1118 and 1143 respectively.

[24] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 5, ll. 10–17, trans. Magoulias, p. 5: "ἁρμονίαν τε καὶ τάξιν . . . ἐπαινετὴν . . . τίς ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν πρώην τὰ Ῥωμαίων σκῆπτρα παρειληφότων, υἱὸν ἔχων ἁρμόδιον εἰς ἀρχήν, τοῦτον μὲν παρεβλέψατο."

adopt a generally accepted arrangement, for all Romans (*τὸ Πανρώμαιον*) would think of him that he lost his mind, if he excluded his own flesh and blood from imperial rule.[25] In contrast, Emperor John II's preference for his younger son Manuel is justified on the grounds of a biblical model. In a speech delivered at an assembly of kinsmen and dignitaries in a military camp in Cilicia shortly before his death in early April 1143, John argued to the detriment of his elder son Isaac's rights to the throne. In particular, he points to the dichotomy between nature (*φύσις*), which usually bestows the highest rank on the firstborn children, and God, who, with respect to supreme offices, often decides otherwise, paying more attention to the nobility of soul and the gentleness of character than a person's age. Numerous examples taken from the Old Testament underscore this view.[26] The different sources on which the basic ideas of Byzantine imperial ideology are founded allow the parallel use of contradictory principles drawn from Roman history in the first case and biblical kingship in the second.[27] On the other hand, this flexibility also entails a high degree of insecurity with regard to the rules governing matters of imperial succession at the Comnenian court. Arguments uttered by the senior emperor might help propagate one's claims, but do not constitute a sufficient basis for securing general acceptance.

In Choniates view, the actual seizure of power manifests itself in taking control of the Great Palace, the centre of the capital's imperial topography, where the treasury and the emperors' ceremonial vestments were stored.[28] Its occupation, thus, was of both economic and ritual significance in that the new emperor had to show his generosity towards the factions supporting him and to present himself during the ensuing coronation and festive procession dressed with the necessary symbols of his dignity. Moreover, the Great Palace formed along with Hagia Sophia the

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[25] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 6, ll. 18–23, trans. Magoulias, p. 6.

[26] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 44, ll. 79–88, trans. Magoulias, pp. 25–26: "ὡς ἡ μὲν φύσις τοῖς πρωτοτόκοις παισὶ τῇ τάξει ἐμμένουσα τὰ πρωτεῖα βραβεύειν εἴωθε, παρὰ δὲ θεῷ οὐχ οὕτως ἐν ταῖς τῶν προβλήσεων μεγίσταις ἀεί πως φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι ... ἀλλ' εὐγενείᾳ χαῖρον ψυχῆς ἐπὶ τὸν πρᾶον βλέπει καὶ ἥμερον καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ φυλάττοντα τὰ ἐντάλματα."

[27] On the Christianization of the imperial idea in general, see W. Ensslin, "Gottkaiser und Kaiser von Gottes Gnaden," in *Herrscherbild*, ed. Hunger, pp. 54–85, and Kolb, *Herrscherideologie*, pp. 59–89; on the roots of Byzantine imperial ideology in the Roman Principate, see I. Karayannopoulos, "Der Frühbyzantinische Kaiser: Quellen und Grenzen seiner Gewalt," in *Herrscherbild*, ed. Hunger, pp. 235–57.

[28] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 48, 16–18, trans. Magoulias, p. 29: "τὰ τῶν κρατούντων γνωριστικὰ περιβλήματα."

central *lieux de mémoire* and main setting for the emperor's official manifestations of power and ceremonial acts.[29]

As for the exact sequence of events in August 1118, Choniates' version differs irreconcilably from that of John Zonaras. According to the latter, the palace guard of the Varangians granted John access to the Great Palace after he had been proclaimed by the patriarch and the synod,[30] whereas Choniates maintains that neither Alexios I's signet ring nor the acclamations by the citizens of Constantinople convinced the Varangians of John's "coming in compliance with his father's order," so that eventually he forced his entrance into the palace by destroying the main gates.[31] As Kinnamos is completely silent about John's accession to power, it cannot be decided what version, if any, comes nearer to the historical facts. Modern historians usually reconstruct the procedure by combining John's first march to the palace gates according to Choniates with the formal acclamation by the clergy described by Zonaras. Christophilopoulou even views the latter event as an indication of the growing influence of the Church in imperial successions.[32] What has been overlooked is that the two versions apparently reflect diverging attitudes towards the Comnenian dynasty's control over the imperial office. John Zonaras, in his capacity as monk and outstanding theologian and canonist of his time,[33] primarily stresses the Church's legitimating authority by presenting the acclamation in Hagia Sophia as a formal prerequisite for gaining access to the Great Palace. The patriarch and the synod, thus, appear as guarantors of the inviolability of the state's sacred centre with the Varangians serving as spokesmen and

[29] Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, pp. 106–38. For the persisting importance of the Great Palace for state ceremonies and building activities during the Comnenian period, see P. Magdalino, "Manuel Komnenos and the Great Palace," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 4 (1978), 101–114, repr. in idem, *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Byzantium* (Aldershot, 1991), no. V; A. Simpson, "Narrative Images of Medieval Constantinople," in *Niketas Choniates*, ed. Simpson and Efthymiades, pp. 185–207, at 199–202.

[30] Zonaras 18.29.1–8, ed. Büttner-Wobst, pp. 763–64. The Varangians were quartered in the barracks of the Excubiti inside the Chalke Gate: Magdalino, "Great Palace," p. 111.

[31] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 7–8, trans. Magoulias, pp. 6–7: "ὁπλοφόρον καὶ συγγενές."

[32] Chalandon, *Comnène*, p. 6; Christophilopoulou, *Ἐκλογή*, pp. 158–59; her opinion is repeated by Angold, *Empire*, p. 183: "It was largely through the support of the church that John Comnenus outmanoeuvred his mother and his sister."

[33] A. Kazhdan, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. (New York and Oxford, 1991), 3:2229; A. Karpozilos, *Βυζαντινοί ιστορικοί*, pp. 465–89, esp. 465–69. If we trust the hypothesis that Zonaras fell into disfavour at court because of his support for Anna Komnene's coup and was sent into exile thereafter, the author's attempt to underpin the Church's role as guarantor of the state to the detriment of the ruling dynasty's claim becomes even more understandable.

protectors of their rights on a practical level. As a result, the entrance into the palace presupposes a ritualized procedure involving the highest ecclesiastical authorities. Choniates, instead, places emphasis on John's personal abilities, which, along with his dying father's will, enabled him to overcome all obstacles and to force his way into the palace. Consequently, he omits the Church's involvement, insisting on the people's support for John's case and replacing ritual with violence. John, in order to become an emperor elected by God, did not need the synod's previous consent. Irrespectively of their discrepancies, however, the two reports agree on the paramount significance of the Great Palace for the actual exertion of imperial authority and the decisive role of the Varangian guard in the transitory phases from one ruler to another.

Since in April 1143 John II died far off in Cilicia, Manuel could take advantage of the element of surprise with his supporters placing his brother Isaac under arrest in the monastery of Christ Pantokrator "while he was still ignorant of what had happened,"[34] and at the same time bribing the clergy of the Great Church in order to secure its consent.[35] Kinnamos confirms the first detail, but presents Manuel's pledge for additional annual payments as a donation granted after his coronation by the new Patriarch Michael Oxeites.[36] In his insistence on eulogizing Manuel's personality and policy,[37] Kinnamos mainly focuses on official displays of imperial ideology, thus turning bribery into a demonstration of the emperor's generosity. Choniates, instead, looking beneath the propagandistic surface of Manuel's succession, discloses the mechanisms of neutralizing resistance and gaining the consent of the capital's political bodies. Nevertheless, he draws the reader's attention to another symbolic feature of crucial significance, namely to the corroborative elements of the imperial privileges issued for the benefit of the Great Church. That the author in this context explicitly refers to the emperor's red signature and the golden seal fixed on the document by a purple-colored thread of silk[38] points to the fact that, immediately after his first acclamation in the Cilician military camp, Manuel began performing administrative acts restricted to the senior emperor's personal duties and exerting control

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[34] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 48, l. 20, trans. Magoulias, p. 29: "ἀγνῶτα ἔτι ὄντα τῶν γενομένων."

[35] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 48–49, trans. Magoulias, pp. 29–30.

[36] Kinnamos 2.2, ed. Meineke, p. 33, ll. 2–14, trans. Brand, pp. 34–35.

[37] On Kinnamos and his work, see now Karpozilos, *Βυζαντινοί ιστορικοί*, pp. 625–61, esp. pp. 630–32.

[38] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 49, ll. 34–39, trans. Magoulias, p. 29.

over the imperial chancery as the core of the empire's central administration. Thus, by accepting Manuel's charter the Church also fully recognized the legitimacy of his rule.

Most ritual acts occurring in the framework of Comnenian succession procedures are closely related to the idea of restoring intra-dynastic peace and harmony within the state through the accession of a new ruler. Funerals were an ideal occasion for expressing the dynasty's unbroken continuity and the new emperor's respect for the legacy of his predecessor. Despite the dangers emanating from his brother's presence in the imperial palace, Manuel delayed his return to the capital in order to lead his father's funerary procession to a harbour at the Pyramos River, whence the corpse was to be transported by ship to Constantinople.[39] John Kinnamos tells us that Manuel, together with some of his closest kinsmen, carried the body on his shoulders,[40] an act which projected the son's love and devotion for his father. The fact that John II had erected a dynastic mausoleum within the monastic complex of Christ Pantokrator[41] clearly shows that at least since the 1130s imperial funerals and commemorations had become an important part of Comnenian self-representation and dynastic ideology. Moreover, one also observes a striking parallel with practices of the Western Empire, where from the death of Otto III in 1002 onwards increasingly ritualized funerary processions and foundations of dynastic burial places made their appearance.[42] The son carrying the dead father on his shoulders is a constant feature of these events, by which the king, as an eleventh-century witness states, not only fulfilled all duties of a child's perfect love for the deceased father, but also showed the pious devotion of a servant towards his lord.[43] Manuel's behaviour was

[39] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 49–50, trans. Magoulias, p. 30.

[40] Kinnamos 2.1, ed. Meineke, pp. 30–31, trans. Brand, p. 33.

[41] P. Gautier, "Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantokrator," *Revue des Études byzantines* 32 (1984), pp. 1–145; R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire Byzantin*, part 1, *Le siege de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, 3, *Les églises et les monasteries*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1969), pp. 515–23; T. F. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey* (University Park, Penn., London, 1976), 71–101.

[42] H. Keller, "Ritual, Symbolik und Visualisierung in der Kultur des ottonischen Reiches," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 35 (2001), 23–59, at pp. 31–35.

[43] Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi imperatoris* 39, ed. H. Bresslau, *Wiponis opera*, SS rer. Germ. 61, 3rd ed. (Hannover, 1915), p. 60: "filius caesaris Heinricus rex ad omnes introitus ecclesiarum et ad extremum ad sepulturam humeros suos corpori patris ultra modum humili devotione supposuit et non solum, quod filius patri in caritate perfecta, sed quod servus domino in timore sancto debet, hoc totum rex patri defuncto studiosissime exhibuit." For an interpretation of this passage, see Keller, "Ritual," pp. 33–34.

obviously determined by very similar concepts and at the same time underlined his superior position vis-à-vis his elder brother Isaac.

Twenty five years earlier, when Alexios I died in the night following John's seizure of control of the Great Palace, Empress Eirene called on her son to participate in the funeral of his father, who was to be buried in the monastery of Christ Philanthropos,[44] but John decided to stay behind the well-closed palace gates while sending most of his relatives on his behalf.[45] The somewhat hasty burial of Emperor Alexios seems to have caused criticism among contemporary observers, such as John Zonaras:

> He [Alexios] died … after having successfully accomplished his reign, but his end was not in keeping with this. For he was abandoned by more or less all his servants, so that there was almost nobody to clean his dead body with the last bath, nor did his companions have access to the imperial ornaments so that his corpse could be adorned in an imperial manner, nor did he have a funerary procession appropriate for an emperor, and this even though he was no foreigner, but his own son had succeeded to his throne.[46]

The author may have been tempted to see this as a kind of just punishment for the emperor's misdeeds. Apart from this, however, he also articulates the dynasty's need for an elaborate funerary ceremonial demonstrating the uninterrupted continuity of the Comnenian house and the close relationship between the deceased emperor and his designated successor.

Other symbolic acts aimed at restoring a balance of power within the dynasty. John II, to reward the loyalty of his brother, the *sebastokrator* Isaac, who had offered him much support during the whole succession procedure, granted him the privilege of sitting beside his brother on the throne and at the imperial table,[47] an especially potent symbol of proximity and equality in rank. The subsequent conflict between the two brothers, which broke out in 1130 and was later continued by Isaac's two sons, John and Andronikos,[48] shows the political significance of this privilege, which, rather than a mere sign of gratitude, was a vital measure to forestall the outburst of another intra-dynastic conflict. Likewise, both Kinnamos and

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44 For the monastery founded by Eirene Doukaina in the beginning of the twelfth century and located in the district between the Adrianople Gate and the Blachernai Palace, see Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, pp. 525–27.

45 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 8, ll. 82–92, trans. Magoulias, p. 7.

46 Zonaras 18.29.12–13, ed. Büttner-Wobst, pp. 764–65.

47 Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 8–9, trans. Magoulias, p. 7.

48 For details, see A. Beihammer, "Defection across the Border of Islam and Christianity: Apostasy and Cross-Cultural Interaction in Byzantine-Seljuk Relations," *Speculum* 86 (2011), 597–651, at pp. 618–624.

Choniates insist on the reconciliation between Manuel and his brother Isaac, who during the coronation ceremony in Hagia Sophia exchanged the kiss of peace.[49] In addition, Kinnamos mentions Manuel's granting a pardon to his seditious uncle Isaac who had been exiled during the last years of John's reign.[50]

Neither Kinnamos nor Choniates is interested in describing the details of the ceremonial features of Comnenian coronations, such as acclamations, processions, and sacred acts performed in Hagia Sophia. We cannot be sure, thus, whether there were any changes in comparison to the tenth century and, if so, in what respect. As for Manuel's *adventus* to Constantinople, Choniates sketches a unique scene symbolizing the triumphal outcome of the whole enterprise. When Manuel reached the palace gates, his Arab horse neighed loudly at the moment of crossing the threshold, scratched the ground with its hoofs, and proudly turned around before moving obediently on into the interior of the palace.[51] Observers versed in the art of fortune-telling explained this gesture as a sign of a long and lucky reign. As we will see below, horses play an important role in Choniates' descriptions of ceremonial settings. In particular, they stand as symbols for God's providence and the presence of supernatural forces within the human sphere, expressing thus both harmony and discord between the actions of men and celestial providential plans.

In summary, harmony is the main theme of the surviving portrayals of early Comnenian succession procedures, although Choniates, in contrast to Kinnamos, leaves the reader to understand that the actual situation might have been less harmonious. Rituals, gestures, and symbols expressing intra-dynastic stability, reconciliation, and peacemaking virtues are the narrative features through which the impression of general consensus is created. Signs of luck and favour originating from the extra-human sphere serve as an additional reinforcement. Much less important, in comparison, are the ceremonials of enthronement themselves, which are, if not completely omitted, only alluded to.

The first serious hints of discontent in succession matters appear with Manuel's plans concerning his daughter Maria and her fiancé, the Hungarian prince Bela-Alexios. Choniates' account confines itself to the ceremony of 1165/1166 in the church of the Blachernai Palace, where, on the emperor's demand, the court dignitaries took an oath to recognize the

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[49] Kinnamos 2.2, ed. Meineke, p. 32, ll. 18–20, trans. Brand, p. 34; Choniates, van Dieten, p. 52, ll. 9–17, trans. Magoulias, p. 31.

[50] Kinnamos 2.2., ed. Meineke, p. 31, ll. 20–22, trans. Brand, p. 34.

[51] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 51, ll. 84–92, trans. Magoulias, p. 30.

couple as legitimate heirs to the throne.[52] Here the historian for the first time refers to an atmosphere of open opposition. The protest is put into the mouth of the emperor's rebellious cousin Andronikos, who pointed out the danger of committing perjury in case Manuel's second wife Maria would give birth to a male heir and harshly criticized the designation of a foreigner.[53] By linking these objections to the dynasty's black sheep and future murderer of Manuel's late-born son Alexios II, Choniates perhaps downplays the real dimensions of the opposition the emperor was facing at that time. On the other hand, he also gives a hint of the post-1180 situation in which the claims of Manuel's descendants to the throne were eventually eliminated and the principle of intra-dynastic harmony completely failed. Accordingly, Byzantine historians changed their technique in presenting imperial rituals.

3. *Andronikos I: The Magician of Rituals and His Narrative Deconstruction*

Andronikos Komnenos, as is generally known, did not have a good press among his Byzantine and foreign contemporaries. The Crusader chronicler William of Tyre calls him "a perfidious and criminal man, spreading conspiracies and being incessantly faithless towards the empire."[54] Likewise, Eustathios of Thessalonike states that "it seems to have been destined according to God's resolution that along with the fall of the Comnenian Emperor Manuel should fall whatever was upright among the Romans, as if our whole land with the eclipse of that sun should fall into darkness."[55] Accordingly, Andronikos in his eyes was a ruler who,

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[52] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 112, ll. 64–68, p. 137, 66–71; Kinnamos 5.5, 6.11, ed. Meineke, pp. 215, 214–15, trans. Brand, pp. 163, 287, mentions Bela's engagement with Maria, his promotion to the rank of *despotes*, and the subsequent breaking off of the betrothal before being installed as king of Hungary in 1172, but omits the oath; see further Chalandon, *Comnène*, p. 486; Lamma, *Comneni*, pp. 106–7; F. Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni: Political Relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th Century* (Budapest, 1989), pp. 97–98; Angold, *Empire*, pp. 208–9; Magdalino, *Empire*, pp. 79–81.

[53] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 137, ll. 73–88.

[54] William of Tyre, *Chronicon* 22.12, ed. R. B. C. Huygen, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 63 (Turnhout, 1986), p. 1022, ll. 23–24: "vir perfidus et nequam, conspirationum seminator et erga imperium semper infidelis." For an extensive study of Andronikos I's image in medieval Latin historiography, see now S. Neocleous, "*Tyrannus Grecorum*: The Image and Legend of Andronikos I Komnenos in Latin Historiography," *Medioevo Greco* 12 (2012), 195–284.

[55] Eustathios, ed. Kyriakidis and Rotolo, p. 18, ll. 13–15: "Μέλλον εἶναι φαίνεται, καθὰ θεῷ εὐηρέστητο, πεσόντι τῷ Κομνηνῷ βασιλεῖ Μανουὴλ συγκαταπεσεῖν καὶ εἴ τι ἐν Ῥωμαίοις ὄρθιον καὶ ὡς οἷα ἡλίου ἐκείνου ἐπιλιπόντος ἀμαυρὰν γενέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς."

"after having turned into a great monster through his bestiality, was busy causing troubles for all men, and so he stopped being a lenient father, preferring, instead, to be furious in an unbearable manner."[56] Of course, it must not be forgotten that both historians were in need of a scapegoat whom they could blame for such disasters as the massacre of the Italian inhabitants of Constantinople in April 1182 and the Norman conquest of Thessalonike in August 1185. Moreover, Eustathios was an avowed supporter of Andronikos' successor Isaac Angelos.[57] In any case, Andronikos no doubt had many of the nasty characteristics chroniclers usually ascribe to him, but we also have to reckon with judgements made in the light of later developments, with rhetorical exaggeration and, above all, with the systematic defamation of a loser. He certainly had a surprising afterlife in iambic verses and songs referring to his adventures, and his contemporary observers no doubt acknowledge some of his manifold talents. [58] The fact, however, that after his execution his abused corpse, thrown into one of the vaults of the Hippodrome,[59] was not even granted the comfort of a Christian burial conspicuously illustrates the fanatic zeal with which the new strong men of September 1185 endeavoured to destroy any traits of his imperial image and memory.[60]

In the light of this state of transmission, the events, in the course of which Andronikos gradually substituted the minor emperor Alexios II and the council of regency dominated by the empress-mother Maria and Manuel's nephew, the *protosebastos* Alexios, with his own regime, cannot but pose a major problem of historical interpretation. The two chief

56 Eustathios, ed. Kyriakidis and Rotolo, p. 52, ll. 32–34: "Ὁ δ' ἀλλὰ πρὸς δεινὸν μέγα μεταπλασθεὶς τῇ θηριωδίᾳ τὸ κατὰ πάντων φοβερὸν πραγματεύεται· καὶ ἀφίησι μὲν πατὴρ ὡς ἤπιος εἶναι, ἀνθαιρεῖται δὲ μαίνεσθαι οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτῶς."

57 Eustathios, ed. Kyriakidis and Rotolo, p. 3, ll. 4–6, trans. Hunger, p. 17: "…τοῦ ἐλευθερωτοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Ἰσαακίου τοῦ Ἀγγέλου, διαδεξαμένου ἐκεῖνον εὐδαιμόνως καὶ εὐτυχῶς τῷ κόσμῳ προνοίᾳ καὶ εὐμενείᾳ θεοῦ."

58 Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 353–54, trans. Magoulias, p. 195.

59 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 352, ll. 91–93, trans. Magoulias, p. 194.

60 For modern views on Andronikos I's personality and policy, see C. Diehl, *Figures Byzantines, Deuxième Série* 7th ed. (Paris, 1924), pp. 86–133; Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 31–75; O. Jurewicz, *Andronikos I. Komnenos* (Amsterdam, 1970), esp. pp. 120–25 for a psychological portrait; Lilie, "Ohnmacht," pp. 86–99; Varzos, *Γενεαλογία*, 1:493–638; Magdalino, *Empire*, pp. 197–201, for his early life as opponent of Manuel; Angold, *Empire*, pp. 252–55, 295–303; N. Gauls, "Andronikos Komnenos, Prinz Belthandros und der Zyklop. Zwei Glossen zu Niketas Choniates Χρονικὴ διήγησις," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 96 (2003), 623–60; For Choniates's rhetoric in the presentation of Andronikos I, see R. Saxey, "The Homeric Metamorphoses of Andronikos I Komnenos," in *Niketas Choniates*, ed. Simpson and Efthymiadis, pp. 121–143.

witnesses, Eustathios and Choniates,[61] in their respective attempts to stress the disastrous outcomes of his *coup d'état*, heavily drew upon the dichotomy between the customary meaning of rituals defined by political theory and centuries-long usage, on the one hand, and the actor's actual intention, on the other. More specifically, Andronikos, by performing rituals expressing deference and loyalty to the existing order, is presented as intending the exact opposite, i.e., the usurpation of imperial rights by overthrowing the legitimate heir to the throne and eliminating all his adversaries among the members of the court aristocracy. All his publicly performed symbolic acts, therefore, acquire an immoral and treacherous character, which in turn signals his personal deficiencies, the tyrannical and arbitrary aspects of his reign, and the general decay of the Byzantine ruling elite in the years after 1180. Once the most distinguished Comnenian magnates were ready to abuse the empire's sacred rituals in favour of their personal ambitions, the argument goes, the state was in danger of collapsing and of falling victim to foreign threats. While John II and Manuel restored the empire's internal harmony by resorting to imperial ceremonies, Andronikos used rituals as a means of betrayal and deceit, causing thus a deep crisis within the state's innermost foundations.

In contrast to Eustathios, who frequently summarizes the course of events placing his main emphasis on Andronikos' coronation, Choniates structures his whole report on Andronikos' rise to power along a sequence of ritual events ranging from the protagonist's reconciliation with Manuel three months before the latter's death to his proclamation as co-emperor in September 1183. In particular, Emperor Manuel's stubborn opponent, who from about 1153/1154 had been constantly undermining his cousin's authority,[62] achieved his reintegration into the court hierarchy through a publicly performed act of utmost self-humiliation during an official

[61] Both authors devote rather lengthy reports to the events from Andronikos' first intervention into the Constantinopolitan civil strife until his coronation in September 1183: Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 225–73, trans. Magoulias, pp. 128–151; Eustathios, ed. Kyriakidis and Rotolo, pp. 26–50, trans. Hunger, pp. 37–57.

[62] If we believe Kinnamos 3.17, ed. Meineke, pp. 126–27, trans. Brand, pp. 99–100, Andronikos began to conspire against his cousin first in Cilicia with the sultan of Konya and thereafter in Braničevo with the king of Hungary, as a result of which he was imprisoned for the first time perhaps in early 1154; see also Choniates, van Dieten, p. 101, ll. 69–71, trans. Magoulias, p. 58: "καὶ περὶ τοῦ παραλυθῆναι μὲν τὸν Μανουὴλ τῆς ἀρχῆς, αὐτὸν δ' ἐπιβήτορα ταύτης τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπαναστάντα γενέσθαι;" see also Diehl, *Figures*, pp. 96–98; Jurewicz, *Andronikos I.*, pp. 49–55; Varzos, *Γενεαλογία*, 1:506–10; Magdalino, *Empire*, p. 197.

audience in July 1180.[63] In the spring of 1182, after intervening in the conflict of the competing Constantinopolitan factions on the grounds of his oath of allegiance taken to Manuel and his son, Andronikos displayed his respect for the existing order by prostrating himself before Patriarch Theodosios and Emperor Alexios II and by visiting his dead cousin's tomb in the monastery of Christ Pantokrator while refusing analogous gestures of deference to Empress Maria.[64] These demonstrations of loyalty culminated in Andronikos' carrying the young emperor on his shoulders up and down the pulpit of Hagia Sophia, where Alexios was crowned by Patriarch Theodosios on 16 May 1182.[65] Andronikos' takeover in September 1183 likewise was accompanied by a series of successive ceremonial events, namely his acclamation as co-emperor by an assembly of court dignitaries, his entry into the Blachernai Palace, and his coronation by the new patriarch Basil Kamateros, which ended up with the inversion of the names in the final acclamation formula.[66] These ritual events are set against the background of general turmoil starting with the rebellion of Manuel's daughter, the *kaisarissa* Maria, and her husband Renier of Montferrat and triggering a whole series of conflicts and executions culminating in the death sentence against the empress-mother Maria and the murder of Alexios II shortly after Andronikos' accession to the throne.[67]

Eustathios' and Choniates' accusation of deceitfulness is based on the assumption that Andronikos, because of his previous career as Manuel's life-long opponent, from the outset must have had the intention or even an elaborated plan to overthrow Alexios II. "It was the goal of his future

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63 For primary sources, see the discussion below; see also Diehl, *Figures*, pp. 108–10; Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 29; Jurewicz, *Andronikos I.*, pp. 79–81; Varzos, *Γενεαλογία*, 1:528–29; Magdalino, *Empire*, p. 201.

64 For primary sources, see the discussion below; see also Diehl, *Figures*, pp. 117–18; Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 43–44; Jurewicz, *Andronikos I.*, pp. 90–92; Varzos, *Γενεαλογία*, 1:551.

65 For primary sources, see the discussion below; see also Christophilopoulou, *Ἐκλογή*, pp. 162–63; Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 44; Jurewicz, *Andronikos I.*, p. 94; Varzos, *Γενεαλογία*, 1:552.

66 For primary sources, see the discussion below; see also Christophilopoulou, *Ἐκλογή*, pp. 163–64; Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 49; Jurewicz, *Andronikos I.*, pp. 95–96; Varzos, *Γενεαλογία*, 1:562–64.

67 Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 33–50; Jurewicz, *Andronikos I.*, pp. 84–96; Lilie, "Ohnmacht," pp. 85–91; Varzos, *Γενεαλογία*, 1:538–65; Angold, *Empire*, pp. 295–97. For a critical appraisal of the main accounts on the outbreak of the 1181 conflicts, see C. Cupane, "La Guerra civile della primavera 1181 nel racconto di Niceta Coniate e Eustazio di Tessalonica: narratologia historiae ancilla," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 44 (1997), 179–208; J.-L. van Dieten, "Eustathius von Thessaloniki und Niketas Choniates über das Geschehen im Jahre nach dem Tod Manuels I. Komnenos," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 49 (1999), 101–112.

deeds to consolidate the rule of the young Alexios a little bit in mercantile fashion," comments Eustathios on Andronikos' course of action following his arrival in Constantinople, and he states with respect to Andronikos' oaths and gestures of deference that "the pretense of humility made people believe in the security of imperial loyalty."[68] Likewise, Choniates interprets Andronikos' gestures of humility during the reconciliation with Manuel as a malicious trick of a man "being most cunning and excelling in diverse wiles."[69] The fact that Andronikos used his pledge of allegiance to Alexios II to justify his intervention into Constantinopolitan affairs appears as "an opportune and plausible excuse for seizing the throne."[70] When he set off for Constantinople, he "lifted up his desire to rule"[71] and won over his followers "by his multifarious wiliness and insidious manner and dissembling ways." People "could not but succumb to the deceitful, enticing, silver-tongued wheedling with which he professed his zeal on behalf of the right and expounded on the need to liberate the emperor."[72] The only person who, according to Choniates, right from the start was able to perceive Andronikos' wily intentions was Patriarch Theodosios. Facing Andronikos' gestures of deference, he upbraided him "for his theatrical antics of throwing himself on the ground and fawning like a dog."[73] Likewise, Choniates has the patriarch allude to the emperor's deplorable end, stating that "he already counted him among the dead."[74] Andronikos' prayer on Manuel's tomb is characterized as a "barbarian incantation" and as sacrilegious mocking of the dead emperor,[75] hinting thus at the protagonist's impious abuse of Alexios' corpse. Accordingly, Andronikos' protective gesture framing Alexios' coronation in Hagia Sophia is explained by a verse of the Psalms (101, 11), "he lifted me up and smashed me into pieces."[76]

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68 Eusthathios, ed. Kyriakidis and Rotolo, p. 36, ll. 7–9, 15–17, trans. Hunger, p. 45.

69 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 226, l. 86, trans. Magoulias, p. 128: "πολυμήχανος δ᾿ ὢν Ἀνδρόνικος καὶ παντοίοις δόλοις καζόμενος." Especially noteworthy is the ample use of Homeric vocabulary and allusions in the depictions of Andronikos: Saxey, "Homeric Metamorphoses," pp. 121–143.

70 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 228, ll. 31–33, trans. Magoulias, p. 129: "αἰτίαν οὖν ἐφιλοκρίνει καὶ ἀνηρεύνα περιεργότερον, δι᾿ ἧς εὐαφόρμως τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐπίθοιτο. Καὶ πολλοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀνελίξας καὶ πᾶσαν μηχανὴν μετελθὼν …"

71 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 243, l. 32, trans. Magoulias, p. 137.

72 Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 243–44, trans. Magoulias, p. 137.

73 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 253, ll. 89–93, trans. Magoulias, p. 142, for the whole scene, see also Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 252–53, trans. Magoulias, pp. 141–42.

74 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 254, ll. 10–12, trans. Magoulias, p. 142.

75 Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 256–57, trans. Magoulias, p. 143.

76 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 265, l. 81, trans. Magoulias, p. 147.

Hence, both authors, through mockery and irony, which sometimes turns into harsh criticism, clearly distance themselves from Andronikos' gestures of respect for the existing order.[77] On the other hand, they also insinuate that the usurper was very successful in attracting a strong faction of supporters encompassing people from various social strata and a broad section of the court aristocracy, thus reestablishing a high degree of consensus among the citizenship and the ruling elite. Regarding the riots caused by the *kaisarissa* Maria's flight into Hagia Sophia, Eustathios characteristically states:

> For the crowd, the confidence in Andronikos was, I hesitate to say even before God himself, but perhaps I could say with greater certainty that it was immediately after God… Andronikos inspired most people to believe that he was a man able to govern the empire in a good manner, that he learned from what he had suffered to be kind and that in any case he would pay respect to the child of Manuel in compliance with his numerous oaths.[78]

Likewise, his arrival near Chalcedon, according to Eustathios, was enthusiastically welcomed by the citizens of Constantinople: "Within a short time he attracts everybody and brings the whole city, so to say, close to him… immediately the rich, the poor and the middle-class people cross the sea over to him."[79] More specifically, Choniates underlines Andronikos' persuasive power and rhetorical talent, through which he gained the support of the provincial population of Paphlagonia hailing him as God-sent saviour and won over influential bureaucrats like the *epi tou kanikleiou*

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77 Modern historians often have taken these statements at face value: Diehl, *Figures*, p. 92: "Mais à toutes ces hautes qualités il unissait une âme inquiétante et trouble, violente, audacieuse et passionnée… il n'avait ni principles ni scrupules… Conspirer, trahir, se perjurer lui était un jeu… il nourissait des ambitions ardentes, démesurées. Tout jeune, il rêva du trône; toute sa vie, il n'eut de cesse qu'il s'élevât à l'empire." Jurewicz, *Andronikos I.*, pp. 91–92: "Wir haben dem Dialog, den der Kirchenfürst und der Fürst von Geblüt geführt haben, etwas mehr Raum gewidmet, um die Verfahrensmethoden des Andronikos vor Übernahme der Macht zu veranschaulichen… Die Erzählung des Choniates charakterisiert vortrefflich die gesamte Heuchelei des Andronikos, seine Beredsamkeit und Verstellungskunst." Varzos, *Γενεαλογία*, 1:551–552: "Μετά απ' αυτή τη θεατρική σκηνή… Σαν καλός ηθοποιός, θρήνησε με άφθονα δάκρυα… Απ' το παλάτι τον πήρε ο Ανδρόνικος στον ώμο του… δείχνοντας έτσι υποκριτικά πως ήταν 'πιο φιλόστοργος από τον πατέρα του'…." For the importance of ironical elements in Choniates's narrative, see J. N. Ljubarskij, "Byzantine Irony: The Example of Niketas Choniates," in *Το Βυζάντιο ώριμο για αλλαγές: Επιλογές, ευαισθησίες και τρόποι έκφρασης από τον ενδέκατο στον δέκατο πέμπτο αιώνα*, ed. C. Angelidi, National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research, International Symposia 13 (Athens, 2004), pp. 287–298.

78 Eustathios, ed. Kyriakidis and Rotolo, p. 26, ll. 29–31 and p. 28, ll. 4–8, trans. Hunger, pp. 37–38.

79 Eustathios, ed. Kyriakidis and Rotolo, p. 32, ll. 4–8, trans. Hunger, pp. 41–42.

John Kamateros, and high-ranking military commanders, like Andronikos Angelos, Andronikos Kontostephanos, and Andronikos Lapardas.[80]

Our chief witness's insistence on the fact that at least a considerable portion of the ruling class and the city's populace were well disposed towards Andronikos' intervention in the power struggle of 1182 should make us more cautious in accepting the overwhelmingly negative presentation of the usurper's intentions and strategy. We can safely assume that whatever he did after his takeover in Constantinople in order to keep and enhance his position to a great extent actually expressed the sentiments and expectations prevailing among the political players of the period 1182–1183. As has been correctly observed, in his attempt to replace the *protosebastos* and the empress Andronikos had his only source of legitimacy in the ruling class's dissatisfaction with the previous regime.[81] In this precarious situation he simply had no other choice than constantly reaffirming his allegiance to the dynastic principle of the Comnenian clan, while taking measures without having secured consent certainly would have provoked his immediate downfall. Andronikos' alleged wiliness, therefore, seems to be much more a part of later commentators' irony and retrospective judgments than a characteristic feature of his actions and public performances in the period before his coronation. The broad acceptance he found should not be explained by the peoples' inability to realize his true intentions, as our sources may suggest. Instead, he seems to have been actually convincing in many respects and, above all, able to project the idea of stability and lawful order.

Furthermore, apart from the statements of our biased accounts, there is no way to prove whether Andronikos, setting off for Constantinople amidst the turmoil of early 1182, had a fully developed plan in mind of how to gain control of the central government and to overthrow Alexios II. Modern scholars usually accept the sources' viewpoint as reflecting historical facts, presenting thus Andronikos' usurpation as the final outcome of long-term attempts of a seditious personality driven by an insatiable

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[80] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 274, ll. 26–29, trans. Magoulias, p. 152 (John Kamateros, who participated in throwing Alexios II's corpse into the sea); Choniates, van Dieten pp. 243–44, trans. Magoulias, p. 137 (support of the Paphlagonians); Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 245–46, trans. Magoulias, p. 138 (Andronikos Angelos, father of the future emperors Isaac and Alexios); Choniates, van Dieten, p. 248, ll. 59–61, trans. Magoulias, p. 139 (Andronikos Kontostephanos); Choniates, van Dieten, p. 263, ll. 27–29, trans. Magoulias, p. 146 (Andronikos Lapardas); see also Angold, *Empire*, p. 297: "Andronicus came to power with the support of both the court aristocracy and the populace of Constantinople."

[81] Lilie, "Ohnmacht," p. 90.

lust for power.[82] Nevertheless, by separating the ironic and disdainful tone inherent in the Byzantine historians' narratives from the factual core of the described events, one clearly notes a skillfully choreographed sequence of effective public performances aimed at creating a broad and workable power base and at visualizing dynastic unity.

Unconcealed acts of cruelty against members of the court aristocracy did not occur earlier than in the months before Andronikos' last steps to the imperial throne, when his newly acquired position as Alexios' undisputed guardian was seriously threatened by the rebellious movements led by John Batatzes in Philadelphia as well as the Angeloi clan and their kinsmen in the Bithynian cities.[83] Andronikos Komnenos should not be exculpated from being a cruel usurper, but he should be viewed as a political player acting much more in accordance with the rules of twelfth-century political culture than so far believed.

Let us now turn to some specific features of the aforementioned ritual acts in order to arrive at a better understanding of their intrinsic logic and

[82] See the quotations above, pp. 176–77.

[83] The chronological sequence of events occurring between Alexios II's coronation in May 1182 and Andronikos' accession to the throne in September 1183 cannot be sufficiently reconstructed on the basis of Choniates' account. The revolt of John Batatzes and his sons (Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 262–64, trans. Magoulias, pp. 146–47) apparently broke out immediately after Andronikos' takeover in Constantinople, i.e., in May 1182. The rebellion of Andronikos Angelos, Andronikos Kontostephanos, their sons, and the *logothetes tou dromou* Basil Kamateros, which resulted in the flight of the Angeloi and the blinding and imprisonment of the other conspirators (Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 266–67, trans. Magoulias, p. 148), occasioned the subsequent uprising of the Bithynian cities in the summer of 1183 (Choniates, van Dieten, p. 269, trans. Magoulias, p. 150). Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 46, links this rebellion with the removal of Empress Maria from the imperial palace, but there is no evidence for this. The first high-ranking dignitary to fall victim to Andronikos' tyranny, according to Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 258–59, trans. Magoulias, p. 144, was John Kantakouzenos. His blinding is explained as an act of pure arbitrariness, exemplifying Andronikos' oppressive policy of eliminating influential men as a result of his distrust and envy or of intra-familiar conflicts among members of the court aristocracy (Choniates, van Dieten, p. 258, trans. Magoulias, p. 144). The historian places it in the time following Andronikos' establishment in Constantinople, but it is very unlikely that the latter could have successfully initiated his tyrannical regime as long as his own position was not yet fully secure. The statement, therefore, obviously reflects a later state of affairs. Accordingly, the blinding of John Kanatakouzenos, who was married to the sister of Isaac Angelos, should be seen in connection with the Bithynian revolt. Likewise, the poisoning of the *kaisarissa* Maria and her husband (Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 259–60, trans. Magoulias, pp. 144–45), the punishment of the seditious Kontostephanoi, and eventually the execution of Empress Maria (Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 267–69, trans. Magoulias, 148–49) occurred in a time when the formation of aristocratic opposition against Andronikos was well underway, i.e., from late 1182 onwards; for details, see Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 38–49; Jurewicz, *Andronikos I.*, pp. 84–96; Lilie, "Ohnmacht," pp. 89–93; J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)*, Byzantina Sorbonensia 9 (Paris, 1990), pp. 111–16, 427–34.

their function in the framework of the political situation outlined above. The fact that Andronikos' return to the imperial court in July 1180 was preceded by the dispatch of intermediaries negotiating for his safe-conduct and impunity[84] indicates that the symbolic gestures the emperor's cousin was to perform during the reconciliation ceremony were agreed upon in advance. Apart from the animosities between the two men, the whole setting also intended to put an end to the tensions between two rival lines of the Comnenian dynasty, which since the revolt of Emperor John II's brother Isaac in 1130 had been in more or less constant conflict with each other. Hence the meeting was of crucial importance for the regime's future stability. Obviously, the deal was complete self-humiliation in exchange for the emperor's mercy and the rebel's restoration to his previous honourable position. To this end Andronikos had to present himself before an assembly of court dignitaries not only as a remorseful penitent prostrating himself on the floor, shedding tears and begging forgiveness, but in the even more humiliating guise of a defeated enemy and slave. This status was most impressively symbolized by an iron chain which Andronikos was carrying around his neck and by which he insisted on being drawn before Manuel's throne.[85] The gesture was modeled on the analogous behaviour of enemies surrendering after defeats, such as the Serbian chief Stephen Nemania, who in 1172 had presented himself before Manuel with a rope around his neck.[86] Moreover, the rope also stands for unrestrained power over captives during triumphal processions, tortures, and executions.[87] The context to which the scenery's symbolism is alluding, beyond doubt, shows that the reconciliation ceremony of July 1180 was not just another token of Andronikos' wiliness, as Choniates suggests, but a sequence of symbolic acts which were in full accordance with practices regarding the treatment of vanquished opponents and enabled the emperor to show clemency without risking a loss of prestige.[88]

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[84] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 226, ll. 82–85, trans. Magoulias, p. 128.

[85] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 226–27, trans. Magoulias, pp. 128–29.

[86] Kinnamos 6.11, ed. Meineke, p. 287, ll. 20–24, trans. Brand, p. 215: "ἧκε τοίνυν βασιλέως ἐπινεύσαντος, καὶ εἰσῄει παρὰ βῆμα, ἀκαλυφής τε τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ χεῖρας εἰς ἀγκῶνα γυμνούμενος, ἀνυπόδετος μὲν πόδας, σχοῖνος δέ οἱ τοῦ τραχήλου ἐξῆπτο."

[87] An example is the soldier Poupakes, a supporter of Andronikos, who was punished and publicly humiliated by a herald leading him about with a rope around his neck: Choniates, van Dieten, p. 131, trans. Magoulias, p. 75.

[88] For numerous parallels from the western medieval world between the tenth and the twelfth centuries, see G. Althoff, "Das Privileg der deditio: Formen gütlicher Konfliktbeendigung in der mittelalterlichen Adelsgesellschaft," in idem, *Spielregeln*, pp. 99–125. The significance of this reconciliation ceremony has been underestimated by Byzantinists:

Andronikos' strategy to present himself on his march to Constantinople in the spring of 1182 as God-sent saviour and guardian of Alexios II's legitimate claims first and foremost required public performances of deference to the supreme representatives of the Church and the dynasty. Patriarch Theodosios, having fulfilled his role as successful mediator in the conflict between the *kaisarissa* Maria and the *protosebastos* Alexios, enjoyed broad acceptance among the capital's populace. The failed attempt of the *protosebastos* to force him into exile ended up with a triumphal return and a further strengthening of his position.[89] The young emperor was the central figure of Andronikos' strategy of gaining allies and legitimating his intervention in Constantinopolitan affairs.

Tears as a sign of serious personal and emotional commitment in combination with the most extreme form of *proskynesis*, i.e., throwing oneself to the ground and kissing the lord's feet[90]—Eustathios even talks of putting the emperor's foot on his protector's head—, certainly were the strongest conceivable gestures Andronikos could employ in order to convince his audience of the sincerity of his intentions.[91] Strong sentiments of loyalty to the dynasty could also be expressed through a visit to Emperor Manuel's tomb in the monastery of Christ Pantokrator. Just as the funerary procession of 1143, Andronikos' prayer at Manuel's sarcophagus, followed by a sort of intimate dialogue with the deceased,[92] manifested the cousin's intention to respect and maintain the dynasty's unbroken continuity and heritage.[93] At the same time Andronikos displayed his

Varzos, *Γενεαλογία*, 1:528–529: "Σαν καλός ηθοποιός που ήταν, θέλησε να κάνη με θεατρικό τρόπο το γυρισμό και την υποταγή του . . . Ο Μανουήλ . . . βαθιά συγκινημένος απ' αυτή την παθητική στάση, έκλαιγε και αυτός και πρόσταζε τους γύρω του να τον σηκώσουν." Magdalino, *Empire*, p. 201: ". . . where he made a dramatic show of repentance."

[89] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 240–43, trans. Magoulias, pp. 135–37; see also Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 36–37; Varzos, *Γενεαλογία*, 2:211–212: the events can be dated to the period between 9 May 1181 (armistice of *kaisarissa Maria* and her husband John-Renier with the imperials) and autumn 1181 (return of Patriarch Theodosios from Pantepoptes monastery).

[90] M. Grünbart, "Der Kaiser weint: Anmerkungen zur imperialen Inszenierung von Emotionen in Byzanz," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 42 (2008), 89–108; M. Hinterberger, "Tränen in der byzantinischen Literatur: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Emotionen," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 56 (2006), 27–51. For the act of *proskynesis*, see Treitinger, *Kaiseridee*, pp. 84–94.

[91] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 252, ll. 73–81 and p. 255, ll. 30–32, trans. Magoulias, pp. 141–42 and pp. 142–43; Eustathios, ed. Kyriakidis and Rotolo, p. 36, ll. 17–18, trans. Hunger, p. 45.

[92] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 256–57, trans. Magoulias, p. 143.

[93] A striking twentieth-century parallel can be found in one of the ceremonies of Nazi Germany, namely the well-known annual memorial march to the *Feldherrnhalle* in Munich which culminated in a silent dialogue between Adolf Hitler and the martyrs

personal bonds with the ruling house, rejecting all doubts emanating from his rebellious past.

The public humiliation of the *protosebastos* before being blinded—he was led in a procession from Hagia Sophia to the seashore "sitting on the back of a tiny horse preceded by a flag tightened on a cane"—, as well as Andronikos' unconcealed contempt for the empress-mother Maria demonstrated during his first meeting with Alexios II,[94] were but the logical result of this strategy. The consolidation of his own position as the emperor's guardian very much depended on his ability to prove and project the incompetence and moral inferiority of the original members of the council of regency. Furthermore, many members of the court aristocracy who endured hardships during the time of unrest certainly had a wish for vengeance, which Andronikos came to comply with. The fact that his show of disrespect for Empress Maria had no negative impact on his position as the dynasty's protector opened the way for further measures against her, which eventually resulted into her removal from the palace by an order of Patriarch Theodosios.[95]

This course of action culminated in the coronation of Alexios II by the patriarch on 16 May 1182, where Andronikos carried the young emperor on his shoulders up and down the pulpit of the Great Church. Through this gesture, Choniates comments, "he appeared to be more affectionate than a father, one who accepted the charge to protect the youthful scion of the empire with his right hand."[96] By now Andronikos had become the undisputed regent of the minor emperor and appeared as the most powerful guarantor of the existing order established by the late emperor's arrangements of succession. In spite of Eustathios' and Choniates' incessant assertions to the contrary, however, none of these acts and public demonstrations betrays any signs of uncontrolled arbitrariness or seditious intentions. Andronikos certainly had eliminated the council of regency, but this had been done with the aid of a large segment of the

of the 1923 putsch: B. Dücker, "Politische Rituale als Bewegungen im öffentlichen Raum: 'Der Marsch auf die Feldherrnhalle' (1923)—'Der Marsch durch Moskau' (1944)" in *Prozessionen, Wallfahrten, Aufmärsche: Bewegung zwischen Religion und Politik in Europa und Asien seit dem Mittelalter*, ed. J. Gengnagel, M. Horstmann, G. Schwedler, Menschen und Kulturen, Beihefte zum Saeculum Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte 4 (Cologne, 2008), pp. 361–76, at pp. 364–72.

[94] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 249, ll. 2–4, p. 255, l. 33, trans. Magoulias, pp. 140, 143.

[95] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 265–66, trans. Magoulias, pp. 147–48.

[96] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 265, ll. 75–80, trans. Magoulias, p. 147.

Constantinopolitan elite and in favour of the stabilization of the central government.

What eventually turned the dynasty's guardian into a murderous usurper and tyrant was, most probably, not his initial plan, but rather his reaction to an unexpected collapse of the balance of power he had built up and a loss of support from numerous magnates of the old regime. The conspiracy of such important people as the Angeloi and the Kontostephanoi, as well as the rebellions in Philadelphia and Bithynia constituted very serious threats to his achievements.[97] At the same time new problems emerged at the western and eastern borderlands, with the Seljuk sultan of Konya seizing important fortresses, such as Sozopolis and Kotyaion, and destroying Attaleia and with the Hungarians occupying territories in Dalmatia and the Danube Valley.[98] The uprising of other important men, like Andronikos Lapardas in late 1183 and Isaac, a grandson of Manuel's brother Isaac, in 1184,[99] clearly shows that Andronikos was not able to perpetuate the consensus achieved in 1182/1183. In the course of 1183 his downfall became more and more foreseeable, and so his only way out was to stake everything on the card of gaining the imperial throne with the aid of his supporters and the ecclesiastical leadership in Constantinople to the detriment of the alliance of the Angeloi, the Kantakouzenoi and other opponents in Bithynia.[100]

It is against this background that Andronikos' accession to the imperial throne in September 1183[101] should be interpreted. The basic argument brought forward by an assembly of court dignitaries in Andronikos'

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[97] For sources and literature, see above, n. 83.

[98] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 262, ll. 7–14; trans. Magoulias, p. 146 (conquest of Sozopolis, siege of Attaleia, and sack of Kotyaion and surrounding areas); Choniates, van Dieten, p. 277, ll. 45–47, trans. Magoulias, p. 154 (King Bela III pillaged the region of Niš and Braničevo); see further Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 47–48; Jurewicz, *Andronikos I.*, pp. 97–98.

[99] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 277–79, trans. Magoulias, 154–55 (Lapardas); Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 290–92, trans. Magoulias, pp. 160–62 (Isaac Komnenos in Cyprus); see further Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 51–52, 55–56; Jurewicz, *Andronikos I.*, pp. 108–10; Lilie, "Ohnmacht," p. 95; Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, pp. 116–17.

[100] Lilie, "Ohnmacht," p. 92, arrives at similar conclusions, although he places more emphasis on the legal aspect: "So muten denn auch die nächsten Versuche des Andronikos, seine Herrschaft abzusichern, durchaus folgerichtig an: Die Stellung eines Vormunds des Kaisers war verfassungsrechtlich nicht vorgesehen. Zumindest nach außen hin bot [*sic*] sich nur geringe Möglichkeiten der propagandistischen Selbstdarstellung und einer ideologischen Absicherung. Folglich musste sie aufgewertet werden, und dies geschah, indem Andronikos sich zum Kaiser krönen ließ."

[101] For chronological matters, see E. Kislinger, "Zur Chronologie der byzantinischen Thronwechsel 1180–1185," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 47 (1997), 195–198.

residence was the latter's life-long political experience and his personal abilities, which would enable him to avert the dangers emanating from the rebellion in Bithynia.[102] In order to govern the state henceforth with greater authority, the assembly proclaimed Andronikos co-emperor, mentioning his name according to the customary usage second to Alexios.[103] During a new gathering in the Polytimos chamber of the Blachernai Palace, Emperor Alexios gave his consent to Andronikos' proclamation, urging him to accept the crown, while his supporters placed him on the emperor's throne and dressed him with the imperial insignia.[104] Eustathios and Choniates agree that during the entire proceeding Andronikos himself adopted the attitude of an unwilling candidate who accepted the honour offered him by the people only after repeated refusals and with much hesitation. Eustathios gives a detailed description of a highly theatrical scene in which court dignitaries fell to Andronikos' feet ardently imploring him to consider the benefit of the city and its inhabitants, while the latter, with all possible gestures of despair, was expressing his urgent wish to flee this burden, but was eventually detained by Patriarch Theodosios' threatening him with the metaphorical chains of excommunication.[105] Irrespectively of the degree of factual or narrative exaggeration, the candidate's display of unwillingness and modesty was a well-known practice that had many prominent precedents, such as the proclamation of Nikephoros II Phokas.[106] Especially in cases where a candidate had not been designated by a senior emperor, it seems to have been, if not a necessary, at least a much desired part of succession procedures, propagating the idea that a coronation takes place not because of personal ambitions, but as a result of the people's will, which in turn reflects God's favour. The presence of the patriarch in Andronikos' case underlines the moral obligation which a competent ruler is expected to undertake in times of danger for the state and stresses the strong ties between the imperial office and the divine sphere.

As Björn Weiler has demonstrated in an extensive essay, the *rex renitens*, "the king who, reluctantly and under protest, is forced to take up the scepter," was an especially widespread and ideologically multilayered

102 Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 269–70, trans. Magoulias, pp. 149–50.

103 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 270, ll. 20–23, trans. Magoulias, p. 150.

104 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 271, ll. 42–56, trans. Magoulias, pp. 150–51.

105 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 271, ll. 49–56, trans. Magoulias, p. 151, Eustathios, ed. Kyriakidis and Rotolo, pp. 48–50, trans. Hunger, 55–57.

106 Leo Diakonos, *Historiae libri decem* 3.4, ed. C. B. Hase (Bonn, 1828), p. 40, ll. 20–24.

phenomenon in medieval Europe.[107] Occurring mainly in connection with rulers who, in lack of sufficient claims to dynastic succession, came to power under disputed circumstances, this European strategy of gaining royal dignity has much in common with the Byzantine example of Andronikos Komnenos. As a theme in historiography, the topic of the reluctant king often reflects propagandistic purposes and illustrates moral principles of an ideal ruler, who shows humility and modesty and is willing to follow the advices of his counsellors. As a specific form of rituals of accession, which in fact seems to have been performed with a certain frequency, the display of reluctance in accepting the crown enables the candidate to assure himself of the magnates' backing and to demand public confirmation, serving thus as a means to justify a person's rise to power. All these aspects were obviously at work in Andronikos' case as well. The particularity of Choniates's and Eustathios's accounts lies in the fact they embed this element in their overarching aim to satirize the sincerity of the future emperor's intentions, distorting thus an efficient means to gain acceptance into a show of hypocrisy. Andronikos, however, once more proved to be a skilful politician, who was well acquainted with the ritual expressions of his time and in particular with those required for the creation of broad consensus in a conflict-ridden atmosphere.

The first violation of the traditional rules governing the proclamation of co-emperors occurred during the coronation ceremony celebrated by Patriarch Basil Kamateros in Hagia Sophia.[108] Andronikos, when receiving Holy Communion following the coronation rites, took a new oath of allegiance to the legitimate incumbent of the throne, but the formula chosen for the acclamations accompanying the ceremony constitutes a clear break with hitherto observed principles. By inversing the sequence of names of the senior and the co-emperor, Andronikos' name suddenly

[107] B. Weiler, "The *Rex Renitens* and the Medieval Ideal of Kingship, ca. 900–ca. 1250," *Viator* 31 (2000), 1–42, the quotation on p. 2.

[108] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 271–72, trans. Magoulias, p. 151, concentrates on the acclamation formula and the renewal of the oath of allegiance which Andronikos gave while receiving communion. Eustathios, p. 50, ll. 21–30, trans. Hunger, p. 57, mainly focuses on the assumption of the imperial insignia, i.e., the red shoes and the diadem. The two reports differ in that the former locates the ceremony in its traditional place in Hagia Sophia, adding that the ensuing solemn procession passed the Church of Christ the Saviour of Chalke, while according to the latter the coronation itself took place in the Chalke Church. I see no reason why Andronikos should have deviated at such a decisive moment from the usual ceremonial practices. Additional prayers in Chalke Church during the procession perhaps led Eustathios to false conclusions; see also Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 49 with n. 48.

occurred in the first position.[109] Hence, Andronikos, as far as the sphere of imperial rituals is concerned, waited for the very last moment to reveal his intervention in the existing order. At that time Andronikos may have already turned into a merciless murderer of his former opponents, including the empress-mother and most members of the previous council of regency. Yet he was still very cautious in handling public performances of imperial authority and in particular the sensible question of his relationship with Alexios II. Only after having secured the consent of a vast majority of the Constantinopolitan dignitaries for his promotion to the rank of co-emperor and after having created an atmosphere of enthusiastic acceptance among the citizenship did he dare to articulate his claim for preeminence, resorting even at that moment to a justification based on his advanced age.[110]

The harsh criticism uttered by Eustathios and Choniates certainly reflects the views of Andronikos' opponents and the general disdain cultivated in the years of the Angeloi emperors, but by no means expresses the opinion prevailing in September 1183 in the Byzantine capital. As a result, the authors' mockery was no longer limited to the person of Andronikos alone, but targeted the whole of the court elite and the capital's populace. Both groups are now depicted as people who have lost their mind in an orgiastic turmoil of politics and power. An *epi ton deeseon* and a *protonotarios* who, after Andronikos' proclamation, tried with their gestures and shouts to direct the mob gathered in the streets are portrayed with traits of insanity and ecstasy.[111] Repeatedly Choniates emphasizes the foolishness of the people being trapped by Andronikos' deceitfulness.[112] Groans uttered by opponents in the Blachernai Palace and Alexios' "unwilling soul" during the proclamation[113] point to a hidden resistance, creating thus a certain dissonance in the general atmosphere of enthusiasm. Nevertheless, what human beings were not allowed to articulate became fully perceivable through the behaviour of animals and the presence of supernatural forces. The appearance of a comet announces future calamities and

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[109] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 271, ll. 57–59, trans. Magoulias, p. 151.

[110] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 272, ll. 60–64, trans. Magoulias, p. 151.

[111] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 270–71, trans. Magoulias, p. 150.

[112] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 270, ll. 24–25, trans. Magoulias, p. 150: "τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἀβελτέροις;" Choniates, van Dieten, p. 271, ll. 41–42, trans. Magoulias, p. 150: "ὢ τῆς ἀναιδείας καὶ τῆς μικρογνώμονος φρενὸς καὶ κουφότητος."

[113] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 271, ll. 45–46, trans. Magoulias, p. 150: "ὁμοῦ παιάνων τε καὶ στεναγμάτων (οὐ γὰρ πάντες τῷ καιρῷ παρεσύρησαν);" Choniates, van Dieten, p. 271, l. 48, trans. Magoulias, p. 150: "ἑκὼν τοίνυν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ."

a white-feathered falcon arriving from the east and flying three times to and fro between the Great Church and the acclamation hall of the imperial palace prophesies the short duration of Andronikos' reign.[114] Another detail which, according to Choniates, caused the observers' astonishment was the unusually fast gait of the newly crowned emperor's horse during the triumphal procession. Especially spiteful sarcasm characterizes the explanations brought forward by the author: the reason might have been the emperor's fear of attempts against his life or, according to others, the old man's exhaustion from wearing the imperial trappings the whole day, so that he defecated into his breeches.[115] Just as Manuel's horse became the symbol of a long and successful reign, the emperor's horse stands for the imminent collapse to which the empire was heading. If Andronikos himself made serious attempts to project the legitimacy of his actions, Choniates through his narrative consciously destroyed even the slightest semblance of legitimacy which most people in 1182/1183 actually might have felt and believed in.

4. *The Angeloi Emperors' Ritual Disaster*

The five successions to the imperial throne which occurred between 12 September 1185 and 13 April 1204 in each case were the result of violent revolts leading to the predecessor's mutilation or physical extinction. The rule of the Angeloi emperors, therefore, resembles a fragile coalition of political forces based on the remnants of the Comnenian regime rather than a distinct and solidly established dynasty. The lack of a well-defined dynastic self-image is clearly reflected in Alexios III's decision to choose "Komnenos" instead of his own family name as his official epithet. Choniates explicitly explains this peculiarity by the greater prominence of the previous dynasty or, alternatively, by the emperor's desire to extin-

[114] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 251–52, trans. Magoulias, p. 141. The episode is inserted after the description of the attack against the Latin inhabitants, i.e., Italian merchants, of Constantinople in April 1182: Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 250–51, trans. Magoulias, pp. 140–41.

[115] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 272–73, esp. p. 273, ll. 86–89, trans. Magoulias, p. 151: "οἱ δὲ κεχοδέναι τὴν βράκα τὸ γερόντιον διετείνοντο τῷ πανημερίῳ μόγῳ καὶ τῇ ἀχθοφορίᾳ τῶν βασιλικῶν παρασήμων ἀποκαμὸν καὶ μὴ στέγειν ἔχον ἐπὶ πολὺ τὰ λύματα τῆς γαστρός" ("others maintained that the old man defecated into his breeches, because he grew weary of the day-long strain and the encumbrance of the imperial trappings and thus could not contain the excreta of his stomach for long").

guish his dethroned brother's memory.[116] On the other hand, Alexios III countered the claims brought forward by one of the pseudo-Alexioi, who rose in rebellion several months after the new emperor's coronation in late 1195, with the sole argument of being the actual incumbent of the throne, something that automatically endowed him with a higher degree of legitimacy than any real or alleged offspring of Manuel I.[117] In comparison to Comnenian ideology, which was marked by constant references to dynastic principles or biblical models of kingship, the political discourse of the post-1185 period placed much stronger emphasis on notions of power struggle and competition. Accordingly, Choniates' portrayals of imperial successions in this period exhibit several remarkable changes which, on the one hand, are due to the emergence of new practices and mechanisms in seizing power and gaining the throne and, on the other, reflect the author's increasingly hostile attitudes towards the protagonists.

First and foremost, the narrative's focus shifts from the court aristocracy of the Great Palace to broader sections of the populace of Constantinople agitating in and about Hagia Sophia.[118] In order to obtain the acceptance of the political forces controlling the palace area, rebels had to display the legitimacy of their claims through demonstrations of broad public support. Hence, the election and proclamation of emperors was transferred to another ritual space which was of equally sacred nature as the palace, but more easily accessible to the common people. Choniates perceived this shift as a sign of the general decay of imperial authority, presenting gatherings of citizens and all sorts of ritual acts related to them

[116] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 459, ll. 54–56, trans. Magoulias, p. 252. Choniates' statement is confirmed by genuine charters surviving in the monastery of St. John the Theologian in Patmos: *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου: Α΄- αὐτοκρατορικά*, ed. E. L. Vranouse (Athens, 1980), no. 10, l. 31 (chrysobull of Isaac II Angelos dated August 1186): "Ἰσαάκιος ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ὁ Ἄγγελος," and ibid., no. 11, l. 50 (chrysobull of Alexios III Angelos dated November 1197): "Ἀλέξιος ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ὁ Κομνηνός."

[117] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 462, ll. 54–56, trans. Magoulias, p. 253.

[118] For modern views on the newly acquired significance of the citizens of Constantinople, see Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 78: "He [Isaac] had been crowned at the clamorous insistence of the people of Constantinople; this act had received grudging approbation from a few members of the court nobility;" Lilie, "Ohnmacht," pp. 100: "Dort scharte sich bald Volk um ihn [Isaac], es kam zu Aufläufen und schließlich wurde Isaak, der kaum wusste, wie ihm geschah, zum Kaiser proklamiert . . . aber unter Isaak wurde das Kaisertum . . . immer schwächer;" L. Garland, "Political Power and the Populace in Byzantium Prior to the Fourth Crusade," *Byzantinoslavica* 53 (1992), 17–52, at p. 39: "By morning practically all the citizens were in the church demanding Isaac as their emperor . . . the mob was spontaneously fired with enthusiasm."

in the light of a distorting parody. The reader gets the impression of a gradual perversion of imperial rituals which fell into the hands of, and were abused by, unlawful usurpers and the mob of the streets.

Isaac Angelos, after killing his persecutor Stephen Hagiochristophorites, triggered a tumult among the city's populace by fleeing on horseback with the murder weapon in his hand through Mese Street, the capital's main thoroughfare, to Hagia Sophia, where, along with two relatives, he positioned himself on the pulpit, a place of sanctuary for murderers wishing to beg for forgiveness.[119] While preparing the entry into the city of her recently proclaimed husband Alexios Angelos, Empress Euphrosyne successfully countered an assembly of the rabble hailing a counter-candidate and won the clergy's support by bribing a sacristan of the Great Church, who acclaimed Alexios III without securing the patriarch's consent.[120] Another concourse of citizens in Hagia Sophia on 25 January 1204 forced representatives of the senate and the clergy to discuss with them the election of a new emperor, while at the same time Alexios Doukas was carrying out his coup against Isaac's son Alexios IV.[121] Finally, on the very day of the Latin conquest of Constantinople, another assembly of citizens chose between two competing candidates, Constantine Doukas and Constantine Laskaris, by casting lots.[122] The city's populace, thus, from 1185 onwards appears as an active and sometimes even decisive political factor along with the bureaucrats, the court aristocracy, and the clergy of the Great Church. As is generally known, Choniates refers to this agitation in an extremely disdainful manner, depicting the citizens as an unsteady mob driven by uncontrollable emotions, illusory benefits, and vain promises of demagogues and troublemakers. He characterizes their gatherings as "promiscuous crowds," "swelling mob," "stupid and ignorant inhabitants," "a cabal from among the artisans and the rabble," "a great and tumultuous concourse of people," "a simpleminded and volatile multitude," and so on.[123] Modern scholars usually interpret this attitude as an expression of

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[119] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 341–43, trans. Magoulias, pp. 188–89; see further Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 70; Garland, "Power," p. 39; Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, pp. 119, 434.

[120] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 455–56, trans. Magoulias, p. 250; see further Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 118; Garland, "Power," p. 41.

[121] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 561–64, trans. Magoulias, p. 307–9; see further Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 250–51; Garland, "Power," p. 45; D. E. Queller and T. E. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1997), pp. 160–64.

[122] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 571–72, trans. Magoulias, p. 314; see further Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 257–58; Garland, "Power," pp. 45–46; Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, p. 145.

[123] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 343, l. 26, trans. Magoulias, p. 189: "τοὺς συνεισδραμόντας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ξύγκλυδας;" Choniates, van Dieten, p. 344, l. 58, trans. Magoulias, p. 190: "τὸν

the author's "class consciousness," articulating a high-ranking bureaucrat's contempt for lower social groups, while they accept the description of the populace's impact on the political situation without further questioning.[124] This assumption, however, entails ignoring the author's conspicuous sarcasm, which dominates the narrative reconstruction of these assemblies and often prevents us from discerning their actual motives and intentions, as well as their structure and organization. The Norman threat in 1185 and the Crusader army in 1203/1204 certainly constituted a source of unrest,[125] but both events do not explain sufficiently how feelings of discontent could articulate themselves through politically influential gatherings of citizens. To this effect representatives and spokesmen were needed and, above all, an organizing force able to channel the mob's anger into manifestations of political will and to mediate between the citizens and the court elite. Choniates neither discloses the identity of these people nor refers to any informal talks and negotiations which must have taken place both before and during these pronouncements of public will. For lack of additional sources for most of this period, the only way to draw conclusions regarding the gap between the factual and the narrative use of rituals acts of imperial succession, therefore, is to decipher the intrinsic logic of the author's reconstruction against the background of an underlying reality of political practices and ritual conventions.

In relating the events of 11 and 12 September 1185, which resulted in Isaac Angelos' accession to the throne, Choniates juxtaposes two different types of assemblies in Hagia Sophia, which became possible through an unforeseeable chain of favourable circumstances arranged by God's providence. The first gathering consisted of a crowd of curious spectators watching Isaac, his paternal uncle John Doukas, and the latter's son Isaac, who, after having assumed the posture of penitents on the murderers'

ὄχλον κυμαινόμενον;" Choniates, van Dieten, p. 349, ll. 14–15, trans. Magoulias, p. 193: "οἱ εὐηθέστατοι καὶ ἀπαιδευτότατοι τῆς Κωνσταντίνου οἰκήτορες;" Choniates, van Dieten, p. 455, ll. 65–66, trans. Magoulias, p. 250: "τῶν βαναύσων καὶ ξυγκλύδων τινὲς φιλοτάραχοι;" Choniates, van Dieten, p. 561, l. 39, trans. Magoulias, p. 307: "συνδρομῆς δ' ὅτι πλείστης εἰς τὸν Μέγαν γινομένης Νεών;" Choniates, van Dieten, p. 562, l. 47, trans. Magoulias, p. 307: "οἱ δὲ λαοὶ χρῆμά τι ὄντες ἀφελὲς καὶ εὐρίπιστον." See also Garland, "Power," pp. 46–47.

[124] H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, Greek trans. T. Kolias, K. Synelli, G. Ch. Makris, I. Vassis, 3 vols. (Athens, 1992), 2:271: "Ο Νικήτας φαίνεται ότι δεν διέθετε τα αισθητήρια όργανα που θα τον καθιστούσαν ευαίσθητο σε κοινωνικά προβλήματα ... Η πλατιά μάζα του λαού αναφέρεται συνήθως σε σχέση με εξεγέρσεις, λεηλασίες και κάθε είδους έκτροπα. Τα επίθετα που χρησιμοποιεί ... μαρτυρούν την περιφρόνηση και την αποστροφή που ένιωθε για τον όχλο."

[125] Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 68; M. Angold. *The Fourth Crusade* (Harlow, 2003), pp. 91–100.

pulpit, implored the crowd to defend them against Andronikos' rage.[126] Choniates explicitly states that throughout the night Isaac and his companions did not say a word about the throne, but rather prayed not to be killed.[127] This scene stands in sharp contrast to the situation the following morning. The second gathering, at dawn on September 12, was that of a growing mass of enraged insurgents who were ready to take action and to attack the Great Palace. "There was no inhabitant of the city," the author asserts, "who was not in attendance and who did not pray to God that Isaac might become emperor and Andronikos might be removed from the imperial office."[128] From a penitent murderer trembling for his life, Isaac has suddenly turned into a claimant of the throne enjoying broad popular support. Andronikos' untimely absence in a palace outside the city appears as a sign of divine providence.[129] People praying to God to be liberated from a tyrannical ruler is a standard motif of encomiastic narratives on successful seditions, providing the usurper with the legitimating feature of acting in accordance with the people's will and therefore being chosen by God.[130] Accordingly, the author is completely silent about any measures preparing the riot of September 12, presenting the tumultuous crowd as being inspired by supernatural forces. A conspicuous symbol of God's consent is quickly at hand: at the very moment that Isaac was ready to move on to the Great Palace after his proclamation in Hagia Sophia, one of the "imperial horses with their golden trappings" broke loose from its groom so that it could be brought to the new emperor to mount it.[131] Apparently, this image of perfect harmony among a rebel, the people, and God aimed above all at serving the propagandistic purposes of the new regime, which faced the potential claims of Andronikos' offspring or other Comnenian noblemen enjoying closer ties of kinship with previous

[126] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 342–43, trans. Magoulias, p. 189.

[127] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 343, ll. 39–40, trans. Magoulias, p. 189: "οὐ λόγον βασιλείας τιθέμενος, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ μὴ κατατυθῆναι δεόμενος."

[128] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 344–45, esp. p. 344, ll. 44–46, trans. Magoulias, pp. 189–90: "πρωΐας δὲ γενομένης οὐκ ἦν ὅστις οὐ παρῆν οἰκήτωρ τῆς πόλεως, οὐδ' ἐθεοκλύτει αὐτοκρατορήσειν μὲν Ἰσαάκιον, Ἀνδρόνικον δὲ καθαιρεθῆναι τῆς βασιλείας."

[129] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 344, ll. 49–51, trans. Magoulias, p. 189.

[130] See, for example, Michael Attaleiates' presentation of the emergence of Nikephoros Botaneiates as usurper against Michael VII: *Historia*, ed. I. Pérez Martín, Nueva Roma 15 (Madrid, 2002), pp. 155–56.

[131] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 346, ll. 5–9, trans. Magoulias, p. 190: "ἵππων γὰρ χρυσοφαλάρων βασιλικῶν."

emperors than the Angeloi family.[132] Quite naturally, Choniates, who himself was a high-ranking bureaucrat of the new regime, incorporated these features into his account despite his overwhelmingly critical stance towards the rulers of his time.[133]

The Angeloi belonged to the families playing an active part in the opposition to Andronikos and the revolt of the Bithynian cities in 1183/1184.[134] To judge from the list of victims put to death or mutilated on the emperor's orders, the Angeloi would be able to find potential allies from among a broad range of Constantinopolitan aristocrats, such as the Kantakouzenoi, the Batatzai, the Lapardai, the Kontostephanoi, the Kamateroi, and the Doukai.[135] Furthermore, as for the groups supporting Andronikos' regime,

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[132] Lilie, "Ohnmacht," p. 99: "Obgleich . . . mit den Komnenen verschwägert, galten die Angeloi jenen doch keineswegs als ebenbürtig, sondern eher als Emporkömmlinge." Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, pp. 434–35, considers the position of the Angeloi within the court aristocracy more important, but also points to the preeminence of other families.

[133] The idea of Isaac's accession to the throne with God's support also figures in the encomiastic speeches of the time; see for instance Michael Choniates, Λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Ἰσαάκιον τὸν Ἄγγελον, ed. S. Lampros, *Opera*, 1 (Athens, 1879; repr. Groningen, 1968), pp. 208–258, at p. 232, ll. 17–20, pp. 234–35.

[134] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 280–86, trans. Magoulias, pp. 155–58: Isaac was one of the chief rebels in Nicaea (Choniates, van Dieten, p. 281, ll. 61–63, trans. Magoulias, p. 156); Andronikos put Isaac's mother, Euphrosyne Kastamonitissa, at the tip of the battering ram in order to compel the defenders to surrender (Choniates, van Dieten, p. 282, ll. 83–84, trans. Magoulias, p. 156); after the death of Theodore Kantakouzenos in battle, the inhabitants chose Isaac as their leader, but he preferred to start negotiations (Choniates, van Dieten, p. 284, ll. 47–48, trans. Magoulias, p. 157); Andronikos pardoned Isaac and tried to win him over (Choniates, van Dieten, p. 285, ll. 5–12, trans. Magoulias, pp. 158–59).

[135] From among the most renowned families of the Byzantine court nobility, Choniates explicitly mentions the following persons as victims of Andronikos' cruelties: blinding of John Kantakouzenos (Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 258–59, trans. Magoulias, p. 144); blinding of Manuel and Alexios, the sons of John Batatzes of Philadelphia (Choniates, van Dieten, p. 264, ll. 70–72, trans. Magoulias, p. 147); blinding of Andronikos Kontostephanos and his four sons (Choniates, van Dieten, p. 267, ll. 37–39, trans. Magoulias, p. 148); blinding of the *logothetes to dromou* Basil Kamateros (Choniates, van Dieten, p. 267, ll. 37–39, trans. Magoulias, p. 148); blinding of Andronikos Lapardas (Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 278–79, trans. Magoulias, p. 154); killing of Theodore Kantakouzenos during a skirmish in front of the walls of Nicaea (Choniates, van Dieten, p. 284, ll. 28–44, trans. Magoulias, p. 157); blinding and deportation of Theodore Angelos (Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 288–89, trans. Magoulias, p. 160); hanging of Leon Synesios, Manuel Lachanas, and forty other rebels of Prousa (Choniates, van Dieten, p. 289, ll. 70–73, trans. Magoulias, p. 160); the bishop of Lopadion is deprived of one of his eyes (Choniates, van Dieten, p. 289, ll. 80–81, trans. Magoulias, p. 160); execution of Constantine Makrodoukas, who was married to a sister of Theodora, a daughter of Manuel's brother Isaac, and therefore uncle of the rebel Isaac Komnenos in Cyprus, and Andronikos Doukas in the Outer Philopation (Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 292–94, trans. Magoulias, pp. 162–63); blinding and deportation of Alexios Komnenos, illegitimate son of Emperor Manuel (Choniates, van Dieten, p. 309, ll. 21–29, trans. Magoulias, p. 171). It is remarkable that only Makrodoukas and Doukas were actually executed, whereas all the others, despite their involvement in various seditious

comprising the "axe-bearing barbarians," "men from among the illustrious nobility," "those who retained Andronikos' favor" and "the lictors dressed in scarlet,"[136] Choniates states that these people were absent during the events of September 12, thus indicating that they either had already switched sides or at least refused to stand up for their lord. Seen in the light of the sudden uprising, this apparently means that in the course of one night the Angeloi managed to set in motion a network of aristocratic family bonds and to win over the most influential representatives of the Varangian guard, the senate, the emperor's former favourites, and the bureaucrats, thereby neutralizing any potential resistance against Isaac's coup.[137] Agreements involving bribery and enticing promises in all likelihood formed the basis for the passive stance of all these actors. Under the circumstances of a nascent rebellion which was about to break out within the inner circle of the empire's ruling elite, but still could not be sure about the necessary military support, the best way to arrange Isaac's proclamation was in the form of an unmediated expression of the people's will, projecting, above all, the rebel's God-chosen nature. The court aristocracy, while giving its silent consent, most probably made a deliberate decision to remain behind the scenes until the whole enterprise would be crowned by success with Andronikos' definite removal and the newly elected ruler's entry into the Great Palace. The historiographical tradition on this event, for which the only surviving representative is Choniates' text, retains the ideological momentum of God's will expressed through the citizens' direct involvement, but an imperial succession solely based on the actions of a rioting mob is too much in contradiction with both the practices and the mentality of twelfth-century Constantinopolitan politics to be accepted at face value.[138]

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movements, were spared. It thus becomes clear that Andronikos, although he certainly executed many of his opponents of lower ranks, by no means killed arbitrarily or aimed at an elimination of the aristocratic families, as is frequently maintained in the scholarly literature: Diehl, *Figure*, p. 124: "justicier sans merci, inflexible adversaire de la turbulente féodalité don't il sentait le danger pour l'empire." Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 74: "Andronicus broke with the palace nobility and inaugurated a program of reforms aimed at destroying the power of city nobles and rural landowners alike;" Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, p. 429: "Vis-à-vis de l'aristocratie, le comportement d'Andronic fut clair, éliminer tous les rivaux potentiels."

136 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 343, ll. 31–34, trans. Magoulias, p. 189: "ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως παρῆν οὐδεὶς . . . οὐ τῶν γένει λαμπρῶν, οὐ τῶν Ἀνδρονίκῳ τηρούντων εὔνοιαν, οὐ πελεκυφόρος βάρβαρος, οὐχ οἱ τὰ ὑσγινοβαφῆ φοροῦντες ῥαβδοῦχοι."

137 For Isaac's most important supporters after his rise to power, see Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, pp. 435–36.

138 The above analysis should modify statements like Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 77: "Having come to the throne by accident . . . "; Lilie, "Ohnmacht," p. 99: "Der neue Kaiser, Isaakios

Very different is Choniates' description of Isaac's brother's accession to the throne ten years later. Here the author presents at length all persons and factions involved in Alexios' coup, which was carried out in three steps: (1) a first proclamation in the military camp near the Thracian city of Kypsella in April 1195,[139] (2) a series of preparatory measures and ceremonial acts arranged by Alexios' wife Euphrosyne,[140] and (3) Alexios' entry into Constantinople culminating in the coronation in Hagia Sophia and the subsequent triumphal procession.[141] The account relates the gradual emergence of a coalition of political forces who rallied around a nucleus of chief conspirators. Relatives, clients, servants, court dignitaries, and the troops stationed in Kypsella formed the basis for Alexios' usurpation.[142] Euphrosyne endeavoured to win over the senate, noblemen, judges, and the clergy of the Great Church, while at the same time suppressing seditious tendencies among the citizens.[143] Despite the broad consensus obviously achieved in this way, Choniates harshly condemns the 1195 coup, considering it one of the most abominable acts of his time. Alexios' crime of blinding his own brother in the author's opinion caused foreign nations to view the Byzantines with contempt: "They considered it a most deplorable result and consequence of all previous things that had happened in the changes of public affairs and the overthrows and

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Angelos, war nicht nur durch schieren Zufall auf den Thron der Komnenen gelangt . . .;" Angold, *Empire*, p. 301: "There is no evidence that Isaac Angelos came to power through some carefully laid coup."

[139] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 450–51, trans. Magoulias, p. 247.

[140] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 454–57, trans. Magoulias, pp. 249–51.

[141] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 457–59, trans. Magoulias, pp. 251–52.

[142] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 451, ll. 70–78, trans. Magoulias, p. 247. The chief conspirators, Theodore Branas, George Palaiologos, John Petraliphas, Constantine Raoul, and Manuel Kantakouzenos, mostly belonged to clans of military commanders, partly of Norman descent: comments of Magoulias, p. 400, n. 1260–63. Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, pp. 440–41, characterizes them as representatives of the western aristocracy mainly centered in the area around Adrianople and adjacent regions of Thrace which at that time were threatened by the attacks of the Bulgaro-Vlachs. A rivalry between western and eastern aristocrats is in his opinion the deeper reason for the revolt. The other groups singled out by Choniates are relatives of the emperor ("συχνοὶ ἕτεροι ἀνάρσιοι καὶ εὔριποι ἄνθρωποι κατὰ γένος τῷ βασιλεῖ συναπτόμενοι"), people of lower descent belonging to Alexios' clientele ("σμῆνος ἄλλο ἀγελαῖον, περὶ τὸ σεβαστοκρατορικὸν πάλαι ἀλητεῦον"), the soldiers in the camp of Kypsella ("ἅπαν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἰλαδὸν"), imperial servants and domestics ("θεραπευτικὸν καὶ οἰκίδιον") and senators ("οἵπερ εἰς βουλῆς ἀξίωμα ᾔρθησαν").

[143] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 455, l. 56, trans. Magoulias, p. 250: "τὸ τῆς πολιτείας πλήρωμα;" Choniates, van Dieten, p. 455, ll. 57–58: "τό τε τῆς συγκλήτου μέρος," p. 455, l. 59: "τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου," p. 456, l. 71: "τῶν ἀπ' εὐσήμου γένους," p. 456, l. 75: "τοῦδε δημώδους πλήθους," p. 456, ll. 75–76: "αὐτὸ συναπτῶς τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πλήρωμα," p. 456, l. 77: "τῶν ἀγοραίων οἱ ταραχώδεις," p. 456, l. 78: "τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δικαστικοῦ τάγματος."

upheavals of rulers."[144] Furthermore, the new regime, forced to buy off the political elite with haphazard and indiscriminate grants of money, landed estates, and titles, brought about the collapse of the well-established order of the court hierarchy, which in turn caused discontent among the officials and dignitaries.[145] A third reproachable aspect in our historian's mind was the predominant position of Alexios' wife Euphrosyne, who enjoyed a quasi-imperial position beside her husband: "Because the empress had overstepped the bounds and held in contempt the conventions of former Roman empresses, the empire was divided into two dominions," "she gave orders with equal authority," and for receptions of embassies "two sumptuous thrones were set side by side." Choniates recognizes Euphrosyne's manly spirit, her eloquence, and her abilities to handle public affairs, but blames her for her immoral conduct in extramarital relationships.[146]

All in all, the takeover of the Angeloi emperors proved to be a turn for the worse, and a long series of rebellions within and dangerous threats from outside the empire bear witness to the state's incessant downfall.[147] While fulfilling all prerequisites of a God-chosen saviour from Andronikos I's tyranny, Isaac still failed to restore the praiseworthy order of the old Comnenian regime, while Alexios III's rise to power prepared the empire's eventual collapse nine years later. Though he admitted both usurpers' success in gaining the throne, Choniates ascribed their deficiencies and weaknesses to the very first moments of their rule by describing their respective coronation ceremonies as defective and unsatisfying ritual acts, full of errors and inaccuracies. The perishing empire manifests itself in a collapsing ritual world.

As for Isaac's proclamation in Hagia Sophia, the author picks out two details, introducing a mocking and disdainful undertone into the whole scene. Isaac was certainly crowned with Constantine's diadem, which for centuries was kept hanging above the altar of Hagia Sophia, but the man who put it on his head was not the patriarch, but one of the church's sacristans.[148] Basil Kamateros, instead, had to be forced by the people to escort Isaac to the Great Palace as a symbolic gesture of his consent after the

144 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 453, ll. 12–15, trans. Magoulias, p. 249.

145 Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 454–55, trans. Magoulias, pp. 249–50: "ἤρξατο μὴ σὺν λόγῳ καὶ τάξει τινί, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν ἑκάστου αἴτησίν τε καὶ ἔφεσιν διαδιδόναι τὰ χρήματα . . . πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑποβιβασμὸν τὴν ἄνοδον ᾤοντο."

146 Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 460–61, trans. Magoulias, pp. 252–53.

147 Lilie, "Ohnmacht," passim; Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, pp. 446–58.

148 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 345, ll. 83–85, trans. Magoulias, p. 190: "τινὸς τῶν νεωκόρων."

coronation.[149] Likewise, Choniates ridicules the customary refusal of the elected candidate to accept the crown, a symbol of modesty highlighting the preeminence of the people's and God's will, by describing John Doukas as promptly offering his own bald head to wear the crown.[150] In this way a customary gesture is turned into a display of two equally reproachable attitudes, namely Isaac's hesitative stance in taking up the responsibility of the imperial office, on the one hand, and John's unrestrained ambition, on the other. The people, however, no longer wished to be ruled by aged and white-bearded emperors, the narrative concludes. Most remarkably, the report mentions no other, more regularly performed, coronation, so that Isaac appeared as "anointed emperor"[151] on the sole basis of this dubious, vulgar ceremony. A second proclamation in the Great Palace, if we believe our author, was once more performed by the assembled rabble, which at the same time was pillaging the buildings and churches of the palace area.[152] The other constitutional bodies of imperial proclamations, the senate and the army, never appear in the forefront, and so Isaac, according to the narrative, remained a ruler crowned by the mob. The author undermines the Angeloi's official version of being chosen by God through the people's will by presenting the new ruler as having allowed the desecration of the imperial sphere through his elevation by the rabble.

Choniates' well-known description of Andronikos' execution once more ascribes a leading role to the common people of Constantinople serving as executioners of the dethroned emperor. The widely accepted idea, however, of Andronikos being massacred by a furious crowd[153] is a rather one-sided interpretation of the complex meanings of this event. First of all, Choniates' statement that Isaac had stayed many days in the Great Palace before he moved to Blachernai Palace upon receiving the news of Andronikos' capture, [154] clearly shows that in the meantime order had been restored and the unrest in the city suppressed. Hence there was no raging mob anymore whose desire for revenge had to be satisfied

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149 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 346, ll. 10–12, trans. Magoulias, p. 191.

150 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 345, ll. 91–96, trans. Magoulias, p. 190.

151 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 346, l. 5, trans. Magoulias, p. 190: "οὕτω τοίνυν εἰς βασιλέα χρισθέντος."

152 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 347, ll. 42–56, trans. Magoulias, p. 191: "ὑπὸ τῶν συνεληλυθότων ὄχλων."

153 Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 73: "The city mob had not lost any of the liking for bloodshed ... the circumstances of his elevation to the throne compelled him [Isaac] to allow the populace to destroy their former hero and savior." Likewise Garland, "Power," pp. 39–40: "The ex-emperor was abused and mocked with great savagery by the citizens ..."

154 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 347, ll. 57–59, trans. Magoulias, pp. 191–92.

with a scapegoat's blood. Given that Andronikos' execution was carried out in two stages, marked by the gradual intensification of tortures, we are obviously not dealing with an uncontrolled outburst of hatred, but with a carefully choreographed sequence of publicly performed punishments illustrating the total moral and physical extinction of the former sovereign. The whole procedure began with a first humiliation at court, in Isaac's presence, where the victim was submitted to all kinds of insult and mistreatment, culminating in the cutting off of his right arm. The second humiliation took place in the public space of the marketplaces, through which Andronikos was led to the Hippodrome riding on a scabby camel. There he was strung up by his feet and eventually put to death by two swords pushed into his throat and anus.[155] It is noteworthy that, in spite of the large number of emperors killed or mutilated in Byzantine history, this is the only case of a public execution. Andronikos' notorious acts of cruelty undoubtedly had created strong resentment among the victims of his regime, but this does not sufficiently explain the public character of the event, for most of the common people certainly had not been directly affected by the measures Andronikos took against certain groups of opponents and rebels. Choniates explicitly criticizes the irrational anger that drove the townspeople to this behaviour and shows sympathy for the victim, underlining the patience with which he endured the tortures.[156]

It seems that Isaac Angelos intended to stage a public outburst of anger against his predecessor in order to consolidate his own position vis-à-vis Comnenian dynastic claims. In this way he could both exculpate himself from potential charges of having unlawfully usurped the throne and eliminate the rights of Andronikos' relatives by destroying the man's personal honour and memory.[157] Isaac Angelos may have been successful with respect to his contemporaries, but in Choniates' narrative he is clearly held responsible for this abominable act of violence. Therefore, when he eventually was blinded in Bera Monastery, a foundation of Andronikos' father Isaac, the text clearly evokes the idea of divine justice.[158]

Alexios III's coronation, though performed in full accordance with traditional rules, was characterized by a whole series of ritual lapses. The new

155 Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 349–51, trans. Magoulias, pp. 192–93.

156 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 349, ll. 13–14, p. 350, ll. 23–24, 39–43, trans. Magoulias, p. 193.

157 J. Zirfas, "Rituale der Grausamkeit. Performative Praktiken der Folter," in *Kultur des Rituals*, ed. Wulf and Zierfas, pp. 129–46.

158 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 452, ll. 1–8, trans. Magoulias, 248.

emperor signed the confession of orthodox faith with delay, waited far too long in front of the *Horaia Pyle* to receive the signal of the timekeepers, and after the coronation, when he tried to mount an Arabian stallion in order to set out on the customary triumphal procession, the horse so stubbornly refused to carry him that his crown fell to the ground and broke.[159] Likewise, John Doukas, who had already been a target of Choniates' mockery on the occasion of Isaac's coronation, lost his diadem of *sebastokrator* during the procession.[160] Signs of failure created a disturbing disharmony within the atmosphere of imperial triumph, thus increasing the readers' awareness of the disasters to come. On the surface the state structure was still intact, but its walls had already begun to crumble. Choniates' irony was preparing itself to pull it down. In the same manner the author's sarcasm deforms the behaviour of the court aristocrats who tried to accommodate themselves to the new state of affairs. During a congregation of secular and ecclesiastical dignitaries which preceded Alexios' entrance into the city, Empress Euphrosyne received the assembly's prostration and answered questions concerning the change of government. Choniates characterizes this event as a contemptuous gathering of notorious bootlickers who like slaves sided immediately with the empress even before they knew what had happened: "They prostrated themselves before the woman ... and bowed their heads like footstools, put their nose like fawning dogs on her shoes and presented themselves in a timid habit, bringing their feet together and joining their hands."[161]

There is no way to check if any of the aforementioned mistakes really happened. We may assume, however, that contemporary observers acquainted with the details of Byzantine court ceremonies had developed a high sensitivity for the sequence and timing of ritual elements, so that even the slightest irregularity offered opportunities for malicious comments and opponents like Choniates may have been induced to harsh criticism. While Manuel's and Isaac's horses served as symbols of God's consent, in Alexios' case the restive stallion works as a sign of divine displeasure. Accordingly, the joyful crowd hailing the Comnenian emperor's proclamation became an ecstatic band of ignorant idiots with the succession of Andronikos I and, eventually, turned into disgusting bootlickers with Alexios III's rise to power. While in the case of Isaac Angelos'

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[159] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 457, ll. 16–20, p. 458, ll. 21–40, trans. Magoulias, p. 251.
[160] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 458–59, trans. Magoulias, pp. 251–52.
[161] Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 456, ll. 84–92, trans. Magoulias, pp. 250–51.

insurrection the narrative to a certain degree adopts the ideological basis of this upheaval, it completely rejects the coup of his brother Alexios. As for the level of historical facts, we may conclude that the latter's strategy of gaining the supreme office was very much in line with that of his predecessors. Alexios's palace revolt differed from Isaac's rise to power in that, instead of a demonstration of the citizens' will, it started with a proclamation by the army on the basis of which the conspirators were able to secure the support of the court elite and the popular factor.

Decaying rituals stand as symbols for the gradual disintegration of imperial order and rule. While the Crusader army was present before the walls of Constantinople, the successions were but a miserable parody of the empire's former ceremonial splendour. After Alexios III's unexpected flight in July 1203, an assembly in the Blachernai Palace consisting of Empress Euphrosyne and a number of kinsmen and supporters of the dynasty decided to reinstall the blinded Isaac on the throne. Choniates, in his attempt to emphasize the unprecedented character of this proclamation, which contradicted the most basic rules of imperial succession, focuses on the scene in which the eunuch Constantine, head of the imperial treasury, took the candidate by the hand and led him to the throne.[162] The official audience which Isaac's son Alexios IV granted to the Crusader chiefs[163] following his coronation of August 1, 1203 is another

162 Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 549–50, esp. p. 550, ll. 30–33, trans. Magoulias, p. 301; see further N. Oikonomidès, "La décomposition de l'empire byzantin à la veille de 1204 et les origines de l'empire de Nicée: à propos de la 'Partitio Romaniae'," in *XV^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Rapports et co-rapports*, 1/1 (Athens, 1976), pp. 3–28, at pp. 23–24, repr. in idem, *Byzantium from the Ninth Century to the Fourth Crusade: Studies, Texts, Monuments*, Variorum Collected Studies 369 (Aldershot, 1992), no. XX, arguing for the imprisonment of Theodore Laskaris, son-in-law of Alexios III, along with Empress Euphrosyne and other dignitaries on the basis of an allusion in one of Choniates' orations; Queller and Madden, *Fourth Crusade*, pp. 130–31, rather speculatively argue for a strengthened position of the Varangian guard which, in the authors' eyes, during the months preceding the conquest of 1204 took up the role of kingmakers. In fact Constantine Philoxenites' talks with the Varangians have a clear precedent in the negotiations of John II with them in 1118 (see above, p. 168) and therefore do not indicate any novelty. For recent examples of carefully harmonized narratives based on the primary sources, see M. Angold, *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context* (London, 2003), pp. 93–94, and J. Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (London, 2005), pp. 185–190.

163 Queller and Madden, *Fourth Crusade*, pp. 136–37; Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. and trans. E. Faral, 2 vols. (Paris, 1961), 1:193, 197, mentions Alexios IV' entry escorted by the barons *a mult grant joie* and his coronation *si haltement et si honoreement con l'en faisoit les empereors grexs*, but does not refer to the audience. Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Ph. Lauer (Paris, 1924), trans. E. H. McNeal, *The Conquest of Constantinople* (New York, 1936), p. 77, gives a short summary with rather vague allusions. See also Phillips, *Fourth Crusade*, pp. 189–190.

incident that caused indignation among Byzantine observers. The Latin lords were allowed to sit side by side and obviously on the same level with the emperors, being addressed as "benefactors," "saviours," and with other flattering epithets.[164] Given that some decades earlier high-ranking guests such as the Seljuk sultan Kılıç Arslan II in 1162 and King Amalric of Jerusalem in 1171 came to sit at Emperor Manuel's feet,[165] one easily perceives what a disdainful impression spectators must have gained from this meeting. The gathering in Hagia Sophia on 25 January 1204, during which enraged citizens forced members of the senate and high-ranking clerics to discuss with them the election of a new emperor, resulted in complete chaos. Even the last remnants of hitherto well-observed principles of succession, such as noble birth, were utterly neglected by now. The court dignitaries, among them Choniates himself, broke out in tears, while the crowd, not able to agree upon an appropriate candidate, finally forced a certain Nikolaos Kannabos to take up the burden of the imperial office.[166] At the same time, Alexios Doukas Mourtzouphlos managed to place Alexios IV under arrest and to be proclaimed emperor putting on the imperial insignia, whereas the citizens in Hagia Sophia insisted on the election of Kannabos.[167] The disaster of the Frankish siege obviously had caused a breakup of the coalition between the townspeople and the court aristocracy, with both social groups acting more or less independently from each other and the bureaucrats being threatened by both sides. The control over the Great Palace and the imperial insignia was still a decisive factor for the outcome of this rivalry. Three months later, however, on the very day of the Frankish conquest, Constantine Laskaris, having been elected by lot, refused to put on the insignia and thus to present himself

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164 Choniates, van Dieten, p. 551, ll. 50–56, trans. Magoulias, p. 302.

165 Kinnamos 5.3, ed. Meineke, p. 206, ll. 6–10, trans. Brand, p. 157; William of Tyre 20.23, p. 944, ll. 25–26.

166 Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 561–62, trans. Magoulias, p. 307: "τὸ τοίνυν λαῶδες τῆς πόλεως . . . εἰς ἀποστασίαν οἰδαίνειν ἤρξατο . . . ἠναγκάζετο καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἥ τε τῶν ἀρχιερέων ὁμήγυρις καὶ οἱ τοῦ βήματος λόγιμοι συνελθεῖν ἐκεῖσε καὶ συνδιασκέψασθαί σφισι περὶ τοῦ ἄρξοντος . . . ἑαυτοὺς ταλανίζοντες, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν παρειῶν κατελείβομεν δάκρυα . . . νεανίσκον τινὰ συλλαβόντες Νικόλαον τὴν κλῆσιν, Κανναβὸν τὴν ἐπίκλησιν, εἰς βασιλέα χρίουσιν ἄκοντα;" see further Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 250–51; Queller and Madden, *Fourth Crusade*, pp. 160–61; Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, p. 142.

167 Choniates, van Dieten, pp. 562–64, trans. Magoulias, pp. 308–9; see further Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 250–51; for further details, see Queller and Madden, *Fourth Crusade*, pp. 162–64; Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, p. 142–43; Angold, *Fourth Crusade*, p. 97; Phillips, *Fourth Crusade*, pp. 221–225.

as legitimate emperor.[168] The Varangians, the most powerful guarantors of the Great Palace's integrity, were no longer willing to support him and defected to the Franks.[169] Laskaris' proclamation remained without practical political results. At this point the empire ceased to exist.

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[168] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 572, ll. 65–66, trans. Magoulias, p. 314: "ἐκ δὲ κλήρου τὸ πρωτεῖον εἰληφὼς ὁ Λάσκαρις τὰ μὲν τῆς βασιλείας οὐ προσίεται σύμβολα;" see further, Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 257–58; Queller and Madden, *Fourth Crusade*, pp. 189–90; Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, p. 145; Angold, *Fourth Crusade*, p. 100; Phillips, *Fourth Crusade*, p. 256.

[169] Choniates, van Dieten, p. 572, ll. 74–78, trans. Magoulias, p. 314

CHAPTER EIGHT

CORONATION SPEECHES IN THE PALAIOLOGAN PERIOD?

Antonia Giannouli

My contribution to the topic addressed in this book focuses on a small cluster of Byzantine rhetorical texts, which are presumed to pertain to the imperial ceremony of coronation and the ensuing festivities. Initially, my aim was mainly to detect and evaluate any evidence they might yield to elucidate this relationship. But, as will become evident from what follows, such an examination is inextricably interwoven with questions of generic classification and terminology.

In his history of Byzantine literature, Herbert Hunger pointed to the difficulty of presenting a clear picture of the practice of rhetoric—especially regarding epideictic rhetoric. Nonetheless, he proceeded to divide the hitherto known orations addressed to the emperor according to the traditional classification as transmitted in the work of Pseudo-Menander of Laodicea. Hence, he distinguished both imperial orations (*basilikoi logoi*) and advice literature ("mirror of princes") from various occasional orations, such as those prompted by the birth, marriage, coronation or the ceremonial arrival of the emperor.[1]

Recent studies on Byzantine rhetoric literature have shown that Hunger's own reservations concerning his suggested distinctions were justified. As a result, different approaches have been proposed, in order to evaluate this literature and do justice to its role in Byzantium. On the one hand, Dimiter Angelov has pointed out the active role of the late Byzantine panegyrists both as lobbyists and skilful advisers; he also proposed and developed a general approach to all imperial orations of the early Palaiologan period with regard to imperial ideology and political thought.[2] On the other, Ida Toth and, more recently, Paolo Odorico have

[1] H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 1, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft: Abteilung 12, Byzantinisches Handbuch 5 (Munich, 1978), pp. 92 and 145. On the classification, see ibid., pp. 120–32 (Enkomia, including imperial orations), pp. 145–57 (Sonstige Gelegenheitsreden) and pp. 157–65 (Fürstenspiegel).

[2] D. Angelov, "Byzantine Imperial Panegyric as Advice Literature (1204–ca. 1350)," in *Rhetoric in Byzantium: Papers from the Thirty-fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*,

provided further insights into the twofold character of imperial orations: they pointed out that, while the content of these orations reveals a close connection with a long rhetorical tradition, the orations are not detached from their own contemporary world. On the contrary, they serve the concrete objectives of their writers.[3] It was on these grounds that Odorico rejected the anachronistic use of the term "mirror of princes", first established in western literature, for the advice literature addressed to future or newly crowned Byzantine emperors.[4]

Keeping terminology in mind, let us turn our attention to the imperial orations in question, to which Hunger assigned the traditional term *stephanōtikoi* described by Pseudo-Menander in his treatise on epideictic speeches. As evidence for the existence of this literary group, Hunger briefly referred to three examples of imperial orations all dating from the Palaiologan period.[5] They were written by: a) Maximos Planoudes for Michael IX, b) John XIV Kalekas, patriarch of Constantinople, for John V Palaiologos, and c) John Argyropoulos for Constantine XI Dragases Palaiologos. It is on these three orations, that this paper will primarily focus.

On the "logos stephanōtikos"

Before examining the content of these texts, it should first of all be noted that none of them has been transmitted with the designation *stephanōtikos*, nor do they merit it, at least in the sense in which Pseudo-

ed. E. Jeffreys, Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies 11 (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 55–72, at pp. 65–72; D. Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium (1204–1330)* (Cambridge, 2007).

[3] P. Odorico, "Les miroirs des princes à Byzance. Une lecture horizontale," in *L'éducation au gouvernement et à la vie. La tradition des « règles de vie » de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge*, ed. P. Odorico, Autour de Byzance 1 (Paris, 2009), pp. 223–46. See also I. Toth, "Epideictic Eloquence in Late Byzantium: Imperial Orations in the Light of their Rhetorical Tradition and Contemporary Practice," in *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, 2, *Abstracts of Panel Papers* (London, 2006), p. 135; I. Toth, "Rhetorical *Theatron* in Late Byzantium: the Example of Palaiologan Imperial Oration," in *Theatron. Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter*, ed. M. Grünbart, Millennium Studien 13 (Berlin, 2007), pp. 429–49; I. Toth, "Imperial Orations in Late Byzantium," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Wolfson College, (Oxford, 2003), pp. 169–83.

[4] Odorico, "Les miroirs," pp. 224–25 and 245–46. More specifically, he suggested that the orations should be studied in the context of the time and place of their composition, so that their particularities and not their similarities in relation to the literary tradition will be defined.

[5] Hunger, *Literatur*, 1:151.

Menander used it.[6] According to his description of the *logos stephanōtikos* ("crown speech"), this is a speech which a city addresses to its governor, rewarding his good service and charity. Apart from the speech, which is itself considered a "*stephanos*", he is also honoured with a real *stephanos*, a golden crown. The speech comprises a short encomium of the governor's family, good fortune, education, virtues in war and peace, which is followed by the reading of the *psēphisma* ("honorific decree"). Since the word *stephanos* ("crown"), as described in this speech, does not designate "an emblem of royalty", but rather "a prize of victory"—as the editors already have pointed out[7]—, the *stephanōtikoi logoi* of Pseudo-Menander cannot be regarded as coronation speeches. But then again, apart from the common encomiastic topics, one will look in vain for any resemblance between the three late Byzantine orations and the *logos stephanōtikos*. Consequently, the latter can by no means constitute a theoretical model for them.[8] Hence, the following questions arise: regardless of their designation, can these three orations still be considered coronation speeches? How and to what extent do they refer to or reflect Palaiologan coronation ceremonies? Do they show certain common literary, rhetorical or other characteristics in respect of the structure and the content, which would allow them to be defined as a group? The orations will be discussed in the light of these questions below.

[6] Pseudo-Menander, *Peri epideiktikōn*, ed. D. A. Russel and N. G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 178–80 (Spengel, pp. 422, l. 5–423, l. 5).

[7] The offering of a *stephanos* to victors and monarchs is a practice known from the classical Greek, Hellenistic and Roman eras, which led to the formation of the occasional oration. The editors (Russell and Wilson) mention two works as the most characteristic of their kind, namely Themistios's Oration addressed to Konstantios II (337–361) in 357 and Synesios's Oration addressed to the emperor Arkadios (395–408) in 399; see Pseudo-Menander, *Peri epideiktikōn*, ed. Russell and Wilson, p. 336. It is worth noting that both orations were classified differently by Hunger: the former as an ambassador's speech (*presbeutikos*), the latter as an early example of "mirror of princes"; for Themistios, see Hunger, *Literatur*, 1: 149; and for Synesios, see ibid., pp. 157–58.

[8] Nor do any of the three orations make reference to the offering of a crown to the emperor by his subjects. The use of the noun *stephanos* and the derivative verb in the oration by John Argyropoulos is to be understood as arbitrary and metaphorical. See S. P. Lampros, *Ἀργυροπούλεια* (Athens, 1910), pp. 30, l. 20–31, l. 5: Ἢ σὲ μὲν στεφανωτέον στεφάνῳ οὐχ οἷός ποτε χρυσῷ καὶ λίθοις ἢ ἄνθεσι γένοιτ' ἄν, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐκ λόγων πλέκουσι Χάριτες.

I. *Maximos Planoudes*, Basilikos *for Michael IX*

The distinguished scholar Maximos Planoudes (ca. 1255–ca. 1305), a student of George of Cyprus, later a teacher (perhaps in the Akataleptos Monastery), copyist and scribe, was also a theologian and translator of Latin theological and secular authors. He was a supporter of the policy of Michael VIII Palaiologos, while in 1296—during the reign of the latter's son, Andronikos II (1282–1328)—he was sent on a mission to Venice, not least because of his knowledge of Latin.[9]

The oration transmitted under the title *Basilikos* was explicitly connected by Planoudes himself with the coronation of Michael IX, son of Andronikos II and Anna of Hungary. The young emperor, born on the 17th of April 1278, was by then aged sixteen.[10] The ceremony took place on the 21st of May 1294, a feast day intentionally selected by the emperor-father, in order to honour Constantine I, as George Pachymeres attests.[11] Planoudes addresses his oration to both emperors, father and son, but the last part, the deliberative one, more especially to the son. The feast day, however, gave him the opportunity to relate the first Christian emperor, Constantine I, to "a new Constantine", namely the younger addressee's grandfather, Michael VIII, who had reconquered Constantinople in 1261 and restored the empire.[12]

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[9] On Planoudes's life and teaching activity, see C. N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204–ca. 1310)*, Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus 11 (Nicosia, 1982), pp. 42–45 and 66–89; see also E. A. Fisher, "Planoudes Maximos," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, pp. 1681–82.

[10] On the date of the coronation see J. Verpeaux, "Notes chronologiques sur les livres II et III du *De Andronico Palaeologo* de Pachymère," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 17 (1959), 168–73, at pp. 170–73, with further bibliography on the discussion. See also A. E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282–1328*, Harvard Historical Studies 88 (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), p. 50, n. 71. The editor of the oration mentions the 21st of May 1295; Planoudes, *basilikos* ed. Westerink (see below, n. 13), p. 98. On the birthday of Michael IX see also George Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis libri tredecim*, ed. A. Failler, *Georges Pachymérès, Relations historiques*, 3 (Livres VII–IX), Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae XXIV/3 (Paris, 1999), p. 218, n. 2.

[11] Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis* 9.1, ed. Failler, 3:219, ll. 7–10.

[12] Planoudes, *Basilikos*, ed. S. I. Kourouses, "Νέος κῶδιξ τοῦ 'Βασιλικοῦ' Μαξίμου τοῦ Πλανούδη," *Athena* 73–74 (1973), 426–34, [repr. in L. G. Westerink, *Texts and Studies in Neoplatonism and Byzantine Literature* (Amsterdam, 1980), pp. 150–58] at p. 433, ll. 16–25: ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ ὅταν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἀναβῇ τὸ κατ' αὐτήν σε τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως χρισθῆναι πανήγυριν, οὗπερ ἐπώνυμος ἡ βασιλὶς ἥδε τῶν πόλεων, καὶ μάλιστά γε εἴ τις καὶ πρὸς τὸν σὸν πάππον ἀνατρέχει τοῖς λογισμοῖς καὶ θεωρεῖ νέον ἐκεῖνον χρηματίσαντα Κωνσταντῖνον, ἐπειδὴ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῖν ἀνεσώσατο, πολλὰ κἀγαθὰ συντρέχειν εἰς ταὐτὸ φαίνεται. τίνα δὴ ταῦτα φημί; τὴν ἐτήσιον τοῦ πολιστοῦ μνήμην, τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἐκείνου πόλιν, ἧς ἐντὸς οὐχ ἧττον ἐκοσμήθης ὑπὸ τοῦ στέφους ἢ αὐτὸς τοῦτο ἐκόσμησας, ὅτι σοι πάππος ὃς νέος ἐχρημάτισε Κωνσταντῖνος. ἃ <(ed. Westerink,

The text, preserved in two manuscripts, extends to almost 1500 lines, which constitute the form in which the author himself published it.[13] According to its title, it is to be classified as a *logos basilikos* and its structure indeed follows the main theoretical guidelines of Pseudo-Menander.[14]

Interestingly, Planoudes gives some evidence concerning the date and the context of its delivery. In the *prooimion*, he explains that three reasons had motivated him to deliver his oration: his gratitude for the emperor's favour, the joy of the ceremony, which was still before their eyes, and finally, the orderly crowd assembled for the celebration (*panēgyris, heortē*). On the basis of these words it becomes clear, that the orator was delivering his speech some time after the coronation ceremony.[15] And this interpretation can be further refined by taking into account the testimonies of Planoudes and George Pachymeres about the ceremony itself and the festivities which began on the next day, 22nd May, in the Great Palace and at Blachernai. On the 22nd Andronikos II also presented his young son John, born of his second marriage with Yolanda-Irene of Montferrat;[16] together with the new co-emperor he promoted John to *despotēs*. It is

(see below n. 13), p. 43, ll. 1196–97) πάντα τὴν Κωνσταντίνου κλῆσιν εἰς μέσον παράγοντα οὐχ ἧττον σοὶ δίδωσι τὴν τοῦ νέου Κωνσταντίνου ἁρμόζειν ἐπίκλησιν>.

13 To be more precise, L. G. Westerink edited 1429 lines, while S. I. Kourouses supplemented 68 lines. The text was first mentioned as a panegyric and ascribed to Theodore Metochites; see A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, 1 (Rome, 1827), p. xxxiii, part of the text on pp. xxxiv–xxxv. It was later identified and presented on the basis of the early fourteenth-century codex Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS gr. G 14 sup., fols. 41r–72r, by P. Lamma, "Un discorso inedito per l'incoronazione di Michele IX Paleologo," *Aevum* 29 (1955), 49–69. On the basis of a single manuscript, the late sixteenth-century codex Moscow, Historical Museum, Bib. SS Synodi MS gr. 315 (441 Vladimir, CCCII Matthaei) 420r–440r, it was edited by L. G. Westerink, "Le *basilikos* de Maxime Planude," *Byzantinoslavica* 27 (1966), 98–103; 28 (1967), 54–67; 29 (1968), 34–50. The lacunae of the Moscow MS were filled using the above mentioned Milan MS by Kourouses, "Νέος κῶδιξ (see above, n. 12)," pp. 426–34. A new complete critical edition of the text is still awaited.

14 On the *Logos basilikos*, see Pseudo-Menander, *Peri epideiktikōn*, ed. Russell and Wilson, pp. 76–94 (Spengel, pp. 368, l. 1–377, l. 30). See also below p. 211.

15 Planoudes, *Basilikos*, ll. 65–67, ed. Westerink, (see above, n. 13), p. 101: ἡ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως ἡδονὴ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῖν ἐστὶ καὶ οἷον ἔναυλον εἰκάσαι παριστῶσα τὴν ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τελετὴν καὶ φαιδρότητα. Instead of the verb "ἐστί" (Moscow MS) the Milan MS preserves "ἔτι". The latter Codex preserves a more accurate text, as pointed out by Kourouses, "Νέος κῶδιξ," p. 429, and indeed, this reading (ἔτι) fits better in the context and the word "ἐκείνῃ" which follows.

16 Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis* 9.2, ed. Failler, 3:221, l. 22; on John's age and his promotion see ibid., n. 12.

surprising that not a word is said by Planoudes either about John or his promotion.

A further piece of evidence, hitherto not sufficiently appreciated, is an additional, fourth, reason given for the delivery of the oration. Planoudes admits that he was thereby responding to the emperor's request. He vividly narrates how, after the encomiastic speech of a panegyrist (*encomiastēs*), who had just successfully concluded a three-day contest, Andronikos II himself approached Planoudes and another person standing nearby—most likely a fellow orator—and requested each of them to deliver an oration on the next day. Planoudes describes the emperor pointing to the contestant (*agōnisamenon*) in the oratory competition and telling them "he today, you tomorrow", before riding off on his horse.[17] From this account we can infer that Planoudes and his fellow orator delivered their orations one day after the panegyrist mentioned above, probably also in the framework of an oratory competition. We do not know when the three-day contest in which their predecessor spoke began, but even if we assume that it started on the first day of the festivities, namely on the 22nd of May, Planoudes cannot have delivered his oration before the 25th of May, which that year coincided with Ascension Thursday.[18] By pointing out that he and his fellow orator were selected and appointed as panegyrists for the very next day by the emperor himself in a quasi spontaneous way, Planoudes is obviously trying to convince his audience that he had delivered his oration more or less *impromptu*.

After the *prooimion*, Planoudes goes through the traditional topics of the imperial panegyric, namely the natural qualities and spiritual virtues of the emperor, his race, native country and his ancestors. At each transition in his speech, Planoudes makes self-references, in order to justify his next step. For almost every topic, he produces a comparison (*synkrisis*) between Michael IX and his father, presenting the former as the latter's equal, and

[17] Planoudes, *Basilikos*, ll. 74–81, ed. Westerink, (see above n. 13), p. 102: φαίην δ' ἂν πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τέταρτον, ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς καὶ πατήρ, τοῦτο μὲν οἷς τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν βασιλέα καὶ ἐγέννησε καὶ ἐπέστησε, τοῦτο δὲ οἷς *ἐγκωμιαστοῦ τινὸς πρότριτα καλῶς ἀγωνισαμένου*, μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τοῦ δρόμου λῆξιν 'ἰδού' φησὶν ἀπιδὼν πρὸς ἐμὲ καί τινα τῶν συνόντων, καὶ ἅμα σὺν χάριτι, *'οὗτος μὲν σήμερον'*, δηλῶν τὸν ἀγωνισάμενον, *'ὑμεῖς δ' αὔριον'*. τοῦτο παρακαλοῦντος ἦν σπεύδοντα καὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀφιέντος εἰς τὸ πεδίον· ὡς γὰρ ἐδόθη παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως τὸ σύνθημα, οὐκέτι πως μέλλειν οὐδ' ἀναδύεσθαι ἦν [the emphasis is mine]. From this testimony we can infer that the orator performed on three consecutive days.

[18] According to the calculations by V. Grumel, Easter Sunday in 1294 was on the 18th of April. Thus, the coronation was held on the fifth Friday after Easter. On the calculation, see V. Grumel, *La chronologie*, Bibliothèque byzantine: Traité d'études byzantines 1 (Paris, 1958), p. 260.

thus supporting him as the legitimate successor to the throne. When he reaches the topic of ancestors, he takes the opportunity to speak extensively about the accomplishments of Michael IX's father and grandfather, both emperors, urging the young emperor to follow their example.

After praising the emperor's birth and his education, Planoudes speaks of his recent coronation. Here he offers a glimpse into the festive atmosphere of the coronation and the succeeding days. The mention of the ceremony and the ensuing festivities lies between the encomiastic and the deliberative part of the oration. In comparison to the ample length of the whole panegyric, Planoudes did not devote many words (roughly 30 lines) to these events.[19] He corroborates the version of the historian Pachymeres, who was writing at a later date, by noting that the emperor-father judged his son to be no longer a child and thus perfectly fit to reign. In fact, he dwells on just two points.

Firstly, on the legality of the coronation ceremony: Planoudes mentions briefly that the ceremony of the anointing and the coronation by the emperor-father and the patriarch was held according to the "laws" (*kata nomous*) of the Rhomaioi in the presence of hierarchs and a great assembly of people. On this point too, he is supported by Pachymeres.[20] He speaks as one still overwhelmed by the majesty of the ceremony and he is probably including himself, when he notes that the joy of those who had not attended the father's coronation was double, as they attended the coronation of the son by the father.[21]

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19 Planoudes, *Basilikos*, ll. 1166–97, ed. Westerink, (see above n. 13), p. 43; after line 1195 supplemented by Kourouses, "Νέος κῶδιξ (see above, n. 12)," p. 433, ll. 1–25.

20 There is only a difference in the order: Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis* 9.1, ed. Failler, 3:221, ll. 10–13, mentions first the coronation and then the chrism. He attests that the emperor-father, Andronikos II, holding the crown together with the patriarch (John XII Kosmas), crowned Michael and that subsequently the patriarch anointed Michael with the holy chrism in the ambo of the Hagia Sophia. Planoudes on the other hand mentions the two acts in reverse order, as was usual; see Planoudes, *Basilikos*, ll. 1181–82, ed. Westerink, (see above n. 13), p. 43, and Pseudo-Kodinos, *De officiis*, ed. J. Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité des offices*, Le Monde Byzantin 1 (Paris, 1966), p. 258, ll. 19–23 and p. 259, ll. 11–14. On the anointing as part of the coronation ceremony in Byzantium see D. M. Nicol, "*Kaisersalbung*: The Unction of Emperors in Late Byzantine Coronation Ritual," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2 (1976), 37–52, at p. 46.

21 Planoudes, *Basilikos*, ll. 1182–85, ed. Westerink, (see above n. 13), p. 43: ὢ πασῶν ἡμερῶν ἡμέρας ἐκείνης καθ' ἣν ταῦτα γέγονε, χαριεστάτης φανείσης Ῥωμαίοις πᾶσι, τοῖς γε μὴ τῇ ἀναρρήσει παραγενομένοις τοῦ σέ νῦν ἀνειπόντος πατρός· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ δὶς ταύτην ἐθεάσαντο τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ δὶς ταύτην τὴν ἡδονὴν ᾔσθησαν. Here the verb "proclaim" (*aneipōn*) and the noun "proclamation" (*anarrēsis*) are used as synonyms for "crown" and "coronation" (*stephein* and *stepsis*). On this new specific meaning of the words see R. Macrides, *George*

Secondly, Planoudes emphasises that the coronation of the new emperor was also recognised and welcomed by foreigners. Of the assembled peoples rejoicing over Michael IX, the orator restricts himself to mentioning just the ambassadors of the *Galloi*, a people who until recently had behaved in a disrespectful and hostile fashion towards the emperor's homeland.[22] Planoudes notes that these people had even come before Andronikos II with arrogance and threats against the *Rhomaioi* and, though repulsed, they did not behave modestly. But now, they had calmed down and through their ambassadors they acclaimed Michael and proclaimed him emperor together with all the others—these people, who once could not even bear to hear the name of the emperors.[23] He stresses that the strangest thing was that it was precisely these ambassadors who wished to see Michael IX as their own ruler rather than someone from their own country. The reason for their attitude, adds Planoudes cryptically, is known to those who also know the reason for their visit. He thereby alludes to an embassy sent from Italy, attested by Pachymeres.[24] Sent by Robert d'Artois, at that time regent of Naples, it came to Constantinople in the context of the long negotiations (begun in 1288) over the marriage between Michael IX and Catherine of Courtenay, daughter of the already deceased Philip I of Courtenay and great-niece of Robert d'Artois. The negotiations finally failed and in the summer Catherine left Naples to go to France, to Philip IV.[25] Pachymeres does not mention when the negotiations broke down, but the hostile fashion in which Planoudes speaks of the *Galloi* implies that it had happened before he delivered his oration. Though the orators' dislike of foreigners is often revealed in their orations,[26] we may assume that Planoudes, closely connected with Andronikos II, would not publicly

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Akropolites, The History (Introduction, Translation and Commentary) (Oxford and New York, 2007), p. 52, n. 325.

22 Planoudes, *Basilikos*, ed. Kourouses, "Νέος κῶδιξ (see above, n. 12)," p. 433, ll. 1–2: παρῆσαν—τί γὰρ δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαριθμεῖν;—καὶ πρέσβεις τῶν τῆς πατρίδος σοι ταύτης τυραννησάντων Γάλλων.

23 Ibid., p. 433, ll. 2–8: καὶ πρέσβεις τῶν τῆς πατρίδος σοι ταύτης τυραννησάντων Γάλλων . . . καὶ μέχρι τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς τῆς οἰκείας ἐχομένων ἀγερωχίας καὶ πολλὰ χαλεπὰ ἡμῖν ἀνατεινομένων· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐξελήλαντο, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ ταπεινότερον ἔγνωσαν φθέγγεσθαι. νῦν μέντοι καθυφῆκαν τοῦ φρονήματος ἐφ' ὑμῶν καὶ κατέθεντο τὴν ὀφρὺν καὶ οἱ μηδ' ἂν ὄνομα φέροντες ἀκούειν ὑμῶν καὶ συνανηγόρευσαν καὶ συνευφήμησάν σε διὰ τῶν πρέσβεων.

24 Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis* 9.1, ed. Failler, 3:219, ll. 13–16, mentions that the embassy was led by "Syrperos," who is to be identified with Pierre de Surie; see ibid., p. 219, n. 5. For the negotiations see Laiou, *Constantinople* (see above, n. 10), pp. 49–51.

25 Laiou, *Constantinople*, p. 53.

26 G. T. Dennis, "Imperial Panegyric: Rhetoric and Reality," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, D. C., 1997), pp. 131–40, at p. 139.

express his opinion on such a matter without the emperor's consent, and certainly not in the presence of the embassy.[27]

According to Pseudo-Menander's guidelines for an imperial *encomium*, the accomplishments of the addressee were to be celebrated immediately after the references to his education. But since in this case there were no past deeds to praise, Planoudes turned from the past to the future and, in the form of advice, suggested the path to be pursued by the young emperor. He continues with concrete and practical advice to Michael IX, namely he urges him to organise the military and the cavalry and to arrange financial support. Finally, he concludes with good wishes for the two imperial addressees. It should be noted here that Angelov has already pointed to the twofold structure of the oration, which consists of a panegyric and an advisory part. But he classified it as a "political panegyric," as described by Hermogenes in his treatise on types of style and further explained by his Byzantine commentators.[28]

To sum up, Planoudes's brief testimony about the coronation ceremony is reliable, since it is supported by Pachymeres's account. Concerning the date of performance, it cannot be earlier than the 25th of May, as explained above. But it could also have taken place several days later. According to the fourteenth-century treatise on imperial offices, the Pseudo-Kodinos, the coronation festivities usually lasted more or less ten days.[29] Though there is no other evidence (in Pachymeres or George Akropolites), in 1294 they might have been extended until the 6th of June, the feast of the Holy Spirit also called Pentecost Sunday, which was particularly celebrated in the palace.[30] The lapse of time can better explain why Planoudes openly

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[27] Angelov, *Imperial Ideology* (see above, n. 2), p. 173.

[28] For a detailed analysis of the structure and advisory content of the panegyric, see Angelov, "Byzantine Imperial Panegyric (see above, n. 2)," pp. 58–65. On the political panegyric, see Hermogenes, *Peri ideōn*, ed. H. Rabe, *Hermogenis Opera* (Stuttgart, 1969), pp. 389, l. 1–391, l. 4. See also Angelov, "Byzantine Imperial Panegyric," p. 58, n. 12.

[29] Pseudo-Kodinos, *De officiis*, ed. Verpeaux, p. 272, ll. 4–10: Δέκα δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἡμέρας ἢ πλείους ἢ ἐγγὺς ἐλάττους τούτων, οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστι νενομισμένος ἡμερῶν ἀριθμός, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως ἂν βούλοιτο ὁ βασιλεύς.

[30] For the date see Grumel, *La chronologie*, p. 260 and 321. According to Pseudo-Kodinos, the emperor used to host a banquet (*trapeza*) five times a year, namely at Christmas, Epiphany, on Palm Sunday, Easter Sunday and the Sunday of the Holy Spirit, i.e. Pentecost; see Pseudo-Kodinos, *De officiis*, ed. Verpeaux, pp. 219, l. 27–220, l. 7 and p. 239, ll. 15–18. It is assumed that, in connection with these banquets, orations were performed by teachers of rhetoric and their students. Several encomiastic orations mainly for Christmas and Epiphany can support this hypothesis; see Dennis, "Imperial Panegyric," p. 136; see also, *Discours annuels en l'honneur du patriarche Georges Xiphilin*, ed. M. Loukaki and trans. C. Jouanno, Monographies 18 (Paris, 2005), pp. 9–10 and 45.

revealed his resentment of the *Galloi*, not to mention the rest of his subtle critique.[31] It is known that the lengthy negotiations over the marriage—a diplomatic attempt by Andronikos II to make peace with the Western rulers still claiming his throne—broke down soon after Michael IX's coronation.[32] Pachymeres attests to the emperor's reservations about the pope and how he had considered responding to proposals coming from Cyprus and Armenia.[33] The first embassy for negotiations headed by Athanasios II of Alexandria is estimated to have been sent after the coronation. Since it failed to reach its destination, a second one was sent in the summer.[34] From his remarks, we may assume that Planoudes was by then aware of the emperor's concerns about the pope and his consideration of the other proposals, as well as his attitude towards the ambassadors of the *Galloi*. As a close friend of Athanasios II, Planoudes was well informed about the first embassy and its failure.[35] Furthermore, the absence of the slightest mention of Michael's younger brother John—promoted to *despotēs* at almost the same time—seems indicative of a lapse of time, although as an *argumentum ex silentio*, it cannot be given too much importance.

As regards the context for the performance, it can be inferred that the oration was part of an oratory competition, whose participants were

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31 Angelov, "Byzantine Imperial Panegyric (see above, n. 2)," pp. 61–62. There is hardly any information about the reactions of the emperors to such criticism. A rare testimony is offered by George Akropolites concerning Michael VIII, who—probably annoyed at the orator's advice, rather than at the length of his speech—walked away before Akropolites had finished his imperial oration; see George Akropolites, *Annales* 89.2–19, ed. A. Heisenberg (Leipzig, 1903), repr. with corrections by P. Wirth, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1978), 1:188–189; see also Dennis, "Imperial Panegyric," p. 134 and L. Previale, "Un Panegyrico inedito per Michele VIII Paleologo," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 42 (1943–1949), 1–49, at p. 1.

32 Laiou, *Constantinople* (see above, n. 10), p. 56.

33 Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis* 9.5, ed. Failler, 3:229, ll. 3–9: πολλοὶ δ' ἦσαν οἱ προσλιπαροῦντες ἄλλοθεν, ἔνθεν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ ῥηγός, ἔνθεν δὲ καὶ ἐξ Ἀρμενίων, τὰ ἐν χερσὶ τῶν προσδοκωμένων ποιούμενος περὶ πλείονος καὶ ἄλλως τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πάπα τῆς Ῥώμης ὑπειδόμενος ὑπερηφανίαν, τῆς φροντίδος ἐκείνης ἀπαλλαγείς, ἔγνω ἐπὶ θατέρῳ τῶν ἀξιούντων τὰ τοῦ κήδους συστήσασθαι.

34 Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis* 9.5, ed. Failler, 3:228, n. 33; A. Failler, "Le séjour d'Athanase II d'Alexandrie à Constantinople," *Revue des Études byzantines* 35 (1977), 43–71, at p. 50, n. 31. According to A. E. Laiou, *Constantinople*, p. 55, in the summer of 1294 a second embassy was sent first to Cyprus and then to Armenia; negotiations with the latter led to the marriage of Michael IX with Rita (afterwards Maria), the sister of Hetoum II, King of Armenia, on the 16th of January 1295.

35 In two of his letters to Alexios Philanthropenos, Planoudes refers to Athanasios II and to the misfortune of his trip; *Maximi monachi Planudis epistulae*, ed. M. Treu (Breslau, 1890; repr. Amsterdam, 1960), letter 86, ll. 79–93 and letter 109, ll. 37–46. The details suggest that Planoudes was a close observer of this embassy, as already pointed out; see Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis* 9.5, ed. Failler, 3:229, n. 37.

selected by the emperor-father himself. Such competitions may have been part of the coronation festivities; however Pseudo-Kodinos (or earlier sources, such as the tenth-century Book of Ceremonies by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos) says nothing on this. The informal way in which the orators were chosen in this case suggests that the contests were not totally planned in advance. They might also have taken place during the subsequent feasts.

In any event, the *Basilikos* can plausibly be termed a coronation speech, at least on the basis of its content. Planoudes and his fellow orator performed their orations in the same way as the previous contestant (*agōnisamenos*) on the day before, namely somewhere outside the palace, rather than inside, where grand banquets were offered to the senators after the coronation,[36] for Planoudes mentions the emperor leaving on horseback at the end of the performance. Judging from the high-level language and the style of the oration in its transmitted form, it seems unlikely that it was composed *impromptu*, as the author implies. It is more probable that he delivered it in a shorter form, which he later published in a redacted version.[37] Considering the transmitted length of the oration and the fact that Planoudes was to be followed by another orator speaking on the same day, it is questionable whether the emperor could actually attend the entire contest. But, even if it was delivered in shorter form, it suggests that the audience for such contests must have contained literate people and higher officials, not just the general populace.[38]

II. *John XIV Kalekas,* Oration *for John V Palaiologos*

The patriarch John XIV Kalekas succeeded the late patriarch Esaias (11th November 1323–13th May 1332) in February 1334 with the support of John VI Kantakouzenos, at the time *megas domestikos* and the closest friend of the Emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos, John Kalekas was already

[36] Pseudo-Kodinos, *De officiis*, ed. Verpeaux, p. 272, ll. 4–10.

[37] It is attested that the orators revised their orations, so that they could be read by others; see Toth, "Rhetorical *Theatron* (see above, n. 3)," pp. 446–48. On the duration of the contest, see above n. 17.

[38] Besides, the people inside the palace rather than the population of Constantinople were more important spectators of the court ceremonies, as pointed out by A. Cameron, "The Construction of Court Ritual: The Byzantine Book of Ceremonies," in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Society*, ed. D. Cannadine and S. Price (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 106–36, at pp. 129–30. On the audience of imperial orations, see also Toth, "Rhetorical *Theatron* (see above, n. 3)," pp. 444–46.

in his eighth year in office when Andronikos III died unexpectedly from a disease (of the spleen?) on the 14th or 15th of June 1341, leaving behind his nine-year-old son John V (18th June 1332–16th February 1391) as his legitimate heir.[39] In September 1341, when John Kantakouzenos was in Thrace with his army, the ambitious patriarch turned against him and collaborated with his opponent John Apokaukos; the latter managed to gain the trust of the empress mother, Anna of Savoy, and became the Prefect of the City.[40] The patriarch, as self-proclaimed regent for John V, together with the empress mother, crowned the boy emperor on the 19th of November 1341, having excommunicated John Kantakouzenos as a usurper of the throne.[41] Interestingly, the historian Nikephoros Gregoras pointed out that the patriarch, eager for power, did not even bother to select a festive day for the coronation.[42] In any case, it was on this occasion that John XIV Kalekas is supposed to have delivered the oration discussed below.

The text is preserved without title in a single manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Coislin 286. Its characterisation as a coronation speech and its connection to John V's coronation goes back to its editor Pericles Ioannou.[43] He did not, however, exclude the possibility of its having been delivered either on Christmas Day or Epiphany of the next year, 1342.

The oration begins *in medias res* with the praise of the empress mother, leaving out the *prooimion*, which is rather unusual for an imperial oration. But, since no lacuna is attested in the only codex we know of, it is not possible either to confirm that it has been lost or even estimate the length of any potentially missing text. Moreover, since the oration does not

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[39] D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (London, 1972), pp. 193 and 214, n. 2. For information about his disease, cf. I. Laskaratos, "Νοσήματα Βυζαντινών αυτοκρατόρων," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ionian University (Athens, 1995), pp. 570–601.

[40] Nicol, *The Last Centuries*, p. 195.

[41] Ibid., p. 200; D. M. Nicol, *The Reluctant Emperor: A Biography of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine Emperor and Monk, ca. 1295–1383* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 46–47.

[42] Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historiae Byzantinae*, ed. L. Schopen, 2 (Bonn, 1830), p. 616, ll. 7–13: Ὅ γε μὴν πατριάρχης μείζονα τὴν δικαίωσιν τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐπιτροπῆς μηχανώμενος ἑαυτῷ ἔστεψε διὰ πάσης σπουδῆς Ἰωάννην τὸν παῖδα τοῦ βασιλέως, οὐ περιμείνας, *διὰ τὸ λίχνον τῆς ἐφέσεως*, οὔθ' ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ, οὔτ' ἐπίσημον ἡμέραν τινὰ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ. ἐνάτη γὰρ ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτυχεν οὖσα τοῦ νοεμβρίου, ἐν ᾗ τὸ βασιλικὸν αὐτῷ περιτέθεικε στέφος, *ἀξύμβολός* τις φάναι καὶ μάλα *ἀνέορτος*, τό γε ἧκον εἰς αὐτήν [the emphasis is mine]. On this testimony, see also Ai. Christophilopoulou, *Ἐκλογή, ἀναγόρευσις καὶ στέψις τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ αὐτοκράτορος*, Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν 22. 2 (Athens, 1956), pp. 192–93.

[43] P. Ioannou, "Joannes XIV. Kalekas, Patriarch von Konstantinopel, unedierte Rede zur Krönung Joannes' V," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 27 (1961), 38–45, the text at pp. 43–45.

follow the structure of a *logos basilikos*, it is not even possible to speculate on the basis of missing topoi, following Pseudo-Menander's description.[44] For this reason, we may assume that the edited text—significantly shorter (only 97 lines) than the one by Planoudes discussed above—constitutes the version originally published by its author.[45]

Concerning structure and content, it should be pointed out that the oration is addressed directly and exclusively to Anna of Savoy (ca. 1306–365).[46] For more than half of its length (55 lines), the patriarch lists and praises her virtues—her righteousness, her philanthropy, her kindness, her piety—and presents her as the ideal empress and an exemplar for the people.[47] After a short lament (8 lines) for the death of Emperor Andronikos III (1328–1341), he passes to the second, shorter part of the oration (16 lines), in which he eulogises the nine-year-old emperor John as a true successor to his father and his ancestors; throughout, however, he is speaking directly only to the empress. Subsequently, the orator expresses his pleasure at the good fortune of the empress (10 lines) and concludes his oration both with curses on the enemies of the imperial family (5 lines) and the usual blessings on the addressee (4 lines).

In the short passage referring to John V, the orator names him as *basileus* and *autokratōr* of the *Rhomaioi*, which confirms that the oration was delivered after his coronation. The young heir to the throne must have been proclaimed *basileus* previously by his father, as was usual during the Palaiologan period; and he retained this title after his father's death with his mother Anna as empress regent.[48] But, it is not plausible to assume as Ioannou did, that the oration was delivered for John V on the occasion of his coronation. Given that the whole speech is exclusively addressed to the empress-mother virtually ignoring her young son—who is not even mentioned as "newly-crowned" (*neosteptos* or *artistephēs*)—, the oration gives the impression that his presence was of secondary importance. This observation raises questions as to the intentions of the orator and the occasion for his performance. For there is evidence that after her son's coronation Anna of Savoy continued to be empress and

44 On Pseudo-Menander see above, n. 14.

45 Cf. above, n. 37.

46 She is addressed twice as "*theiotatē despoina*", see Joannou, "Joannes XIV. Kalekas", pp. 43, l. 2 and 45, l. 12.

47 Joannou, "Joannes XIV. Kalekas", p. 44, ll. 8–9: παράδειγμα κατέστης οὐ βασιλείας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιτείας ἀνθρώπων γνησίας καὶ ἱερᾶς.

48 Ibid., pp. 45, l. 18f. and 45, ll. 26–27. His title is also attested in the history of John Kantakouzenos and in official documents, as noted by Christophilopoulou, *Ἐκλογή*, p. 191.

regent, demanding that the people praise her first of all and then her son.[49] Obviously, the patriarch's choice in his address reveals his intention of pleasing the empress, and whatever the occasion was, he does not appear as unselfish, loyal and patriotic as the editor has maintained.[50] Furthermore, it is not persuasive to argue that the patriarch's choice could have been dictated by the fact that the emperor was only nine; almost two centuries before, a young prince's teacher, Theophylaktos, later archbishop of Ohrid, addressed an imperial oration, known as *Paideia basilikē*,[51] to the ten-year-old Constantine Doukas (1074/5–1095), who was a *porphyrogennētos* and heir to the throne.[52] Given the above observations, it seems more plausible that the oration was delivered for another occasion, which would have come not long after John's V coronation, such as Christmas or Epiphany. According to Pseudo-Kodinos, it was on these feasts that *prokypsis* was performed; a ceremony during which the emperors were formally presented to the people of Constantinople.[53] This context seems more appropriate for the oration by the patriarch, who needed an opportunity to thank the empress for sharing the regency of the underage emperor with him.[54] With his concluding curses on the enemies of the family, the apostates who had been ungrateful to their imperial benefactors, the patriarch was pointing the finger at John Kantakouzenos, whom he had excommunicated before the coronation.[55] Ironically, six years later, in February 1347, after John VI Kantakouzenos—already crowned

49 John Kantakouzenos, *Historiae*, ed. L. Schopen, 2 (Bonn, 1831), p. 491, ll. 7–12: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο [scil. ὁ δῆμος ἅπας μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων] ἐγγὺς πυλῶν, *πρῶτα μὲν ἐκέλευεν Ἄνναν τὴν βασιλίδα εὐφημεῖν, καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνην βασιλέα τὸν υἱόν*, τρίτους δὲ μετ᾽ ἐκείνους αὐτόν τε καὶ Εἰρήνην βασιλίδα τὴν γυναῖκα, καὶ ἐτελεῖτο ἡ εὐφημία κατὰ τὰ κεκελευσμένα [the emphasis is mine]. Eirene Asanina is John VI Kantakouzenos's wife, a second cousin of Emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos. See also Christophilopoulou, *Ἐκλογή*, p. 192.

50 Loyalty and patriotism are the central themes of the oration, according to Joannou, "Joannes XIV. Kalekas," pp. 38 and 40.

51 Theophylaktos of Ohrid, *Paideia Basilikē*, ed. P. Gautier, *Théophylacte d'Achrida. Discours, Traités, Poésies*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 16.1 (Thessaloniki, 1980), pp. 177–211.

52 On the work, composed between 1085 and 1090, see G. Prinzing, "Beobachtungen zu 'integrierten' Fürstenspiegeln der Byzantiner," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 38 (1988), 1–31, at p. 24. On the addressee see also C. M. Brand, "Doukas Constantine," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, pp. 657–58.

53 On *prokypsis*, which took place at Christmas and Epiphany, see Pseudo-Kodinos, *De officiis*, ed. Verpeaux, pp. 195, l. 11–204, l. 23 and 220, l. 8–221,2.

54 Nicol, *The Last Centuries* (see above, n. 39), p. 200.

55 Joannou, "Joannes XIV. Kalekas," p. 45, ll. 21–25.

emperor at Adrianople in May 1346—prevailed, a synod convoked by the empress herself in Constantinople declared John Kalekas deposed.[56]

III. *John Argyropoulos* Basilikos ē peri basileias *for Constantine XI Palaiologos*

The eminent humanist John Argyropoulos (1393/4–1487) was a teacher and head of a school in Constantinople from 1421/3, holder of a doctoral degree in letters and medicine from the University of Padua (1441–1443), and then teacher of philosophy and medicine at the Mouseion of the Xenon of the Kral in Constantinople. He supported the unionist policy of John VIII Palaiologos and during the reign of the latter's brother, Constantine XI, he became a member of the Senate. In 1456 Argyropoulos moved to Italy, where he spent his time primarily in teaching philosophy (at the University of Padua) and in translating.[57]

Argyropoulos's oration entitled *Basilikos ē peri basileias* was written for Constantine XI (8th February 1404–29th May 1453), son of Manuel II Palaiologos and Helen Dragase.[58] It was the editor, S. P. Lampros, who connected this oration with the last emperor's coronation, since Constantine XI is called *megistos basileus* of the *Hellēnes* appointed by the God of the *Hellēnes*.[59] Lampros further suggested that the oration must have been delivered after his arrival in Constantinople, since it is not attested that Argyropoulos himself travelled to Mistra.[60] According to the memoirs

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[56] G. T. Dennis, "The Deposition of the Patriarch Calecas," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 9 (1960), 51–55, at pp. 51–53. John Kalekas, exiled in Didymoteichos, died soon afterwards, on the 29th of December 1347.

[57] On Argyropoulos's life and activity see T. Ganchou, "*Iôannès* Argyropoulos, Géôrgios Trapézountios et le patron crétois Géôrgios Maurikas", Θησαυρίσματα 38 (2008), 105–211, at pp. 106 and 114. A. M. Talbot, "Argyropoulos John" in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, pp. 164–65; Lampros, *Ἀργυροπούλεια* (see above, n. 8), pp. ι′–π′. On his teaching and students see B. Mondrain, "Jean Argyropoulos professeur à Constantinople et ses auditeurs médecins, d'Andronic Éparque à Démétrios Angelos," in *Πολύπλευρος νοῦς: Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, ed. C. Scholz and G. Makris, Byzantinisches Archiv 19 (Munich and Leipzig, 2000), pp. 223–50, at p. 230. See also T. Bender, *The University and the City: from Medieval Origins to the Present* (Oxford, 1988), 54.

[58] Argyropoulos, *Βασιλικὸς ἢ περὶ βασιλείας*, ed. Lampros, *Ἀργυροπούλεια*, pp. 29–47.

[59] See for instance ibid., pp. 29, l. 11 and 45, ll. 1; 13–14.

[60] According to Lampros, Argyropoulos was in Constantinople when John VIII died in 31 October 1448, and he did not leave the capital until 23rd March 1450 at the earliest; Argyropoulos, *Basilikos*, ed. Lampros, pp. κ′–κα′. His two consolatory speeches addressed to Constantine IX—on the death of his brother John VIII Palaiologos (d. 31st October 1448) and on the death of their mother Helen Dragase, also known by her monastic name of

of George Sphrantzes, after the death of his brother Constantine XI was crowned emperor in Mistra on the 6th of January 1449, in the presence of *archontes*, who came from the capital for this purpose.[61] But there was no official ceremony of coronation and anointing by the patriarch, not even after 12th March, when the emperor arrived in Constantinople. The emperor's decision in this respect is attributed to the on-going conflict between the unionists and anti-unionists, which would have been exacerbated, if he had been crowned by the unionist patriarch Gregory III. According to Theodore Agallianos, the latter went to Rome in August 1451, abandoning his see, which thereafter remained vacant.[62]

The twofold title of the oration, *Basilikos ē Peri basileias*, goes back to its author. But how does the title correspond to the oration's content and structure? From Argyropoulos's explicit reference to the fact that he is offering an *andrias* to the emperor,[63] we can infer that the word *basilikos* in the title means *basilikos andrias* ("imperial statue"), and not *logos basilikos*, as one might otherwise initially assume; for, as already discussed above, the *logos basilikos*, is the imperial encomium theoretically described by Pseudo-Menander. As for the designation *basilikos andrias*, it is also attested in the title of a mainly advisory work dedicated by Nikephoros Blemmydes to Theodore II Laskaris. In the history of Byzantine literature the latter comes under the category conventionally called "mirror of princes".[64] Likewise, the second half of the title of Argyropoulos's oration, *Peri basileias* ("On kingship"), refers to a political treatise on rulership and also indicates a "mirror of princes".[65] A closer look at the content of the

Hypomonē, (d. 23rd of March 1450)—, suggest that the orator stayed in Constantinople; interestingly, these are the only two of his orations which end with the word εἴρηκα (a habit acquired from Latin oratory); see ibid., pp. 28, l. 20 and 67, l. 20.

61 George Sphrantzes, *Chronicon minus* 29.4, ed. R. Maisano, *Giorgio Sfranze, Cronaca* Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 29 (Rome, 1990), p. 102, ll. 1–6.

62 M. Kordoses, "The Question of Constantine Palaiologos' Coronation," in *The Making of Byzantine History: Studies Dedicated to Donald Nicol*, ed. R. Beaton and C. Roueché (Alderhot, 1993), pp. 137–41, at p. 138. See also M. Carroll, "Constantine XI Palaeologus: Some Problems of Image," in *Maistor. Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning*, ed. A. Moffatt, Byzantina Australiensia 5 (Canberra, 1984), pp. 329–43, at pp. 336–37.

63 Argyropoulos, *Basilikos*, ed. Lampros, p. 37, ll. 10–19, where the ἀνδριάς χρηστοῦ βασιλέως is twice mentioned; cf. ibid. p. 45, l. 2 (βασιλικὸς ἀνδριάς).

64 H. Hunger and I. Ševčenko, *Des Nikephoros Blemmydes Βασιλικὸς Ἀνδριάς und dessen Metaphrase von Georgios Galesiotes und Georgios Oinaiotes: Ein weiterer Beitrag zum Verständnis der byzantinischen Schrift-Koine*, Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 18 (Vienna, 1986), pp. 44–116.

65 Such as the works by Synesios of Cyrene and Thomas Magistros; see editions Synesios of Cyrene, *Περὶ βασιλείας*, ed. N. Terzaghi, *Synesii Cyrenensis opuscula* (Rome,

oration confirms the above observations in terms of genre. Thus, this work should have been classified as a so-called Byzantine "mirror of princess" and not as an imperial encomium.

As an expert in ancient Greek philosophy, Argyropoulos opens his oration with a philosophical consideration of kingship, praising it as the best political system and setting forth its advantages. This first part occupies almost half of the roughly 390 lines of the text and corresponds to the second half of the title of the speech: "On kingship". In the next part, Argyropoulos explicitly addresses an *andrias* to the emperor, an image of the ideal king, expressing the wish that it will serve as a model for the emperor.[66] Emphasis is laid on the imitation of God in terms of charity and magnanimity and on the four cardinal virtues. This second part, which has a deliberative aim, occupies more than one third of the oration. In the final, shorter part, Argyropoulos admits that the present circumstances oblige him to be brief, and for this reason he will depict the critical political reality without embellishing it.[67] He deplores the fact that the Greek people, deprived of territories, sea, towns, money and every resource, without allies and friends, are now afraid of losing this one City, the hearth (*hestia*) and refuge of their race. But, as he painfully emphasises, the worst thing of all is the internal conflict and hatred—purportedly, in the name of a faith and piety inherited from their ancestors. Meanwhile, there is an urgent need for an alliance with the West, in order to combat the danger of the invading Turks.[68] Thus, he concludes with an old proverb, which goes back to Theokritos, wishing the emperor good luck in hazarding a last move to ensure the freedom of the Greeks.[69] With these words, Argyropoulos points back to the encomiastic way in which the emperor is addressed as *rex ex machina* at the beginning of his oration.

1944), pp. 5–62, and Thomas Magistros, *Περὶ βασιλείας*, ed. P. Volpe Cacciatore, *Toma Magistro, La regalità* (Naples, 1997).

66 See above, n. 63.

67 For the last part, which briefly sketches the current situation of the empire, see Argyropoulos, *Basilikos*, ed. Lampros, pp. 45, l. 1–47, l. 10; see also Angelov, *Imperial Ideology* (see above, n. 2), p. 63.

68 On his arguments for the alliance with the West, see Argyropoulos, *Basilikos*, ed. Lampros, pp. 46, l. 16–47, l. 10.

69 Argyropoulos, *Basilikos*, ed. Lampros, p. 47, ll. 13–16: Σοὶ δ' ἂν εἴη λοιπὸν, ὦ θειότατε βασιλεῦ, καὶ τοῦ μεγαλοπρεποῦς σου φρονήματος ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας ἐντεῦθεν καὶ *τὸν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς λίθον κινῆσαι*, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου [the empasis is mine]; see also LS s. v. γραμμή III. 1.

Thus, from its title as well as its content it has become obvious that the oration does not constitute an imperial encomium and it could not have been delivered on the occasion of a coronation; obviously, it was the misleading title which prompted its editor to make that unfounded assumption. Assuming that it was performed publicly, there were also other events deemed suitable occasions for an address. The emperor's procession on Palm Sunday, for example, or the imperial banquets of Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday[70] would have come round not long after the arrival of Constantine XI in Constantinople—on the 6th or the 13th of April 1449.[71] Alternatively, the encomiastic addressing of the emperor as *rex ex machina* may hint at other occasions.[72] But in the end, whatever the occasion for its composition was, its great value as the testimony of a distinguished humanist regarding the most crucial moments in the history of Byzantium is undeniable.

Conclusions

To sum up, in response to the question as to whether the three orations discussed here can still be considered "coronation speeches"—given that the traditional term *stephanōtikoi*, as described by Pseudo-Menander, cannot be applied to any of them—, we are led to the following conclusions:

Orations similar to Corippus's encomiastic poem on Justin II, with a lengthy description of the coronation ceremony extending to a whole book,[73] are not attested in the Palaiologan period. Only the *panegyric* by Maximos Planoudes evidences a "lively memory" of the coronation ceremony and refers explicitly to it. It is worth underlining that in this case

[70] On the emperor's procession on Palm Sunday, see Pseudo-Kodinos, *De officiis*, ed. Verpeaux (see above, n. 20), pp. 224, l. 5–228, l. 3; on the imperial banquets held on Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday, see ibid., pp. 219, l. 22–220, l. 7.

[71] Grumel, *La chronologie*, 263.

[72] Argyropoulos, *Basilikos*, ed. Lampros, p. 30, ll. 3–4: Τὸ γὰρ αὐτόν σε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὥσπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς ἄρχοντα νῦν ὀφθῆναι, οὕτω θεοῦ κινοῦντος καὶ βουλομένου. During the ceremony of *prokypsis* the emperor appeared in glory on a raised balcony like a *deus ex machina*, a theme which has been exploited in various ways by orators; see for instance P. Magdalino, "Eros the King and the King of 'Amours': Some Observations on 'Hysmine and Hysminias'," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992), pp. 197–204, at p. 200. On *prokypsis* see above, n. 53.

[73] On the description, contained in the second book, see A. Cameron, *Flavius Cresconius Corippus, In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris libri iv* (London, 1976), pp. vii and 4–5.

a feast day had been selected for the coronation,[74] a fact which offered the orator a further opportunity to eulogise the imperial family. In this respect, it could be considered a coronation speech. But it is a single case that does not allow us to draw general conclusions about regular oratory contests or even individual performances in the context of the coronation festivities. Moreover, apart from this oration, there is no evidence that the other two orations discussed here were performed during a coronation ceremony. By contrast, they could have been delivered on various occasions after the coronation of the young emperors, such as the ceremony of *prokypsis*.[75] In any case, both cases constitute illustrative examples of how editors' convictions can influence the composition of the history of literature.

Kalekas's oration, transmitted without title, does indeed constitute an encomium, though not a complete one. It is exclusively addressed to the empress-mother, focusing only briefly and indirectly on the person of her under-age son, John V. Moreover, it contains no direct reference to the coronation, a fact that cannot just be explained by his being a minor. These observations show the editor's suggestion as to the occasion on which it was delivered to be untenable. It would be more plausible to postulate that the patriarch took advantage of some other opportunity to express his gratitude towards the empress-mother.

Argyropoulos's oration addressed to Constantine XI offers an encomium of the monarchy and an image of the ideal ruler and concludes by urging the emperor to take measures in response to the critical political situation, such as concluding an alliance with the West against the encroaching danger of the Ottomans. Thus, the oration is more philosophical and deliberative in character than panegyrical, especially as its title also evokes the genre of the so-called "mirrors of princes".

Consequently, the answer to the question of how the three orations are related to or to what extent they reflect the coronation ceremony is now obvious: only the oration by Planoudes fits the bill.

Concerning the genre-specific questions, as to whether we can identify certain common literary, rhetorical or other characteristics as regards the structure and the content that allow us to define them as a group, the

[74] For example, Pachymeres and Gregoras attest to this; see above, n. 11 and n. 42.

[75] W. Hörandner, "Court Poetry: Questions of Motifs, Structure and Function," in *Rhetoric in Byzantium*, ed. Jeffreys (see above, n. 2), pp. 75–85, at p. 78: it is difficult to define the occasions for which court poetry was composed, for instance whether for the ceremony of *prokypsis* or something similar.

answer must be in the negative. For, though such orations might once have existed, a study of the extant orations addressed to Palaiologan emperors in the year of their coronation—namely by Manuel-Maximos Holobolos,[76] John Dokeianos[77] and Nicholas Chamaetos Kabasilas[78]—leads to the conclusion that there are no other known examples that can be compared to the oration by Planoudes. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that any such examples would have survived from the early and middle Byzantine periods.

In conclusion, the use of the term "coronation speech" as a generic name is supported neither in theory nor in practice. Nevertheless, the authors' use of traditional classification terms, whether in the titles or the main body of their work, is revealing as regards their aims and literary models and thus justifies a generic analysis.[79] Thus, the main question concerns not just the traditional material itself, but the ways in which it was used by Byzantine authors in order to achieve their own ends.[80]

On the other hand, leaving aside the question of genre, all three orations indicate the existence of festivities, even if they usually only hint at them rather than containing detailed descriptions or explicit mention of them. This can be deduced from the fact that all three address emperors and at least the first two were written to be performed in public, either in oratory contests or individual performances by orators. Their public delivery

[76] He is considered the author of an anonymously transmitted panegyric addressed to Michael VIII, which contains a reference to a newly-crowned (*neosteptos*) emperor's son, i.e. Andronikos II. See L. Previale, "Un Panegyrico inedito per Michele VIII Paleologo," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 42 (1943–1949), 1–49 at p. 45, l. 3. On the basis of this reference, the oration can be dated after Andronikos's II coronation as co-emperor (on the 8th of November 1272) and before the autumn of 1273, when Maximos once again fell out of favour with the emperor; see ibid., p. 8.

[77] His (90-line) *prosphōnēmation* to Constantine XI is a combination of a "speech of address," according to its title. Furthermore as the author himself attests, it is also a "speech of arrival" (*epibatērioi epainoi*), since he expresses his joy at the emperor's arrival in Constantinople; John Dokeianos, *Προσφωνημάτιον τῷ κυρίῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ*, ed. S. P. Lampros, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, 1 (Athens, 1912), pp. μθʹ–νʹ, 232–35 and 234, ll. 26–32. See Pseudo-Menander, *Peri epideiktikōn*, ed. Russell and Wilson, pp. 94–114 ("speech of arrival") and pp. 164–70 ("speech of address"). The orator implies that more than one oration was delivered on the occasion of the emperor's arrival; Dokeianos, *Προσφωνημάτιον*, pp. 234, l. 30–235, l. 1.

[78] His encomium for Matthew Kantakouzenos was delivered some time after Matthew's coronation, which took place in the spring of 1354; M. Jugie, "Nicolas Cabasilas, Panégyriques inédits de Mathieu Cantacuzène et d'Anne Paléologine," *Izvestija Russkago Archeologiceskago Instituta v Konstantinopole* 15 (1911), pp. 112–21, at pp. 113–18.

[79] Toth, "Rhetorical *Theatron* (see above, n. 3)," p. 436; see also Toth, "Epideictic eloquence (see above, n. 3)".

[80] Odorico, "Les miroirs (see above, n. 3)," pp. 245–46.

before the emperor was in itself a festive event, either following an imperial ceremony or regular festivities, such as imperial banquets. Though the first oration (by Planoudes) makes explicit reference to the coronation ceremony and ritual, the other two contain only vague hints at the ceremony of *prokypsis*, through the metaphorical representations of the sun or a *deus ex machina*. Anyway, all three orations display elements of the symbolic language of rulership. Focused on the praise of their addressees as they were, the orators supported the imperial authority, stressed the legitimacy of their succession to the throne and generally promoted the imperial ideology, thus serving the same function as the ceremonies and rituals. In addition to the direct or indirect evidence of the ceremony, we cannot ignore the implications for these compositions of the art and the context of the performance of the orations, the existence of contests, the presence of the imperial family and officers among the audience, the influential status of the father-emperor or mother-empress in relation to the newly crowned emperor. It is in the end revealing to observe the self-representation of the orators as the emperor's chosen ones, persons of trust who could express their opinions in an attempt to influence the conduct and political decisions of the ruler. In conclusion, the orations constitute valuable evidence for our understanding of court rituals. Furthermore, studying the relationship between the orators and their imperial addressees should lead to a clearer picture of the function and the dynamics of this branch of Byzantine literature.

PART THREE

INVENTION, APPROPRIATION AND TRANSFORMATION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

CHAPTER NINE

RITUAL, POLITICS, AND THE CITY IN MAMLUK CAIRO: THE BAYNA L-QAṢRAYN AS A DYNAMIC 'LIEU DE MÉMOIRE', 1250–1382

Jo Van Steenbergen*

Just as is true for any other pre-modern polity, rituals of power were a defining feature of the political culture of the Mamluk sultanate of Egypt and Syria (1250–1517). Firmly dominating the eastern-Mediterranean-to-Red-Sea area from its capital Cairo, this great power of the late medieval world experienced the public representation of power, status, and identity at various social levels through the varied and complex prism of protocol and ceremonial. This chapter discusses one particular set of such Mamluk rituals that was performed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the investiture of new members of the political elites, reconstructing in particular its spatial and semiotic frameworks as a revelatory mnemonic process connecting Cairo's city centre of the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn with Mamluk ideas of legitimate kingship.

1. *Introduction: Setting the Scene*

To date, the ritual aspect of Mamluk political culture remains poorly understood, even though Mamluk source material can hardly be blamed for this historiographical shortcoming.[1] To begin with, a handful of manuals for court protocol in its widest sense has survived, describing in much detail the rules and regulations of Mamluk ceremonial. Most notably, the

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[1] For a useful overview of extant narrative source material, see D. P. Little, "Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Epochs," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, ed. C. F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 412–44.

multi-volume manual by the court scribe Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī (1355–1418)—*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ*—includes a lengthy presentation of "the status of the realm's ceremonial, from the start of the Ayyubid dynasty until our own time." A telling indication of contemporary appreciations of this ceremonial as a comprehensive organizational tool for the Mamluk polity is this presentation's listing of ten wide-ranging key areas that were managed through protocol: "symbols and instruments of royalty," "the sultan's storehouses," "the realm's elites and office holders," "dress of the realm's elites," "the sultan's appearance," "the bestowal of income," "the ruler's responsibility for specific places within his realm," "the arrival of correspondence with the ruler," "the commanders' appearance and the protocol of their rank," and "the sword bearers who are put in charge of Egypt's districts."[2]

For a full historical appreciation of the Mamluk ritual spectrum, generalizing prescriptive presentations, such as in al-Qalqashandī's manual, can easily be combined with occasional information from a rich variety of contemporary Arabic chronicles and biographical dictionaries. One fine example thereof for this chapter's main area of focus—Mamluk "symbols and instruments of royalty"—is presented in a paragraph from the obituary of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq (r. 1438–1453) by the courtier and chronicler Yūsuf ibn Taghrī Birdī (1411–1470). Here, an illustration is given of the luxuriant variety of this type of Mamluk ritual of power, even despite the fragment's referring to this sultan's well-known—but short-lived—crusade against public display:

> As a result of [Jaqmaq's] asceticism, he abolished many of the symbols of royal authority (*shiʿār al-mamlaka*), such as the procession of the *ḥajj* palanquin (*maḥmal*), the hunting party with the birds of prey, the public service (*khidma*) in the audience hall (*īwān*), the court of justice (*ḥukm*) at the chain gate of the sultan's stable, the guard of the Lady (*nawbat khātūn*) that used to beat the drums at the Citadel of the Mountain at sunrise and sunset, and many similar things. [...] He used to resent those things because of the immoral acts they entailed.[3]

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[2] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ* [Dawn for the Benighted Regarding the Chancery Craft], 14 vols. (Cairo, 1910–20; repr. 1985), 4:5–72.

[3] Yūsuf Ibn Taghrī Birdī (1411–1470), *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-l-Mustawfā baʿd al-wāfī* [The Pure Pool and Completion of *al-Wafi*], ed. M. M. Amin, 13 vols. (Cairo, 1984–2009), 4:298–99. Ibn Taghrī Birdī discusses in some more detail the nature and extent of these five "symbols of royal authority" (*maḥmal*, hunt, *khidma, ḥukm, nawbat khātūn*) and of Jaqmaq's ritual iconoclasm in one of his annalistic chronicles, similarly explaining with substantial regret how "[...] the sultan abolished a great deal, including the public service in the audience hall on the occasion of the arrival in Egypt of foreign delegates [...]; thereafter he

The understanding of these processions, public services, courts of justice, and their like as "symbols of royal authority" by Ibn Taghrī Birdī and his audiences was certainly nurtured and enhanced by most of these rituals' conspicuous spatial setting: in or near the Citadel of the Mountain (*Qalʿat al-Jabal*), an impressive stronghold on a spur of the Muqaṭṭam range southeast of the city of Cairo (Figs. 9.2b and 9.4). This monument of military architecture, constructed by the illustrious ruler Saladin (r. 1171–1194) and by his Ayyubid successors, served almost continuously from the mid-thirteenth century onwards as Egypt's military headquarters, royal residence, and centre of government.[4] In the process, the citadel totally eclipsed the original functions of the nearby city of Cairo, which had itself been founded in 969 CE as a palace city for the sultans' predecessors in Egypt: the Fatimid caliphs (969–1171) (Fig. 9.1).[5]

These Fatimids have, in fact, received more scholarly attention than their successors on questions of rituals of power. The ritual functionality of Fatimid Cairo has been the subject of a detailed study by Paula Sanders, which was published in 1994 as the monograph *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Cairo*. Conceptualizing "ritual as a dynamic process through which claims to political and religious authority in Islamic societies may be articulated and in which complex negotiations of power may take place," Sanders convincingly argues throughout her book that "rituals have a multiplicity of meanings and functions that may conflict without

abolished the royal custom of the sultan's descent [from the citadel] to Wassīm on the bank of Giza; then he abolished the descent [from the citadel] to the stable for speaking justice among the people on Saturday and Tuesday; then he abolished the trip to al-Rumāya to go hunting with the birds of prey; then he abolished the public service on Saturday and Tuesday with the ceremonial headgear at the royal palace; then he abolished the procession of the *ḥajj* palanquin in Rajab [...]; then he abolished the joint parade of the commanders of the *ḥajj* in Ramadan; then he abolished the public service of Thursday, although he performed it sporadically thereafter; then he abolished the beating of the Khalīliyya at the gate of the citadel [...]; on top of that, he abolished many other symbols of royalty that have to do with his clothes, his sessions, his movements, and his deeds." Yūsuf Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fi Madā al-ayyām wa-l-shuhūr* [Events of the Times within the Passage of Days and Months], ed. W. Popper, *Extracts from Abû 'l-Maḥâsin Ibn Taghrî Birdî's Chronicle entitled Ḥawâdith ad-Duhûr fî Madâ 'l-Ayyâm wash-Shuhûr. Part 1 (845–856 A.H.)*, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology 8/1 (Berkeley, 1930), pp. 117–19 (quote from 118–19). See also D. Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks. A History of the Architecture and Its Culture* (Cairo, 2007), p. 25.

4 See especially N. O. Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden, 1995).

5 A process superbly reconstructed in A. Raymond, *Cairo, City of History* (Cairo, 2000) (hereafter cited as Raymond).

being mutually exclusive and that change over time."[6] From this perspective, she establishes Fatimid Cairo as a "ritual city," which was however neither static in form, nor in function, nor in meaning throughout the tenth to twelfth centuries.[7]

As mentioned, Egypt's centre of government shifted from the old palace city to the new citadel in the course of the thirteenth century, when, in the words of the Cairophile scholar Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī (1363–1442), "*al-Qāhira* became, after being a fortified site and the seat of the caliphate, a middle-class city, sought after as a shelter."[8] The late André Raymond, to date premodern Cairo's leading historian, tempered al-Maqrīzī's enthusiasm, explaining that "the process Maqrīzī describes . . . was in all probability slow and gradual".[9] Nevertheless, it is clear that by the mid-thirteenth century the urbanization of Cairo was well under way and that the citadel's assumption of the city's former political role was irreversible (Fig. 9.2b). As Raymond summarizes, from then onwards all sultans resided in the citadel, where "new buildings went up . . . to make a palace zone, a 'setting for Mamluk ceremonial,' in Doris Behrens-Abouseif's felicitous phrase."[10]

Current understandings of this process seem to assume—albeit implicitly—that, simultaneously with Cairo's transformation from an exclusive palace city into a genuine urban centre of residential, commercial, and cultural activities, Sanders' ritual city also lost its ability to articulate meanings of political power and authority. This would certainly seem true for the fifteenth century, when those rituals that—in Ibn Taghrī Birdī's reading—articulated Mamluk "royal authority" were all firmly tied to the spatial and symbolic context of the citadel. The question remains, however, whether the transition from ritual city to ritual citadel coincided with the transfer of the centre of government, or—more importantly—whether setting up the citadel as a "stage for Mamluk ceremonial" from the 1260s onwards abruptly ended Cairo's role as a ritual city. In fact, this

6 P. Sanders, *Ritual, Politics and the City in Fatimid Cairo* (Albany, 1994) (hereafter cited as Sanders), pp. 7–8.

7 Sanders, p. 39: "I look at how [Fatimid] Cairo was constructed through topography and ceremonial as a ritual city, how that ritual city was transformed over time, and how the new meanings it acquired were in turn exploited to articulate changing ideological and political commitments."

8 Quoted in Raymond, p. 93.

9 Raymond, p. 93.

10 Ibid., p. 128; referring to D. Behrens-Abouseif, "The Citadel of Cairo: Stage for Mamluk Ceremonial," *Annales islamologiques* 24 (1988), 25–79.

chapter argues that the process of ritual transformation that was identified by Sanders for Fatimid Cairo was only disrupted much later, even despite the Shiite Fatimids' bad reputation in Sunni Mamluk times. It will be demonstrated how rituals of power were continued in particular in the ritual city's very heart: the esplanade between the two palaces of the Fatimid caliphs (Bayna l-Qaṣrayn) (Fig. 9.1), which was gradually stripped of the physical remains of its Fatimid past—the palaces—(Figs. 9.2a and 9.3), but which was not deprived of its ability to communicate empowering meanings and to articulate political commitments until the end of the fourteenth century.

In interpreting the new meanings and functions that Cairo's Bayna l-Qaṣrayn in particular acquired in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, this chapter not only ties together in a more coherent framework different strings of extant research,[11] but also furthers current understandings by injecting fresh perspectives, which are closely tied to a long-standing and vexing debate among Mamluk historians and art historians on "the expressive intent of Mamluk architecture".[12] These fresh perspectives are derived from the social semiotic approach to urban semiotics. More in particular, they have to do with applying to current understandings of Mamluk Cairo's Bayna l-Qaṣrayn the heuristic lens of a Mamluk cultural matrix, conceptualizing Mamluk cultural forms as also operating within a shared field of social meanings that enabled their functioning as a semiotic framework that moulded the public representation of Mamluk social groups.[13] On the one hand, this chapter uses Sanders' prism of the ritual

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11 As formulated in M. Chapoutot-Remadi, "Symbolisme et formalisme de l'élite mamluke: la cérémonie de l'accession à l'émirat," in *Genèse de l'état moderne en Méditerranée: approches anthropologique de pratiques et de représentations*, ed. H. Bresc (Rome, 1993), pp. 61–79 (hereafter cited as Chapoutot-Remadi); in H. al-Harithy, "The Concept of Space in Mamluk Architecture," *Muqarnas* 18 (2001), 73–93; and in D. Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks. A History of the Architecture and its Culture* (Cairo, 2007), pp. 15–20, 25–41.

12 The two main representatives of either side of this debate on modern research's (in)ability to fully grasp such meanings undoubtedly are R. S. Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent of the Mamluk Architecture of Cairo: A Preliminary Essay," *Studia Islamica* 35 (1972), 69–119, and N. O. Rabbat, "Perception of Architecture in Mamluk Sources," *Mamluk Studies Review* 6 (2002), 155–76, reprinted in idem, *Mamluk History through Architecture. Monuments, Culture and Politics in Medieval Egypt and Syria* (London, 2010), pp. 20–32.

13 See J. Van Steenbergen, "Qalāwūnid Discourse, Elite Communication and the Mamluk Cultural Matrix: Interpreting a 14th-Century Panegyric," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 43/1 (2012), 1–28; idem, "The Amir Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī, the Qalāwūnid Sultanate, and the Cultural Matrix of Mamlūk Society: A Reassessment of Mamlūk Politics in the 1360s," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 131/3 (2011), 423–43. See also, more in general, L. Jones, *The Hermeneutics of Sacred Architecture: Experience, Interpretation, Comparison* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000).

city—the interaction between urban topography and ceremonial—to look at the Mamluk Bayna l-Qaṣrayn, reading its transforming physical features as a dynamic and complex ritual space that demonstrated functional continuities with the Fatimid era. On the other hand, this chapter furthers this interpretation by arguing that the dynamic complexity of this ritual stage can only be fully grasped when it is understood as a space which articulated meanings that were informed by different commemorative layers, which Mamluk "social memory" attached to it.[14] Seen from these perspectives, the Mamluk Bayna l-Qaṣrayn is actually conceptualized as a central *lieu de mémoire* in the Mamluk ritual landscape, offering Mamluk sultans of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a unique opportunity to operationalize through rituals of power legitimating memories of a glorious past. In doing so, this chapter will eventually also demonstrate how this very tangible example of the Mamluk Bayna l-Qaṣrayn's spatial semiotics calls for a new interpretation of Mamluk political history in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

2. *The Bayna l-Qaṣrayn as A Ritual Space*

In his unparalleled topographical survey of Cairo's history until the early fifteenth century, al-Maqrīzī includes a brief, but quite unique description of the investiture of new members of the Mamluk polity's socio-political elite, the military commanders or *amīr*s.

> It was the custom that whenever the sultan awarded the rank of *amīr* to any of the *amīr*s of Egypt and Syria, the latter would come down from the citadel, dressed with a robe of honour and with a fur hat, and while the city of Cairo was illuminated in his honour. He then would proceed to the Ṣāliḥiyya *madrasa* at Bayna l-Qaṣrayn. That is how [this ceremonial] was performed during the reign of sultan al-Muʿizz Aybak and during that of his immediate successors. Thereafter, it was transferred to the Manṣūriyya mausoleum. Eventually, therefore, the *amīr* used to swear an oath [of investiture] at this mausoleum, in the presence of the lord chamberlain. Thereupon a sumptuous banquet was organized at this mausoleum and then the *amīr* returned [to the citadel]. All along the road between Cairo and the citadel, there used to be singers sitting down and turning his passage to and fro into a

[14] See J. Fentress, C. Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992). For Syrian parallels, see B. J. Walker, "Commemorating the Sacred Spaces of the Past: The Mamluks and the Umayyad Mosque at Damascus," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 67/1 (2004), 26–39; Y. Frenkel, "Public Projection of Power in Mamluk Bilād al-Shām," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11/1 (2007), 39–53.

> solemn procession. This used to be one of the great parades of the city of Cairo, but all that was abolished with the annihilation of the regime of the Qalāwūnids.[15]

As al-Maqrīzī explains, substantial public ceremonial surrounded the awarding of military rank, so much sought after since concomitant with it came military muscle, social status, political clout, and access to the regime's resources (through the usufructuary military remuneration system [*iqṭāʿ*] that secured Mamluk *amīr*s' economic and, hence, socio-political monopoly).[16] Furthermore, the historian informs how this investiture ceremonial made full use of the Mamluk capital's public spaces, actually connecting through procession, celebration, and decoration the new seat of government—the citadel—with the city, in particular with the old seat of government—the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn area—at its centre (Fig. 9.2b). As al-Maqrīzī details, from the very beginning of the Mamluk polity, during the reign of sultan al-Muʿizz Aybak (r. 1254–1257), this area provided the main stage for this crucial ceremonial in the public life of Mamluk elites, thus continuing its role as a ritual space for which it had been conceived under the Fatimids.

At the same time, however, the old Bayna l-Qaṣrayn's topography was gradually transformed, and—as al-Maqrīzī reconstructs—the *amīr*s' investiture ceremonial followed suit. In fact, the Ṣāliḥiyya *madrasa* (Fig. 9.5), which al-Maqrīzī links prominently with the investiture during the first decades of Mamluk rule, was the first monument in the area to be constructed on the site of the former Fatimid palaces, the remains of which from then onwards gradually disappeared. Firmly linked to the patronage of Egypt's last effective Ayyubid ruler, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (r. 1240–1249), this monument with its massive façade and conspicuous minaret was set up in the 1240s as a college for Sunni Islam's four schools of law, a domed mausoleum (*qubba*) being attached to it that until today shelters Sultan Ayyūb's remains. From the 1250s onwards, this college's function as an educational space was not just expanded to also cater to the *amīr*s' investiture ritual, but also to serve as a regional court of justice

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[15] Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī (1363–1442), *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-l-Āthār* [Admonitions and Reflections on the Story of the Quarters and Monuments], ed. A. F. Sayyid, 4 vols. (London, 1424/2003), 4/2:520–22.

[16] On the Mamluk amīrate in the fourteenth century, see J. Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos. Patronage, Conflict and Mamluk Socio-Political Culture, 1341–1382* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 33–49.

presided over by the four schools' chief judges, a function it was to retain for many centuries.[17]

As al-Maqrīzī indicates, however, the Ṣāliḥiyya's function as a stage for the investiture ceremonial did not last. At a certain point in time, this function was transferred to the Manṣūriyya mausoleum (*al-qubba al-Manṣūriyya*) (Fig. 9.8), an equally impressive monument with a similarly massive façade and conspicuous minaret at the other side of the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn, opposite the Ṣāliḥiyya's mausoleum. This splendidly decorated monument housed the remains of its Mamluk patron, sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (r. 1277–1290), of his son and successor, sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 1293–1294; 1299–1309; 1310–1341), and of the latter's son and successor, sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl (r. 1342–1345). Apart from functioning as a royal mausoleum, the building also served as a teaching institution and as a mosque, with imams being employed to lead the daily prayers, as well as dozens of experts to recite verses from the Quran continuously while sitting in the façade's windows. Furthermore, the royal status of the mausoleum's patron and of its dead continued to be represented and remembered through the employment there of some of Qalāwūn's personal eunuchs, who had served his person when still alive and who were now expected to continue to do so for his physical remains. In his report on the mausoleum, al-Maqrīzī also noted this transformation into a sacrosanct space, managed through strict protocol. He claimed that "by installing eunuchs at this hall, through which one needs to pass to enter the mausoleum, rulers intended to continue royal protocol (*nāmūs al-mulk*) after death as it had been during their life; therefore, until today these eunuchs do not allow anyone to enter the mausoleum, unless who has business there."[18]

This ritual space *par excellence*, stage for royal memory and the *amīr*s' investiture at the same time, was in fact part of a much larger complex that had been commissioned in the mid-1280s by al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and that actually had incorporated part of the former eastern Fatimid palace. Opposite the Ṣāliḥiyya *madrasa*'s north wing, there was another *madrasa* for the teaching of religious law and medicine, and behind the *madrasa* and the mausoleum, connected by an impressive corridor that provided access to all three parts of the complex, there was a huge hospital, fully

[17] Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, pp. 113–14. See also N. Hampikian, "The Minaret of the Ṣāliḥīya Madrasa," in *A Future for the Past. Restorations in Islamic Cairo 1973–2004*, ed. W. Mayer and Ph. Speiser (Mainz, 2007), pp. 129–38.

[18] Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 4/2: 518.

equipped with the latest amenities and active as a widely renowned charitable institution for all until modern times.[19]

This then was the rapidly transforming Bayna l-Qaṣrayn that continued to serve as a key stage for *amīr*s' investiture ceremonials, from the transition from Ayyubid to Mamluk sultanate in the 1250s to the deposition of Qalāwūn's lineage from the Mamluk sultanate in the 1380s. At least, such was claimed by al-Maqrīzī in his account of this ritual practice. But this account was presented by the Mamluk historian in very generalizing diachronic terms, as part of his history of the Manṣūriyya mausoleum and in the larger context of a topographical reconstruction of his beloved city's history, written at a time of anxiety and crisis in the early decades of the fifteenth century. It therefore remains to be decided to what extent al-Maqrīzī's discursive remembrance of a glorious recent past interfered with his account of "one of the great parades of the city of Cairo," making it into a prescriptive rather than a descriptive text.[20]

Unfortunately, contemporary source material describing the actual performance of the *amīr*s' investiture rituals remains haphazard, to the extent that al-Maqrīzī's generalizing account stands unmatched in coherence and detail.[21] Thus, no references at all have survived for the first decades of Mamluk rule, so that it remains impossible to verify al-Maqrīzī's claim that at first the Ṣāliḥiyya *madrasa* served as the ritual setting for the investiture.[22] Furthermore, half of the references that have survived for its taking place at the other side of the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn, at the Manṣūriyya, concern events that only al-Maqrīzī noted, in his extremely detailed chronicle of the Ayyubid and Mamluk sultanates, the *Kitāb al-Sulūk*.

Not surprizingly, these unique references overall confirm the details of the generalizing account which he presented in his history of Cairo. Thus, al-Maqrīzī's earliest chronicle report explains how just after sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third return to office in 1310 "he promoted to

19 Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, pp. 132–42.

20 See N. Rabbat, "Who was al-Maqrīzī," *Mamluk Studies Review* 7/2 (2003), 11; idem, "Al-Maqrīzī's Khiṭaṭ, an Egyptian Lieu De Mémoire," in *The Cairo Heritage. Essays in Honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim*, ed. D. Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo, 2000), pp. 23–25.

21 Furthermore, none of the extant manuals of court protocol refer to this specific ritual.

22 Nevertheless, in one later manual for court protocol there is a passing but relevant reference to the Ṣāliḥiyya serving until an unspecified point in time as an important station in the accession parade for new Mamluk sultans (see Ghars al-Din Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī [1410–1468], *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik wa-Bayān al-Ṭuruq wa-l-Masālik*, ed. P. Ravaisse [Paris, 1894], p. 86: "As for the sultan's parade at the accession, it used to be at the Ṣāliḥiyya, whereas now it is at the striped palace [inside the citadel] [...]").

military rank thirty-two *amīr*s from among his own mamlūks," listing their names in much detail and continuing as follows:

> They all mounted with the fur hats on and traversed Cairo [on horseback]. Every shop was lit, even those on the Rumayla [square] and at the horse market, while singers and entertainers were lined up at various locations, silver coins being sprinkled over them. It was a memorable day.[23]

More explicit reference to the integration of the Manṣūriyya complex in these ritual proceedings can be found in his next report, for the same sultan's "promotion of a group from the mamlūks to ranks of *amīr*" in the spring of 1321. In this case, the list of names for ten candidates is followed by a brief description of events that included those staged at the Manṣūriyya complex itself.

> They all came down [from the citadel] to the Manṣūriyya *madrasa* at Bayna l-Qaṣrayn, Cairo being illuminated with torches in their honour and singers sitting in the shops at various locations. At the *madrasa*, [the sultan's representative] Karīm al-Dīn organized an exquisite banquet for them, followed by fruits and drinks. It was a memorable day.[24]

Also for the period of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's successors, after 1341, al-Maqrīzī retained some sporadic references to the ritual. Thus, it was included among the events recounted by him for December 1342, summarized in a way that actually suggests its regular and well-known performance. "There was awarded to five [*mamlūks*]," al-Maqrīzī explained, "the [lowest] ranks of *amīr* over ten [*mamlūks*]; they came down to the Manṣūriyya *madrasa*, in the customary fashion; it was a memorable day."[25] "On Monday the 9th [of March 1366]", al-Maqrīzī recounts in a more detailed description of such a ritual (equally implying its standard nature), "thirty-eight *amīr*s were promoted." Once again, a full list of names is produced, continuing that

> they were all given a robe of honour and dressed with the fur hats. They jointly came down from the citadel's hall of justice to the Manṣūriyya *madrasa*, at Cairo's Bayna l-Qaṣrayn, so as to swear the oath, in the customary fashion. Then they rode back to the citadel, with singers being stationed in their honour at various locations between Bayna l-Qaṣrayn and the cita-

23 Aḥmad b. ʿAli al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* [The Book on the Path to Knowledge of Dynasties and Kings], ed. M. M. Ziyadah and S. ʿA. ʿAshur, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1934–1972), 2:77.

24 Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:230.

25 Ibid., 2:630.

> del. It was a day to remember. Decorations were only removed from their poles after three days.[26]

Finally, the chronologically latest account of the investiture ritual in al-Maqrīzī's chronicle refers to Thursday 21 January 1367. On that day, once again very similar events occurred, reported in the same standardized language:

> A group of the *amīr*s came down from the citadel, heading for the Manṣūriyya *madrasa*, where they swore the oath of allegiance and were awarded the fur hats in the customary fashion. They rode back to the citadel, while Cairo was decorated in their honour. It was a memorable day.[27]

Apart from this small number of unique but relatively rich references to this ritual as preserved by al-Maqrīzī in the early fifteenth century, other source reports do exist that occasionally confirm the value of his material. Thus, among the events of February 1310, the mid-fifteenth century historian Ibn Taghrī Birdī presents a story that very much resembles the above-mentioned references in al-Maqrīzī.

> On 2 February, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar [Baybars (r. 1309–1310)] had promoted twenty-seven *amīr*s—[six] from his own *mamlūk*s, . . . [names] . . ., seven from the sultan's *mamlūk*s, including . . . [names]. . . . and others . . . [names]—to the ranks of commander of forty and of ten [horsemen]. . . . They all came down to the Manṣūriyya *madrasa* to dress in the robes of honour, in line with the custom. The stewards, chamberlains and populace gathered in their honour at the market places [of the city] to watch them ascending the citadel, while each of them remained dressed in the robe of honour.[28]

Also much earlier, contemporary chronicles include a few references to the regular performance of this ritual at the time. The short chronicle by the *amīr* Baktash al-Fakhrī (d. 1344), completed in the course of 1338, thus includes such a telling reference to its occurrence on Monday 30 September 1331, when "*Amīr* Aḥmad, son of the sultan, rode with the *amīr*s in his service to the Manṣūriyya *madrasa* in Cairo, dressed up, and mounted again as promoted to the rank of *amīr*, with a banner and other

26 Ibid., 3:117–18.

27 Ibid., 3:140.

28 Ibn Taghrī Birdī (1411–1470), *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fi Mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira* [Resplendant Stars among the Kings of Miṣr and Cairo], ed. I. ʿA. Tarkhan, 16 vols. (Cairo, 1963–1972), 8:269. This promotion was also mentioned in al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:70, but without any explicit reference to the investiture ritual as such (apart from the statement that "they traversed Cairo in the customary fashion").

[symbols of his new rank accompanying him]."[29] In fact, this event was recounted along the same lines by al-Maqrīzī, but he again provided much more insight into what actually happened on that specific day.

> The sultan wanted to promote his son Aḥmad [. . .] to the rank of *amīr*. All the *amīr*s and the entire group of the *khāṣṣakiyya* [= the privileged group of the sultan's elite *mamlūks*] rode to the Manṣūriyya mausoleum at Bayna l-Qaṣrayn, in the service of *Amīr* Aḥmad, while he was wearing the fur hat and had a banner raised above his head. Jointly with him, there were also promoted three commanders of ten [horsemen]. Cairo's prefect, the *amīr* Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn al-Muḥsinī, obliged all the shopkeepers in Cairo to light torches and candles and to decorate Cairo. So they decorated the market places and lit the torches and candles. Entertainers sat down at various locations, playing their instruments in celebration of the promotion to *amīr*al rank of the sultan's son Aḥmad.[30]

A similar contemporary account that links al-Maqrīzī's detailed descriptions to contemporary material concerns Baktash's enigmatic reference to 21 April 1336, when "the *amīr* Ibrāhīm, son of the sultan, was made *amīr* and rode out from the Manṣūriyya *madrasa*."[31] In fact, some more insight into what actually happened here is given in another contemporary chronicle, by the low-ranking soldier Mūsā al-Yūsufī (d. 1358), who explains that "the sultan ordered for his son Ibrāhīm to become *amīr*, so [the senior *amīr*s] Qawṣūn and Bashtak came down to the *madrasa*, and they organized a great banquet in his honour, as well as decoration with torches."[32] In this particular case, then, there even is a clear link between these contemporary accounts and the material that informed al-Maqrīzī to also describe it in his chronicle:

> On 21 April 1336 there was awarded to Ibrāhīm, the son of the sultan, a rank of *amīr*. The *amīr* Qawṣūn and the *amīr* Bashtak brought him down to the Manṣūriyya *madrasa* at Bayna l-Qaṣrayn. A grand banquet was organized, and the *amīr* Ibrāhīm was dressed with the fur hat in the customary fashion. In a splendid parade he then traversed Cairo, which had been decorated with torches and candles, and then he ascended to the citadel.[33]

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[29] Baktash al-Fakhrī (d. 1344), in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlūkensultane in den Jahren 690–741 der Higra nach arabischen Handschriften*, ed. K. W. Zettersteen (Leiden, 1919), p. 184.

[30] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:334–35.

[31] Al-Fakhrī, p. 191.

[32] Mūsā b. Muḥammad al-Yūsufī (d. 1358), *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir* [A Spectator's Stroll through the Life of al-Malik al-Nāṣir], ed. A. Hutayt (Beirut, 1986), p. 290.

[33] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:392.

All in all, this confrontation with other source material illustrates once again how unusual al-Maqrīzī's keen eye for performative detail and for Cairo's spatial coherence was. It also suggests how his detailed *hindsight* reconstructions of the actual performance of these rituals were really grounded in contemporary historical realities rather than merely dramatized by his historical imagination. Furthermore, the peculiar nature of the surviving references in early fourteenth-century chronicles is a powerful token of the top-down bias that permeated Mamluk narrative historiography in general (with the important exception of al-Maqrīzī) and that directed exclusive attention to high profile elite members, such as Muḥammad's sons Aḥmad and Ibrāhīm, rather than to the relative masses of newly promoted low-ranking *amīr*s and their engagement with this "customary" ritual in the city's and elite's public lives.[34] In fact, as a result of this bias, two further contemporary references to an investiture ritual at the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn have survived, confirming once more the reality of al-Maqrīzī's representations of the investiture ritual. Remarkably, these references did not concern the accession of new *amīr*s, but rather the promotion by sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad of two other sultans. In 1320 the Ayyubid scion and Mamluk governor of Ḥamāh, al-Malik al-Muʾayyad Abū l-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl (d. 1331), was thus awarded the unique privilege of promotion to a sultan's status. As recorded in Abū l-Fidāʾ's own writings, a crucial part of this specific investiture ritual's ceremonies were performed at the Manṣūriyya *madrasa*, on Thursday 28 February 1320.[35] In an insightful summary of the ritual's proceedings, the chronicle of Baktash al-Fakhrī confirmed that on that day "the *amīr* ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. al-Malik al-Afḍal rode out from the Manṣūriyya *madrasa*, adorned with the signs of the sultanate over the realm of Ḥamāh, in the tradition of his forefathers."[36] About a decade later, upon Abū l-Fidāʾ's death, this exceptional privilege was repeated in similar fashion for his son and successor, al-Malik al-Afḍal, as mentioned

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34 In this respect, it has to be acknowledged that there remains a puzzling absence of references to the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn in the case of the investiture of new sultans (see P. M. Holt, "The Position and Power of the Mamluk Sultan," *Bulletin of the School for Oriental and African Studies* 38/2 [1975], 237–49), apart from al-Ẓāhirī's remark—mentioned above—that "... the sultan's parade at the accession used to be at the Ṣāliḥiyya" (al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, p. 86).

35 Abū l-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl (1273–1331), *Tārīkh Abī l-Fidāʾ al-musammā al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* [The history of Abū l-Fidāʾ, known as the Summary of the History of Mankind], ed. M. Dayyoub, 2 vols. (Beirut, 1997), 2:433–34.

36 Al-Fakhrī, p. 169. Again, a more detailed version of the same story can be found in al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:202.

briefly in contemporary sources, and as elaborated in the usual revealing detail in al-Maqrīzī's chronicle.

> On Thursday 16 January 1332, al-Afḍal rode out from the Manṣūriyya *madrasa* at Bayna l-Qaṣrayn, adorned with the signs of the sultanate and preceded by the ritual saddle cloth. Above his head, three banners were spread out: a black one for the caliph and two yellow ones for the sultan. He wore a satin robe of honour embroidered with gold, and he had a fur hat on his head and a golden belt with three medallions around his waist. Al-Afḍal proceeded in a splendid parade through Cairo up to the Zuwayla gate, from where he ascended to the citadel. He kissed the ground before the sultan in the palace, and then he sat down and awarded robes of honour to the *amīr*s who had walked in his service [...]. It was a memorable day.[37]

In general, then, it is clear from all these variegated reports that al-Maqrīzī's general assessment in his description of the Manṣūriyya mausoleum reflected a historical reality, and that from the mid-thirteenth century onwards the investiture of new members of the Mamluk socio-political elites was customarily accompanied by elaborate rituals that were staged at the citadel, along the urban route that linked it with the city of Cairo, and at the latter's old ritual centre, the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn (Fig. 9.2b). This investiture ritual was surely not always as bedazzling as in al-Afḍal's 1332 case, but it clearly concerned a standardized ritual practice for young *amīr*s that followed generally accepted rules and involved generally acknowledged gestures, which did not undergo any great changes until the later fourteenth century, except for the transfer from Ṣāliḥiyya to Manṣūriyya around the turn of the thirteenth century.

In an article published in 1993, Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi used some of the above-mentioned source material to discuss different aspects of this investiture ritual, defining it as a 'rite de passage' and explaining it as an equivalent of European 'vassalage'.

> Ce texte de Maqrîzî évoque étrangement les cérémonies d'adoubement des seigneurs d'Occident. Comme en Europe, c'était un rite de passage qui faisait passer l'enfant dans le monde des adultes et des hommes. Cette cérémonie marquait la fin de la période de formation du jeune mamlûk tout comme l'adoubement faisait de l'écuyer ou du damoiseau un jeune chevalier. Dans le même temps, par son déroulement, elle rapelle l'entrée en vasselage, car le nouvel amîr prêtait serment de fidélité à son seigneur, recevait les insi-

37 Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:344–45. Also Abū l-Fidā', *Tarikh*, 2:457; al-Fakhrī, pp. 184–85.

> gnes de sa soumission ainsi que l'iqta'. On croirait presque reconnaitre la foi, l'hommage et le fief qui caractérisent l'institution féodo-vassalique.[38]

Chapoutot-Remadi then interprets this 'rite de passage' as a token par excellence of the successful cultural integration into the Islamic world of nomadic outsiders such as—in her view—uprooted *mamlūk*s (military slaves of mainly Central-Asian origins), through the combination of nomadic and Islamic traditions in one ritual practice.

> Au terme de cette étude sur les rites de l'émîrat mamlûk, nous avons le sentiment d'avoir découvert quelque chose d'important, qui dépasse les problèmes de symbolique et de rituel à proprement parler. Tout d'abord ces frustes habitants de la steppe, arrachés le plus souvent très jeunes, ont réussi à introduire dans la culture dominante islamique qui les accueillait et leur inculquait croyances et formation beaucoup de leurs traditions turques. . . . Un syncrétisme réussi a ensuite permis de relier cérémonial turc et serment islamique, père fondateur et tombe de martyr, comme il a associé nom turc à titre musulman.[39]

For all the heuristic problems that such analyzes entail (including in this specific Mamluk context the problematic concept of vassalage, the unfounded assumption of age-related transition and the essentializing dichotomy between nomadic and Islamic cultures), Chapoutot-Remadi yet offers interesting insights into the investment ritual, describing in much detail its different constituents. The route through the city of Cairo that the procession followed, the officers that were involved in staging it, the costumes that were worn and the colours that were displayed, the oaths that were sworn and the documents that were drafted, the titles that were awarded and the blazons that came with new status: Chapoutot-Remadi deals with these practicalities of the *amīr*s' investment rituals in exhaustive detail, which needs no repetition here.

3. *The Bayna l-Qaṣrayn as a 'lieu de mémoire'*

What does demand further exploration, however, is the issue of symbolic communication and the meanings that were appealed to by staging the

[38] M. Chapoutot-Remadi, "Symbolisme et formalisme de l'élite mamluke: la cérémonie de l'accession à l'émirat," in *Genèse de l'état moderne en Méditerranée: approches anthropologique de pratiques et de représentations*, ed. H. Bresc (Rome, 1993) (hereafter cited as Chapoutot-Remadi), pp. 61–79.

[39] Chapoutot-Remadi, p. 78.

elaborate investiture of new Mamluk *amīr*s at the ancient centre of the Fatimid ritual city. How did the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn continue to serve as a stage for rituals of power, while it simultaneously shed its function as a political centre and became the nucleus of Cairo's transformation into a commercial, residential, and religious metropolis? Chapoutot-Remadi already provided part of the answer to this question, engaging simultaneously with the issue of—as Sanders put it—"how the new meanings it acquired were in turn exploited to articulate changing ideological and political commitments". In the case of the Ṣāliḥiyya *madrasa*, she refers to a double symbolism that was appealed to by staging an *amīr*'s investiture there. On the one hand, she stresses the link between this *madrasa*'s patron, the last Ayyubid sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, and the first set of Mamluk sultans, who all had risen to prominence from the ranks of his personal corps of *mamlūk*s, the Ṣāliḥiyya. On the other hand, she also refers to al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's status as a revered martyr, who had died at al-Manṣūra, in the Delta, while preparing Egypt's defence against the French king Louis IX (r. 1226–1270) and the invading armies of the Seventh Crusade.

> Les Mamlūks Ṣāliḥiyya vouèrent un culte à leur maître; ils le revendiquèrent presque comme ancêtre éponyme et dans tous les cas comme père fondateur. C'est dans ce contexte précis qu'il faut situer l'institution de cette cérémonie de l'émîrat. […] Il faudrait rappeler aussi que dans la tradition musulmane, la tombe d'un martyr était objet de culte. Or, Ṣāliḥ Ayyûb, mort pendant la guerre contre les Francs de S. Louis, était considéré comme tel!! C'est donc à la fois comme maître et comme martyr qu'un culte lui était rendu. La cérémonie, en se déroulant en partie dans cette madrasa, bénéficiait d'une certaine sacralité.[40]

As for the Manṣūriyya complex, Chapoutot-Remadi similarly links this change of setting to the emergence in the 1290s of a new political elite, rising from the entourage of this new monument's patron, Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn. They invoked legitimacy through their intimate link with the latter, the investiture articulating in Chapoutot-Remadi's reading Qalāwūn's role as an initiator of the longstanding success of both his *mamlūks* and his offspring (producing between 1290 and the 1380s no less than fourteen sultans, spanning four generations and eighteen terms of office).[41] Seconding this line of thought, Doris Behrens-Abouseif therefore concluded that "while the dome of al-Ṣāliḥ marked the allegiance of the

40 Ibid., p. 65.
41 Ibid., p. 66.

first Mamluks with their Ayyubid patron and predecessor, the dome of Qalāwūn marked a new era of Mamluk power and dynastic continuity, which remained exceptional in the history of the sultanate."[42]

Thus, there is a convincing scholarly consensus that dynamic ideas of heroic martyrdom and, especially, legitimating continuity were ritually exploited in order to articulate Mamluk "royal authority" in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Throughout this period, the formerly Fatimid Bayna l-Qaṣrayn remained the main site in the urbanizing city that could appeal to these ideas, so that the *amīr*s' investiture ritual remained firmly tied to its spatial and symbolic context. It clearly did so first and foremost by attracting new royal architecture, such as the impressive Ṣāliḥiyya and Manṣūriyya monuments, but also including other buildings with equally imposing external features (Figs. 9.2a and 9.3), such as the Ẓāhiriyya *madrasa* commissioned in 1263 by sultan Baybars (r. 1260–1277) (Fig. 9.7), the Nāṣiriyya *madrasa* commissioned by sultan Kitbughā (r. 1294–1296) in 1294 and finished by sultan Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn in 1303 (Fig. 9.9), and the new Ẓāhiriyya, a complex commissioned by sultan Barqūq (r. 1382–1399) eighty years later, in 1384 (Fig. 9.10).[43]

Just as the Ṣāliḥiyya and Manṣūriyya, all these royal monuments first and foremost served religious, educational, and philanthropic purposes, sponsored by generous charitable foundations that secured their operation beyond their royal patrons' lifespan. At the same time, however, it is clear that, by their conscious spatiality, they simultaneously subscribed to the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn's pre-existing 'royal' symbolism, attaching subsequently new meanings to it. This dynamic process, which explains the transition from Fatimid to Mamluk ritual space, definitely demands further exploration, while Mamluk symbolism of continuity with a heroic past—as evoked by Chapoutot-Remadi—suggests that such exploration should be directed at the ways in which the site articulated links with that past.

In the final quarter of the twentieth century, Pierre Nora, a historian of modern France, devised the concept of 'lieu de mémoire' for a site that appeals to a community's collective history and that thus enhances its social identity. Nora's aim was clearly to further understandings of contemporary French national identity, and to that purpose the concept was

42 Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, p. 138.
43 Ibid., pp. 119–20; 152–56; 225–30.

very pragmatically and broadly defined, encompassing a surprizingly wide variety of 'memory sites'.

> 'The archives and the tricolor; libraries and festivals; dictionaries and the Pantheon; museums and the Arc de Triomphe; the *Dictionnaire Larousse* and the Wall of the Fédérés (where defenders of the Paris Commune were massacred by the French Army in 1871).' The collections also includes real people (René Descartes and Joan of Arc), mythic ones (the Good Soldier, Nicolas Chauvin), battles (Verdun), competitions (Tour de France), and novels (Marcel Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past*).[44]

As Hue-Tam Ho Tai explained in a review essay of Nora's *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, the abridged English translation of his seven-volume magnum opus *Les lieux de mémoire*,[45] "his concept . . . migrated rapidly from its discipline (history) and place of origin (France) to other disciplines and areas" so that also outside of a strictly French national context Nora's broadly conceived concept of 'memory sites' soon demonstrated its usefulness as a rewarding heuristic tool.[46]

As far as Mamluk history and Cairo's Bayna l-Qaṣrayn in particular are concerned, this chapter argues that understanding the full dynamics of its symbolism may similarly be furthered through this central urban site's conceptualization as a *lieu de mémoire*, a memory site that appealed to the collective history and social memory of Cairo's elites in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In fact, current understandings of this Mamluk *lieu de mémoire*—as rooted in a Fatimid past and engaging with ideas of heroic martyrdom and legitimating continuity—suggest that no less than three commemorative layers may be reconstructed for the Mamluk Bayna l-Qaṣrayn: the Fatimids, victory, and dynasty. During the site's gradual transition from Fatimid to Mamluk space up until the end of the fourteenth century, all three layers contributed in various fashions to its continued ability to acquire new meaning, to articulate changing political and ideological commitments, and to symbolize royal authority. How this exactly happened will be further explored below.

[44] See the extremely useful introductions of the subject in P. Nora [translated by M. Roudebush], "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux De Mémoire*," *Representations* 26 (1989), 7–24; Hue-Tam Ho Tai, "Remembered Realms: Pierre Nora and French National Memory," *The American Historical Review* 106/3 (2001) (viewed online November 22, 2010), quote from par. 4.

[45] P. Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, 3 vols. (New York, 1996–1998); *Les Lieux De Mémoire*, ed. P. Nora et al., 7 vols. (Paris, 1984–1992).

[46] Ho Tai, "Remembered Realms," par. 4.

3.1. *Memories of the Fatimids*

More than anything, the name by which the site continued to be identified throughout the Mamluk era and beyond—Bayna l-Qaṣrayn—recalls its grand origins in a distant Fatimid past. 'Bayna l-Qaṣrayn', or 'Between the Two Palaces', was derived from the fact that this esplanade was situated between the two great palaces of the Fatimid caliphs (Fig. 9.1), the physical remains of which disappeared in the course of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, as mentioned above. Continued usage of this name as a meaningful topographical marker in Mamluk narrative sources and documents alike suggests that one way or another the grand imperial origins of this former centre of the Fatimid ritual city were remembered throughout the Mamluk period.[47] This nominal reality of Fatimid memory is made even more concrete when considering some of the urban legends that continued to surround the sites of the disappearing Fatimid palaces, keeping alive popular perceptions of a mythical Fatimid past.

On the one hand, there were stories of fabulous Fatimid luxury and riches that echoed through the extant narratives of the Mamluk buildings that were constructed on the former sites of the Fatimid palaces. These appeared first and foremost in references to the retrieval of Fatimid building materials and to searches for forgotten Fatimid treasures. One such story was recorded by al-Maqrīzī in his description of the mystic convent (*khānqāh*) of Sultan al-Muẓaffar Baybars (r. 1309–1310):

> When he began with its construction, the *amīr* Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad [. . .] came to him. He wanted to curry favour with him, so he informed him that at the palace in which his father lived there was a large underground cave, in which there was said to be one of the treasures of the Fatimid caliphs; but when they had opened it, [Muḥammad explained] they had not found anything except for a lot of marble, so they had closed it again without meddling with anything inside. That pleased him [=Baybars], so he sent some *amīr*s to open the place. Indeed, inside it there was marble of high quality and superb appearance, the like of which cannot be found elsewhere due to its grandeur. So he had it brought over from the cave and used it to have the mystic convent, the mausoleum and his house [. . .] decorated with marble.

[47] Representative of this continued usage certainly are Maqrīzī's description of the 'Place Between the Two Palaces' (*Khaṭṭ Bayna l-Qaṣrayn*) (al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 3:81–85) and al-Suyūṭī's late fifteenth-century reference to "the Ṣāliḥiyya *madrasa* at Bayna l-Qaṣrayn" (Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī [1445–1505], *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara fī tārīkh Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira* [The beautiful exposition on the history of Miṣr and Cairo], ed. M. A. Ibrahim [Cairo, 1998], 2:230).

> But a lot was left over, which I [=al-Maqrīzī] know to have been stored at the convent, and I think it is still there.[48]

Another telling story that is similarly suggestive of a lively public remembrance of Fatimid physical continuity may be found in al-Maqrīzī's chronicle *Kitāb al-Sulūk*. In July 1375, al-Maqrīzī informs, the Qalāwūnid sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (r. 1363–1377) commissioned the construction of an enormous *madrasa* outside Cairo, at the foot of the citadel. According to al-Maqrīzī, at that time the entire capital was in uproar when the sultan decided to have two giant pillars from the former Fatimid great palace transported to be used in his new construction.

> The course of this month there were found in the Ḥijāziyya Palace in Cairo—where once the Zumurrud gate had been, one of the Fatimid palace's gates—[...] two enormous columns, covered in debris. It was ordered to pull them out [and transport them] to the sultan's building [at the foot of the citadel]. The carriers however got exhausted from doing that and, in fact, they proved incapable of removing them due to their size. Then Ibn ʿĀyid Rāyis al-Khilāfa—who commands the sultan's 'fire' ship—was put in charge of that. He constructed specially designed devices. In a couple of days, [both pillars] were rolled over those devices along Cairo's central street, up to the foot of the citadel, where the building is. Meanwhile, the populace organized gatherings with drums and horns, and during their entertaining sighting of a column rolling by they sang songs which would continue to be uttered by their tongues for a number of years. In Alexandria, they even came up with a [new] silk fabric for women's clothing which they called "the column's rolling"! But when the columns arrived at the building, one of them broke in two.[49]

On the other hand, however, there also seems to have existed a vague public sense of immaterial continuity with the Fatimid past, revolving around the idea of some Fatimid spiritual power that continued to be connected to the former sites of their rule, at least until the end of the fourteenth century. Al-Maqrīzī again hints very explicitly at such Fatimid memory when he recounts the unfortunate story of the *amīr* Jarkas al-Khalīlī, patron of the famous Khān al-Khalīlī near the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn, whose horrible fate in the rebellious year 1389 was rumoured to have been due to a sort of Fatimid curse.

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48 Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 4/2: 734. Also paraphrased in L. Fernandes, "The Foundation of Baybars al-Jashankir: Its Waqf, History, and Architecture," *Muqarnas* 4 (1987): 22–42, at p. 23.

49 Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3/1:251–52. This event is also referred to in Raymond, p. 122.

> The site [of this Khān] used to be the mausoleum of the palace, in which there were the graves of the Fatimid caliphs, known as the Saffron Tomb. [. . .] The *amīr* Jarkas al-Khalīlī, commander of the stables of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, erected it as a caravanserai, removing the bones of the dead from it in garbage cans on donkeys and throwing them on the rubbish heaps at the Barqiyya gate, thus disgracing them. [The reason for this is] that Shams al-Din Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Qalījī sought his favour and said to him that "these are the bones of the Fatimids, who were infidel apostates." Now, upon his death there happened something to al-Khalīlī that should be reflected upon by those who have intelligence. This is that when the news arrived of [. . .] the governor of Aleppo's rebellion [. . .] and his march with the armies to Damascus, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barqūq sent five hundred mamlūks and he ordered some of the *amīr*s [including al-Khalīlī] to go with them. [. . .] They left for Damascus, but were confronted [by the rebels] outside Damascus and the sultan's army was defeated [. . .]. Al-Khalīlī was killed on Monday 19 April 1389, and he was left lying naked on the ground, with his private parts uncovered. [His body] began to swell—it was exposed for a long time—until it burst open and decayed, as a punishment from God Almighty for how he had disgraced the bones of the imams and their offspring.[50]

Considering all these and similar stories, however, it has to be acknowledged that the historical reality of this Fatimid memory remains rather vague and circumstantial. First and foremost, there again is the inescapable factor that this memory was invoked solely by the historian al-Maqrīzī, who in fact seems to have had some personal stake in the Fatimid cause through lineage.[51] Al-Maqrīzī's biased interests in Fatimid issues were furthermore coupled with his unique spatial concerns for the city that represented both the former Fatimid imperial capital and the beloved environment which he spent most of his life in. These factors make that his detailed topographical history of the city, composed between 1417 and 1440 at a time of recurrent social and economic crises, has been interpreted as al-Maqrīzī's personal attempt to engage with the social memory

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50 Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 3:312. The Damascene historian Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, however, relates a very different popular explanation for this gruesome end, stating about al-Khalīlī that "he was killed in the event of July. Everything was taken from him and he remained lying nakedly where he had been thrown on the ground, until a woman covered him with a blanket of hers, and he was buried there. The people held against him his consent with the killing of the ruler of Mecca in the previous year and they reckoned this to be his revenge." (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (1377–1448), *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* [The History of Ibn Qadi Shuhba], ed. ʿA. Darwish, 4 vols. [Damascus, 1977–1997], 1:308).

51 Rabbat, "Who was al-Maqrīzī," 6–10.

of Mamluk Cairo, in Nasser Rabbat's words: "to create through his book what Pierre Nora termed a *lieu de mémoire* ("realm of memory")."[52] This clearly explains al-Maqrīzī's unique sensitivity to Fatimid memory and his conspicuous receptivity to contemporary urban legends that engaged with that memory. To what extent his personalized accounts represent more general social realities of Fatimid memory remains difficult to establish. Undoubtedly, however, he was engaging in his own ways with some contemporary public perception of the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn and its origins, although at one rare occasion al-Maqrīzī himself admits that, at least by the early fifteenth century, this specific memory was a fading one. In his discussion of the palace of the *amīr* Bashtak (d. 1341), which was constructed in the year 1339 on the northern part of the site of the former great Fatimid palace, al-Maqrīzī laments how people were forgetting the original meaning of the area's name:

> [By the construction of Bashtak's palace] the situation eventually again became as it had been at first, considering the street's name "Between the Two Palaces." At first, there had been in Cairo the great eastern palace, part of which is now Bashtak's palace, and opposite it there was the western palace, part of which is now the Khurunshūf area. Bashtak's palace and Baysarā's palace [at Khurunshūf] and the street in between them have begun to be called "Between the Two Palaces". The ignorant think that this street is only called "Between the Two Palaces" because of Baysarā's and Bashtak's palaces, whereas this is not true, because it was called "Between the Two Palaces" before, ever since Cairo was built, as it was between the great eastern and the small western palace.[53]

Nevertheless, whatever the historical reality of this specifically Fatimid memory, it is clear that there was a functional continuity of royal space between the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk eras, first established in the format of the imperial palaces at the heart of the Fatimid ritual city and—as mentioned before—continued in the site's attraction of Ayyubid and Mamluk sultans' architectural patronage, until the 1380s. Already in the 1240s, the Andalusian scholar Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (d. 1286), who then spent some time in Cairo, noted how this royal aura continued to surround the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn.

> The space which is known in Cairo as "Between the Two Palaces" is of royal conception, because there is a square that is wide enough for [hosting] the army and [accommodating] spectators of what happens at Bayna l-Qaṣrayn.

52 Rabbat, "Al-Maqrīzī's Khiṭaṭ," p. 24.
53 Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 3:228.

> If the whole of Cairo would have been like that, it would have been of glorious ranking and of perfected royal standing.[54]

As a result of this new royal patronage, the geography of the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn was completely transformed, from a central space of Fatimid imperial grandeur to an equally central location of post-Fatimid Sunni allegiance. As even al-Maqrīzī suggests, eventually this transformation also involved the meanings that were articulated by the site, with Fatimid memory fading—continued usage of the name not withstanding—and the new constructions clearly promoting new meanings. These meanings, however, remained at the same time firmly tied to the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn's functioning as a *lieu de mémoire* that promoted ideas of legitimate sovereignty.

3.2. *Memories of Victory*

As mentioned above, Chapoutot-Remadi explicitly links such meanings—as operationalized through the investiture ritual—to Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's status as a revered martyr. This last Ayyubid ruler of Egypt indeed died at al-Manṣūra, in the Delta, while preparing Egypt's defence against the French king Louis IX (r. 1226–1270) and the invading armies of the Seventh Crusade. As is well-known, however, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb hardly died as a martyr in the true sense of the word. He rather succumbed to illness in his tent some time before any serious confrontation with the crusaders took place. For strategic reasons, however, his death in November 1249 was kept secret by his entourage until after the victory over the crusaders in February 1250. At this turning point in Islamic history, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's entourage—heavily dominated by his Turkish concubine-widow and by commanders (*amīr*s) who stemmed from his personal corps of Turkish military slaves (*mamlūk*s)—managed to continue to monopolize power and authority, despite opposition from Ayyub's kin in Egypt and Syria. Hence appeared a new polity, soon known as the Mamluk sultanate.[55] One central idea in that Turco-Mamluk entourage's explanation of their new sovereignty certainly was their role of saviours and guardians of the Muslim community in a cataclysmic endgame with Islam's enemies,

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54 Ibn Saʿīd, quoted by al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 3:82. Also translated into French in A. Raymond and G. Wiet, *Les Marchés du Caire. Traduction annotée du texte de Maqrīzī*, Textes arabes et études islamiques 14 (Cairo, 1979), p. 219.

55 Full details of these transitionary events have been presented in A. Levanoni, "The Mamluks' Ascent to Power in Egypt," *Studia Islamica* 72 (1990), 121–44.

foremost the crusaders from the Latin West.[56] In this ideological stratagem, the hagiographic remembrance of their Ayyubid patron as a martyr indeed played a central part, as did the new Bayna l-Qaṣrayn, with Ayyūb's Ṣāliḥiyya *madrasa* and with his domed mausoleum (Figs. 9.5 and 9.6).

Both monuments displayed unique, paradigm-shifting features that go a long way in explaining the centrality of both in the theory and practice of early Mamluk politics. The *madrasa* was the first religious institution in Cairo to accommodate all four schools of Sunni law, offering an ideal setting for the performance of early Mamluk claims to championship of all Muslims. The domed mausoleum was the first to be attached to a Sunni religious institution inside the city of Cairo, similarly offering tools to the new rulers for legitimization, through the remembrance of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, his so-called martyrdom, and, hence, his entourage's heroic victory in particular.[57] In terms of new meanings that attached themselves to the thirteenth-century Bayna l-Qaṣrayn and were engaged in the investiture ritual, therefore, the latter tools deserve most attention here.

Whereas the 1243-construction of the *madrasa* had been commissioned by Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb himself, the patronage of his attached mausoleum is less clear-cut. One dominant interpretation has it that the mausoleum was only built after the sultan's demise in November 1249 and that it was his widow who had commissioned it.[58] This was also suggested in the early fifteenth century by al-Maqrīzī.[59] However, in another, thirteenth-century topographical history of Cairo, by the courtier Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (1223–1292), a different version is presented:

> The mausoleum of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb was built by him simultaneously with his construction of the adjacent *madrasa*. When he died,

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56 R. S. Humphreys, "Ayyubids, Mamluks, and the Latin East in the Thirteenth Century," *Mamluk Studies Review* 2 (1998), 1–17; A. F. Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 12–16.

57 Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, p. 114. For the *madrasa* as a court, see N. O. Rabbat, "The Ideological Significance of the Dar al-ʿAdl in the Medieval Islamic Orient," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 27/1 (1995), 12, 18–22; reprinted in idem, *Mamluk History through Architecture. Monuments, Culture and Politics in Medieval Egypt and Syria* (London, 2010), pp. 153–54, 162–65; J. S. Nielsen, *Secular Justice in an Islamic State:* Maẓāli *under the Baḥrī Mamlūks, 662/1264–789/1387*, Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 55 (Istanbul, 1985), pp. 50–51.

58 See the most recent reference to this interpretation in Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, p. 113. See also N. Hampikian, "Restoration of the Mausoleum of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Din Ayyub," in *The Restoration and Conservation of Islamic Monuments in Egypt*, ed. J. L. Bacharach (Cairo, 1995), pp. 46–58; eadem, "The Mausoleum of Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Din," in *A Future for the Past*, pp. 121–28.

59 Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 4/2:492.

however, he was not buried there, but rather somewhere else, until after a year [his body] was brought there. On that day, the Ṣāliḥiyya-mamlūks cut their hair and organized a new mourning ceremony for him.[60]

Whatever the exact dating and patronage of this mausoleum in the very centre of Cairo's Bayna l-Qaṣrayn, it is clear that the monument was used by those in power after al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb to stage the remembrance of their patron. The very unusual organization of a new mourning ceremony one year after Ayyūb's death is a telling indication thereof, as is the fact that the secrecy of one year before was then replaced by a very public enactment that engaged the city's elites and main public spaces alike. An elaborate version of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's brief reference to this ceremony by al-Maqrīzī aptly illustrates this.

Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ was brought out in a coffin and he was prayed for, after the communal Friday prayer, all the *amīr*s and officials being dressed in white as a sign of grief for him, the *mamlūk*s having cut the hair of their heads. They brought him to this mausoleum, where he was interred on Saturday evening. The next morning, the sultan came down to the mausoleum, and the judges, all the *mamlūk*s, the officials, and all the people were present. The marketplaces in Cairo and Fusṭāṭ were closed, and at Bayna l-Qaṣrayn a three-day mourning ceremony with tambourines was organized for al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ.[61]

The performance of the new elites' link with Ayyūb was then not just operationalized in the investiture rituals that—as described above—were held in the Ṣāliḥiyya *madrasa* by sultan al-Muʿizz Aybak, soon after this transfer of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's body. It was also clearly advertized through this mausoleum, where at that time the direct connection between the hagiographic remembrance of Ayyūb and his entourage's claims as champions of all Muslims was prioritized over any other meaning. The physical organization of the monument itself made it into a central public space that was meant to last, protruding into the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn from the *madrasa* façade, topped by an eye-catching dome, and represented by a street-aligned façade with three large grilled windows that established the contact between the outside world and the mausoleum's interior (Fig. 9.6). The reality of this contact was secured through the installation of salaried Quran reciters in these windows, who were to make Quranic verses pour

60 Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (1223–1292), *al-Rawḍa al-Bahiyya al-Zāhira fī Khiṭaṭ al-Muʿizziyya al-Qāhira* [The magnificent and splendid garden concerning the Quarters of Muʿizz's Cairo], ed. Ayman F. Sayyid (Cairo, 1996), p. 105.

61 al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 4/2:493.

continuously from the mausoleum into the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn, reminding passersby of the buried sultan's merits.[62] That the latter merits were to be remembered as martial is suggested by the fact that the mausoleum's interior, as al-Maqrīzī informs, also contained "the banners, equipment, helmet and bow of the sultan, which were put by the grave".[63] That these martial merits were to be remembered in the context of his entourage's legitimating victory at al-Manṣūra is evident from the inscription slab that was mounted above the mausoleum's portal. This contemporary 'public text', encapsulated in marble at a central location on the façade (Fig. 9.6), does nothing less than portray al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb as having fallen on the battlefield in the *jihad* against the crusaders.[64]

> In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. "But those who perform *jihād* in Our cause, surely We shall guide them in Our ways; and God is with the good-doers."[65] In this blessed mausoleum is the grave of our master, the sultan, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, the learned and just lord, the warrior of *jihad* and of defensive war at the borders [of Islam], Najm al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, sultan of Islam and the Muslims, lord of the kings of the *jihād* warriors, heir to the kingship on account of his most noble forefathers, Abū l-Fatḥ Ayyūb, son of the sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāṣir al-Dīn Abū l-Maʿālī Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb. He was taken up in the mercy of God Most High while he was at the site of al-Manṣūra, confronting the forsaken Franks, exposing his throat to the blade, turning his face and chest towards the fight, hoping for God's recompense for his lining up in defence and for his performing of *jihād*, acting in accordance with the words of the Most High: "and perform *jihād* for God as is His due"[66]—may God send him to the highest paradise and may He take him to its flowing rivers. That happened in the night of 15 Shaʿbān of the year 647 [23 November 1249].[67]

This inscription clearly subscribes to a hagiographic trend that cultivates an invented tradition of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's martyrdom and that puts his mausoleum and its expressive intent at the centre of the legitimating discourses of Egypt's new, mid-thirteenth century military rulers. As a result,

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62 Ibid.; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, p. 114.

63 Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 4/2:493.

64 See also I. Bierman, *Writing Signs: The Fatimid Public Text* (Berkeley, 1998), p. 137.

65 Quran, chapter 29, verse 69 (translation adapted from A. J. Arberry, *The Koran interpreted* (London, 1980 [or. 1955]), 2:104).

66 Quran chapter 22, verse 78 (translation adapted from Arberry, *The Koran interpreted*, 2:36).

67 *Thesaurus d'Epigraphie Islamique*, eds. L. Kalus and F. Soudan (Paris and Geneva, 2009), fiche nº 2756.

Doris Behrens-Abouseif already concluded from this that the mausoleum was "a memorial to a Mamluk victory," adding more specifically that

> the inscription slab of the mausoleum, which glorifies al-Ṣāliḥ's heroism and victory, gives the full date of his death, 15 Shaʿbān 647/23 November 1249, but does not mention the date of the building or the founder's name. . . . With the omission of the foundation's date, the gap between the sultan's death and his burial was ignored, while the omission of the founder's name bestowed on the monument a more collective identity.[68]

In the early days of the Mamluk sultanate, the new Bayna l-Qaṣrayn thus served the memory and remembrance of the last Ayyubid ruler of Egypt, within a specific semiotic framework that was shaped by the victory of his entourage of close associates, *amīr*s, and personal *mamlūk*s at al-Manṣūra. This memory of victory, expressed in this case through al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's mausoleum in particular, kept alive among the new sultanate's elites the collective aura of saviours and defenders of Islam that the victory at al-Manṣūra had allowed that entourage to acquire. The mid-thirteenth-century Bayna l-Qaṣrayn thus was made into a 'lieu de mémoire' that supported that entourage's explanation of their newly acquired sovereignty by appealing to a collective history and social memory of divinely ordained victory against infidels who had threatened the very existence of the Muslim community.

Not surprizingly perhaps, this expressive articulation of memories of victory in support of a transition of power seems to have been repeated in other Mamluk royal monuments that were constructed on the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn. In a less explicit fashion perhaps, this is the case with the Manṣūriyya complex, built in 1284–1285 at the opposite side of the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn. The unusual decoration of its long, angled façade—its row of "triple windows, composed of two arched openings surmounted by an oculus" in particular[69]—has since long been linked to Latin precedents (Figs. 9.7 and 9.8). Whereas at first these precedents were sought in Norman Sicily, recent scholarship in fact convincingly suggests that this Norman Sicilian style rather "may have reached Cairo through Crusader builders."[70] As such, the monument's expressive link with sultan Qalāwūn's successful campaigns against the last remaining Crusader strongholds on the Syrian

68 Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, p. 114.
69 Ibid., p. 135.
70 Ibid., p. 138.

littoral becomes evident.[71] The historical reality of this continued semiotic framework of legitimating victory becomes even more apparent when considering the 'public text' that was written in a long band that spanned the entire façade and that indeed remembered the monument's patron Qalāwūn as a martial hero and universal champion of Islam.

> [...] The construction of this august mausoleum, mighty *madrasa* and blessed hospital was ordered [...] by our lord and master, the all-mighty sultan, the learned and just al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the divinely supported, triumphant and victorious warrior of *jihad*, Sayf al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, the Sultan of Islam and of the Muslims, [...] the Sultan of the two [riversides of] Iraq and of the two [riversides of] Egypt, the King of two shores and two seas, the Heir to kingship, the King of Kings of Arabs and Persians, the Lord of the Two *Qibla*s [in Mecca and in Jerusalem], the Servant of the two *ḥarām*s [Mecca and Medina], Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī [...] who piles up annihilated and obliterated ones, avenges those who have been oppressed by oppressors, kills infidels and polytheists, and is victorious over khārijites and extremists [...].[72]

Most explicitly perhaps, the victorious symbolism of al-Ṣāliḥ's mausoleum was repeated in the early 1290s, when another transition of power occurred that demanded public explanation. At that time, a new political elite emerged in the Mamluk sultanate, stemming from the entourage of Sultan Qalāwūn and finally taking over from al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's supporters. Their main victorious feat was the 1291 capture of the last Latin stronghold on the Syrian littoral, the city of Acre.[73] As this virtually ended two centuries of Crusader activities in the Levant, it was certainly perceived as an event as symbolic as the al-Manṣūra victory, allowing those who had achieved it the appropriation of a similar status of divinely ordained championship of the Muslim community. In the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn, the memory of this new legitimating victory was again operationalized through

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[71] See L. S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan. The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.)*, Freiburger Islamstudien 18 (Stuttgart, 1998), pp. 127–57.

[72] *Thesaurus d'Epigraphie Islamique*, fiche nº 3552; see also Bierman, *Writing Signs*, p. 137. For a discussion of these and other titles that were claimed for Qalāwūn, see Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, pp. 171, 174–76.

[73] For this victory, see P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades. The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (*A History of the Near East*) (London, 1986), pp. 104–5; R. Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages. The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (London, 1986), pp. 77–78; D. P. Little, "The Fall of 'Akkā in 690/1291: The Muslim Version," in *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon*, ed. M. Sharon (Leiden, 1986), pp. 159–82; A. D. Stewart, "The Logic of Conquest: Tripoli, 1289; Acre, 1291; why not Sis, 1293?," *al-Masāq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 14/1 (2002), 7–16.

the monument that this emerging elite added: the Nāṣiriyya-*madrasa* (Fig. 9.9).[74] Construction of this *madrasa* adjacent to the Manṣūriyya-complex was begun by Qalāwūn's former *mamlūk* and the successor to his sons Khalīl (r. 1290–1293) and Muḥammad (r. 1293–1294), Sultan al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā al-Manṣūrī (r. 1294–1296). As a usurper of the Mamluk throne from Qalāwūn's sons, Kitbughā was very much in need of tools to explain his sovereignty. As a leading member of Qalāwūn's entourage that had also dominated the reigns of his sons, Kitbughā searched for such tools in that entourage's collective identity. Much as members from al-Ṣāliḥ's entourage had done in the 1250s with the al-Manṣūra victory and their sultan's mausoleum, Kitbughā seems to have tried to create a symbolic link between the Acre victory of 1291—actually won by sultan Khalīl—and his own leadership through the monument that he began constructing at the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn. More particularly, this perception of the meanings articulated by Kitbughā's *madrasa* is suggested by its unusual Gothic style portal, which—according to a well-known story once again uniquely transmitted by al-Maqrīzī—appears to have been no less than a portal from a Latin church in Acre brought to Cairo among the spoils of war in 1291 and re-used by Kitbughā for his *madrasa* in the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn.

> [This *madrasa*'s] portal is one of the most remarkable things that human hands have constructed, because it is made from one piece of white marble, of marvellous appearance and outstanding artisanship. It was transported to Cairo from the city of Acre. Its story is that when al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl b. Qalāwūn conquered Acre by force on 17 Jumādā l-Ūlā of the year 690 (18 May 1291), he assigned one of his *amīr*s to demolish its walls and to destroy its churches. At the gate of one of Acre's churches, there was then found this portal, with marble bases, shafts and capitals that were all attached to each other. All was carried to Cairo and remained with [the sultan] until after the killing of al-Malik al-Ashraf. [...] When [...] Kitbughā was enthroned, he took the house of an *amīr* to transform it into a *madrasa*. Then, he was made aware of the existence of this portal, so he took it from the heirs of the *amīr* Baydara, to whom it meanwhile had been transferred, and Kitbughā mounted it to the gate of this *madrasa*.[75]

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[74] In a more circumscribed manner, at the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn the memory of this victory was also nurtured by the charitable foundation that the victorious sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl set up in July 1291, endowing his father's mausoleum with newly conquered lands from Acre and Tyre (Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, p. 134).

[75] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 4/2:528. See also W. Mayer, "The Madrasa of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad: The Portal," in *A Future for the Past*, pp. 95–105; P. Speiser, "The Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Madrasah in Cairo: Restoration and Archaeological Investigation," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 12/2 (2008), p. 198; V. Meinecke-Berg, "Spolien in der mittelalterlichen Architektur von Kairo," in *Ägypten: Dauer und Wandel: Sumposium anlässlich des 75 jährigen*

Clearly, this portal's re-use at the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn transformed it into a trophy, pregnant with mnemonic symbolism. Unlike the other cases, however, this particular evocation of the memory of Mamluk victory and superiority proved insufficient to support its patron's claims, because Kitbughā was deposed even before his *madrasa* was finished.[76] The latter monument, however, did not share this fate, as it was acquired and uniquely appropriated by Muḥammad when he returned to the throne in 1299. Undoubtedly, its royal position on the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn, adjacent to the Manṣūriyya-complex, as well as its powerful representation of Mamluk victory made it too important to be neglected, and symbolically too powerful not to be used by the young sultan. As a result, Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad made no changes to the monument's façade, apart from replacing Kitbughā's name with his own in the 'public texts' on the façade and above the portal.[77] Until today, therefore, and although the *madrasa* is known as the Nāṣiriyya rather than as Kitbughā's, the story of its portal continues to remind people of the 1291-victory at Acre.

Until the turn of the fourteenth century the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn continued to act as a 'lieu de mémoire' that appealed to a collective history and social memory of divinely ordained victory that explained newly emerging social hierarchies. In fact, the early Mamluk monuments that dramatically changed the site's topography but at the same time continued to perform this meaning in its public space recall the Islamic "victory monuments" that were identified by Thomas Leisten in a 1996 publication. Al-Ṣāliḥ's mausoleum in particular resembles in many respects the "buildings in the form of a single domed structure erected to commemorate battles and victories" which Leisten identified, such as the "Qubbat al-Naṣr, the Dome of Victory," that Saladin (r. 1171–1193) had constructed at Ḥattīn after the 1187 battle with the armies from Jerusalem, the "Mashhad al-Naṣr... victory memorial," that Sultan Baybars (r. 1260–1277) erected at ʿAyn Jālūt

Bestehens des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts Kairo, am 10. und 11. Oktober 1982, eds. P. Posener-Kriéger et al., *MDAIK* Sonderschrift 18 (Mainz, 1985), pp. 131–42.

[76] S. M. Elham, *Kitbuġā und Lāǧīn: Studien zur Mamluken-Geschichte nach Baibars al-Manṣūrī und al-Nuwairī* (Freiburg, 1977); P. M. Holt, "The Sultanate of al-Manṣūr Lachin (696–8/1296–9)," *Bulletin of the School for Oriental and African Studies* 36/3 (1973), 523–25.

[77] Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, pp. 152, 153–54; *Thesaurus d'Epigraphie Islamique*, fiches nº 3719, 3773. As a result of this mere replacement of Kitbughā's name by Muḥammad's, these 'public texts' create the impression that Muḥammad also was sultan in the years between his deposition in 1294 and his second accession in 1299, as the text in the facade's monumental inscription band now claims that he had this monument constructed "in the course of the year 695 (1295–1296)," whereas the inscription plaque above the door's lintel explains that he had this done "in the course of the year 698 (1299)."

after the 1260 Mamluk victory over the Mongols, the more enigmatic "Qubbat al-ʿAṣāfīr, the Dome of Sparrows," which an inscription above its entrance links to an *amīr*'s victory in 1389, and another Qubbat al-Naṣr near Damascus constructed in 1472–1473 to commemorate a Mamluk victory over an Ottoman vassal.[78] In each of these cases, however, Leisten concludes at the same time that the commemorative meanings of victory from which these structures originated were remarkably volatile.

> The moment the flow of information regarding the original meaning or function of the structure commemorating an event had ended or was no longer available, either the building's outstanding position and shape [...] was given a new meaning, which itself could be replaced after a period of time, or the building was reinterpreted and reused according to the most likely function suggested by its formal structure.[79]

Also in the case of the thirteenth-century Bayna l-Qaṣrayn, it is therefore relevant to wonder how long its new royal Mamluk monuments retained their ability to evoke meanings of legitimating military successes. How long would decorative features and cryptic public texts continue to remind passersby and other relevant audiences of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's martyrdom, Qalāwūn's heroism, or his successors' victory on the battlefields of the thirteenth century?

Undoubtedly, such new links with memories of victory assured that the old Bayna l-Qaṣrayn retained a central status in Cairo's ritual landscape, a fading Fatimid connection notwithstanding. But it remains unclear how this specific meaning was appealed to by the longstanding investiture ritual for new *amīr*s (which, for instance, never moved to the Nāṣiriyya). It similarly remains unclear whether mnemonic stories, such as the one retold by al-Maqrīzī about the Nāṣiriyya's portal, were remembered with the same empowering meaning beyond the first generations of their performers. This follows from the fact that the semiotic framework within which such stories, meanings, and memories had functioned definitely changed over time, undoubtedly diminishing their original impact. In her detailed study of the sultanate's ideology of kingship in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Anne Broadbridge very convincingly established

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78 Th. Leisten, "Mashhad al-Nasr: Monuments of War and Victory in Medieval Islamic Art," *Muqarnas* 13 (1996), 18–21; see also J.-M. Mouton and B. Dayoub, "Les Qubbat al-Naṣr de Damas et de ses environs à l'époque mamlouke," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras VII*, ed. U. Vermeulen, K. D'hulster, and J. Van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2013).

79 Leisten, "Mashhad al-Nasr," p. 21.

that "the model of kingship that rested squarely on the central concept of Mamluks as military Guardians of Islam and Muslims" gradually shifted in the early to mid-fourteenth century to "a new emphasis on dynasty in legitimacy".[80] It is in fact very clear that the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn as a *lieu de mémoire* that promoted ideas of legitimate sovereignty followed suit, increasingly prioritizing ideas of dynastic continuity over memories of victory.

3.3. *Memories of Dynasty*

As was suggested by al-Maqrīzī and confirmed from other sources, throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn played an important spatial role in the investiture rituals for new *amīr*s, as an important part of it was staged first at the Ṣāliḥiyya, and then, some time after sultan Qalāwūn's demise in 1290, at the Manṣūriyya. Important factors for this ritual centrality have already been hinted at in the preceding discussions. The Ṣāliḥiyya remained closely connected—for some time at least—to the remembrance of the al-Manṣūra victory and to its posthumous champion al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, whom the new rulers from his entourage had interred there. The same was certainly true for Sultan Qalāwūn's Manṣūriyya complex, the mausoleum of which in particular was, as has been demonstrated above, similarly set up under his successors as a stage for royal memory, primarily in the service of Qalāwūn. The meanings articulated through the investiture ritual, however, go beyond the powerful mnemonic level of past royalty and victory.

As mentioned above, Behrens-Abouseif, following Chapoutot-Remadi, had already suggested that "while the dome of al-Ṣāliḥ marked the allegiance of the first Mamluks with their Ayyubid patron and predecessor, the dome of Qalāwūn marked a new era of Mamluk power and dynastic continuity, which remained exceptional in the history of the sultanate."[81] In the course of the thirteenth century, the Mamluk Bayna l-Qaṣrayn therefore clearly also acquired a third commemorative layer of legitimating meaning, revolving around ideas of dynastic continuity and—as detailed below—articulated first and foremost by the performance at the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn of that investiture ritual for new *amīr*s. As the origins of this ritual went back to the Mamluk polity in the 1250s, it will furthermore be suggested that this third layer did not merely represent an "exceptional

[80] Broadbridge, pp. 145–50.
[81] Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, p. 138.

era" of post-Qalāwūn ideas of authority, but rather a general trend that represented continuities with a standard attitude in the wider region's and timeframe's political cultures, in favour of extended family groups and dynastic royal status.[82]

By its very nature, the investiture ritual for new *amīr*s must have been one of the most important and visible ceremonials of the sultanate in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It symbolically secured the promotion and accession to military rank, income, authority, and elite status of every *amīr*, implying that it was a crucial ritual for any member of the socio-political elites, who had to perform it at least once in his career. Moreover, this ritual's performance was clearly awarded a crucial place in the public representation of Mamluk authority and social order. It took up centre stage in Cairo's public space at large, as it was being performed along the city's main thoroughfare (Fig. 9.2b), between, on one side, the citadel on the Muqaṭṭam spur—the real centre of power where the actual sultan awarded the new status and supervised the ritual's proceedings—and, on the other side, the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn—where very explicitly the posthumous presence of the sultans al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb and al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn was sought to, as it were, symbolically sanction this redrawing of the sultanate's social order. In each case the investiture ritual's performance along these public spaces between the citadel and the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn clearly presented Ayyūb and Qalāwūn as "père fondateur" of the Mamluk polity,[83] or rather of the more specific lineage that bound the actual sultan and his transforming entourage to their legitimating status, furthering the elite's joint social integration in and identification with one legitimately ruling house.

As mentioned, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb was indeed the master and patron of the first set of Mamluk sultans, from his widow Shajar al-Durr (r. 1250) and her second husband al-Muʿizz Aybak (r. 1253–1257) to the towering personalities of the sultans Baybars (r. 1260–1277) and Qalāwūn

82 For a general presentation of this reframing of Mamluk history, for the period 1279–1382 in particular, within wider regional political processes of continuity and change, see J. Van Steenbergen, "The Mamluk Sultanate as a Military Patronage State: Household Politics and the Case of the Qalāwūnid *bayt* (1279–1382)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 56/2 (2013): 189–217. See also the poignant remark made by David Ayalon thirty years ago that "there is no indication whatsoever that the Mamlūks, when they came to power, ever dreamt, individually or collectively, of creating a non-hereditary Sultan's office" (D. Ayalon, "From Ayyubids to Mamluks," *Revue d'Études Islamiques* 49 [1981], 55–56).

83 Chapoutot-Remadi, pp. 65, 66.

(r. 1279–1290).[84] Together with their peers and close associates, these rulers all had Turkish nomadic origins, slavery, and privileged membership of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's entourage in common, as well as the collective victorious achievement at al-Manṣūra. Through such affectional and symbolic bonds, they were and remained deeply tied to the last Ayyubid house that ruled over Egypt in the person of Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, and in various ways and with ups and downs, these members from Ayyūb's entourage continued to monopolize positions of power and authority in the early Mamluk sultanate until the end of Sultan Qalāwūn's reign. As Linda Northrup in her detailed study of Qalāwūn suggested, throughout this period of forty years, another central idea in that Turco-Mamluk entourage's explanation of that social reality of sovereignty (next to Muslim championship) was their representation of continuity with al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's reign. As a result, they individually and collectively continued to be known and identified first and foremost as *Ṣāliḥī*s, and they explicitly presented themselves as the legitimate successors of Ayyūb's rule and as the guardians of the collective rights and vested interests of their Ṣāliḥī community, which at least symbolically continued to represent Egypt's last Ayyubid ruling house.[85]

The transforming Bayna l-Qaṣrayn—with Ayyūb's Ṣāliḥiyya *madrasa* and with his mausoleum (Figs. 9.5 and 9.6)—played a central part in that legitimating strategy, and not just by evoking memories of legitimating victory. Construction of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's mausoleum (or its continuation), of the adjacent Ẓāhiriyya *madrasa*, and of the Manṣūriyya complex opposite both by various successful Ṣāliḥīs created a sacred topography at the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn that captured in royal architecture the direct link between al-Ṣāliḥ's precedent and Ṣāliḥī rule. The use of this site as a ritual space and public scene for the investiture ceremonial of *amīr*s who were newly promoted by those successful Ṣāliḥīs clearly evoked the same direct link, suggesting in the oath of allegiance that was sworn there rather than in the citadel a symbolic initiation of new members of the elite into the

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84 On these sultans and their links with al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, see their biographies in G. Schregle, *Die Sultanin von Ägypten: Šağarat ad-Durr in der arabischen Geschichtsschreibung und Literatur* (Wiesbaden, 1961), pp. 37–58; Levanoni, "Mamluks' Ascent"; eadem, "The Consolidation of Aybak's Rule: An Example of Factionalism in the Mamluk State," *Der Islam* 74 (1994), 241–54; P. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt. Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. P. M. Holt (London, 1987); Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*.

85 See Holt, "Position and Power," esp. 241–43, 244–45; R. Amitai, "The Mamluk Officer Class during the Reign of Sultan Baybars," in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th–15th Centuries*, ed. Y. Lev, The Medieval Mediterranean 9 (Leiden, 1997), pp. 267–300; Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, pp. 163–64; 186–87; 245–49.

ruling Ṣāliḥī community, established by Sultan Ayyūb and thus continued as a legitimate factor of social differentiation, elite integration, and political identity. In the second half of the thirteenth century, therefore, royal architecture and ritual performance transformed the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn into a site that was constructed around the collective history of the ruling Ṣāliḥīs and around the memory of their founding father al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb. It became a Ṣāliḥī 'lieu de mémoire'.

When the Ṣāliḥī sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn died in 1290, the days of the remaining ageing Ṣāliḥīs were also at an end. Their positions and roles were quickly taken over by Qalāwūn's entourage, known as the Manṣūrīs and including such figures as the aforementioned Sultan Kitbughā (r. 1294–1296) and Qalāwūn's sons, Khalīl (r. 1290–1293) and Muḥammad (r. 1293–1294; 1299–1309; 1310–1341). In similarly various ways and with ups and downs, these and other members of Qalāwūn's entourage monopolized positions of power and authority between 1290 and 1310; in fact, unlike in the case of Ṣāliḥī rule, Qalāwūn's legacy managed to survive generational changes, as a result of the successful monopolization of Mamluk society in the first half of the fourteenth century by Qalāwūn's son Muḥammad and his representatives.[86] On the one hand, this means that each of the seventeen Mamluk sultans that reigned between 1290 and the 1380s had al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn in common as master (in three cases) or ancestor (in the remaining fourteen cases); on the other, it means that just as with the Manṣūrīs until 1310, all elites that dominated Mamluk politics during this century had a bonding link with Qalāwūn's cause in common, from the collective victorious achievement at Acre to the historical reality of that 'Qalāwūnid' lineage's longstanding political patronage. As a result, also in the case of this Qalāwūnid Mamluk polity, sultans and elites continuously pursued their representation as the legitimate successors of Qalāwūn's rule and as the guardians of the rights and vested interests of the community that emerged from his extended family's long-standing socio-political monopoly.[87]

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86 A process detailed in Van Steenbergen, "The Mamluk Sultanate as a Military Patronage State."

87 Broadbridge, pp. 145–48; Van Steenbergen, "The Mamluk Sultanate as a Military Patronage State"; idem, " 'Is anyone my guardian . . . ?' Mamlūk Under-Age Rule and the Later Qalāwūnids," *al-Masāq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 19/1 (2007), 55–65; idem, "Qalāwūnid Discourse." See also Ayalon, "From Ayyubids to Mamluks," p. 56; U. Haarmann, "Regicide and the 'Law of the Turks'," in *Intellectual Studies on Islam. Essays written in honour of Martin B. Dickson*, ed. M. Mazzaoui and V. B. Moreen (Salt Lake City, 1990), p. 130; idem, "The Mamluk System of Rule in the Eyes of Western Travellers," *Mamlūk*

In this system of Qalāwūnid royalty, a central role was once more reserved for the transforming Bayna l-Qaṣrayn, and for the impressive Manṣūriyya complex in particular (Figs. 9.7 and 9.8). This is apparent from various aspects of that process of transformation. The construction of the Nāṣiriyya adjacent to Qalāwūn's mausoleum (Fig. 9.9) eventually attached both the Manṣūrīs' achievement at Acre and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's authority to the growing central status of the Manṣūriyya complex.[88] Similarly, the interment of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 1341, after more than thirty years of unchallenged reign and rule, in the mausoleum of his father Qalāwūn (rather than in any mausoleum of his own) symbolically and physically confirmed and enhanced the direct link between his dispensation and his father's, an act that was repeated by the Qalāwūnid elite in 1345 for his son and fourth successor, Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl (r. 1342–1345). Most importantly perhaps, the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn remained a central ritual space for the investiture ceremonial of newly promoted *amīr*s, as elaborated above. But at the same time, this ritual space experienced a focal shift to the Manṣūriyya complex, reflecting more than anything else the ideological shift from al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's to al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn's reign as a point of legitimating origin and reference for the sultanate's new elites. *Amīr*s who were newly promoted by Qalāwūnid sultans now swore the oath of allegiance in the posthumous presence of Qalāwūn (and later also of Muḥammad and Ismāʿīl), implying in this case their symbolic initiation into the ruling Qalāwūnid house, established by Sultan Qalāwūn and thus continued as a legitimating factor of social differentiation, elite integration, and political identity. In most of the fourteenth century, therefore, royal architecture and ritual performance transformed the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn into a site that was constructed around the collective history of the ruling Qalāwūnids and around the memory of their founding father al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn. It became a Qalāwūnid 'lieu de mémoire'.

Studies Review 5 (2001), 22–24; F. Bauden, "The Sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and the Politics of Puppets: Where did it all start?," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 13/1 (2009), 53–81.

[88] This is also evident from al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reconstruction of the Manṣūriyya's minaret after the devastating 1303 earthquake, adding his own 'public texts' and, hence, the remembrance of his patronage to this referential topping of the mausoleum (*Thesaurus d'Epigraphie Islamique*, fiches nº 3882–4). See also Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, p. 135.

4. *Conclusions*

After the abolition of the Fatimid caliphate by Saladin in 1171, the central space of Shiite Fatimid authority ever since their foundation of Cairo in 969 remained a referential landmark in the socio-political theory and practice of the region's new Sunni elites, at least until the end of the fourteenth century. Surely, the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn radically transformed from Fatimid political headquarters into Mamluk religious and commercial urban centre. But in this gradual transition from late Fatimid to Mamluk urban space, the site continued to retain its ability to acquire new meanings, to articulate changing political and ideological commitments, and especially to symbolize royal authority. Overall, there were two interlocking reasons for this.

The main reason undoubtedly was the fact that the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn functioned as a 'lieu de mémoire', appealing in a most effective manner to the collective history and social memory of the region's elites and enabling them to publicly explain and legitimize order and distinction. But it was a dynamic 'lieu de mémoire' that managed to follow suit when elites and explanations of sovereignty transformed over time. As demonstrated, at least three different layers of memory were present at the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn, varyingly operationalized according to audiences, purpose, and time. There was the slowly fading memory of the former power and glory of the Fatimids; there was the intense but short-term memory of early Mamluk victories that attested to the divinely ordained legitimacy of new rulers and elites; and there was the more slowly emerging but long-standing memory of the patrons of the sultans who ruled over Egypt and Syria between the 1250s and 1380s, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb and al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, commemorated in a continuous fashion as the founding fathers of two successful royal dynasties, the one Ṣāliḥid and the other Qalāwūnid. The latter dynastic memory in particular was clearly attached to the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn as a result of the two former memories, Fatimid memory attracting royal patronage and memory of victory defining the forms and status of that patronage. In their unique interaction, however, these memories continued to provide the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn with meanings that enabled its continued functioning as a site that promoted ideas of legitimate sovereignty, within a volatile semiotic framework of social and political organization.

The other reason for the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn's continued spatial and symbolic centrality, inextricably intertwined with its status as a dynamic 'lieu

de mémoire', has to do with its operating—or rather being operated—as a ritual space, where, through ceremonial, protocol, and ritual gestures, these mnemonic meanings were (re-)invented, kept alive, and exploited to articulate changing ideological and political commitments. The elaborate investiture ritual for new Mamluk *amīr*s (and on two occasions for the sultan of Ḥamāh) engaged most vividly and regularly with this aspect of the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn, exploiting first and foremost the mnemonic meaning of dynastic legitimacy that the site had acquired. Through the ritual's engagement with the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn, with the Ṣāliḥiyya and Manṣūriyya in particular, rulers and elites appealed to al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb and then al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn as a defining point of reference that warranted the correct nature of their social order, as that had to be reaffirmed after the accession of new *amīr*s.

Finally, some concluding thoughts need to be added on the wider implications of this assessment of the Mamluk Bayna l-Qaṣrayn for current understandings of the exact nature of the changing political commitments that were articulated through this mnemonic and ritual space in particular. In line with standard paradigms of Mamluk studies, Chapoutot-Remadi concluded from her discussion of the investiture ritual that it represents the double standards of Mamluk politics in the fourteenth century, bound to result in endless conflicts and chaos, opposing partisans of 'proper' martial slave-master loyalties, such as the Ṣāliḥīs and Manṣūrīs, to adherents of dynastic trends, such as Qalāwūn's descendants.[89] Elsewhere, I have dealt in much detail with the practical and epistemological shortcomings of these assumptions.[90] Here, it suffices to remark that these "deux tendences en principe contradictoires" cannot but be defined by one and the same political system that also informed the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn's meanings as a dynamic 'lieu de mémoire' and as an active ritual space. Considering the meanings and ritual gestures presented in this chapter, it is clear that changing ideological and political commitments and Mamluk royal authority had everything do to with dynastic connotations of legitimate sovereignty and with inclusive appreciations of royal lineage and elite integration. For the period between the 1250s and 1380s, therefore, the Mamluk Bayna l-Qaṣrayn speaks of a socio-political organization that was defined by a wide range of very dynamic symbolic,

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[89] Chapoutot-Remadi, p. 66.

[90] Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos*; idem, "The Mamluk Sultanate as a Military Patronage State."

affectional, and consanguine relationships that bound the elites to the royal house, which had earned its legitimate sovereignty through divinely ordained victory and which—in the case of the Qalāwūnid house—held on to that sovereignty for more than a century as a result of successful leadership and lineage.

In short, the 'lieu de mémoire' that the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn continued to represent through royal architecture and ritual performance supports the conceptualization of the Mamluk sultanate of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as a traditional patriarchal polity, a so-called military patronage state, sharing with its predecessors and contemporaries in the region a long-standing tradition of political organization around the wide-ranging households of successful military leaders and their politics of revenue assignment.[91] Whereas in the middle of the thirteenth century, this Mamluk military patronage state was organized around various military leaders that stemmed from the Ṣāliḥī household, after 1290 Qalāwūnid *amīr*s and scions took over and engendered nothing less than their Qalāwūnid household's socio-political monopoly. The fact that the usurper of this Qalāwūnid power, Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (r. 1382–1389; 1390–1399), again added a new complex to the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn more than eight decades after the previous royal project (Fig. 9.10) might then be interpreted as a powerful token of his ambitions to subscribe to the same long-standing traditions of socio-political organization and explanation around his own leadership and lineage. At the same time, however, the fact that references to the investiture ritual disappear from the chronicles at around the same time, as explicitly linked by al-Maqrīzī to the end of the Qalāwūnid polity, suggests that the sultanate's ideological and political commitments were by then changing beyond the ritual's semiotic reach, and that Barqūq's initiative at the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn failed to revert that process.[92] Actually, the fact that by the mid-fifteenth century—as

[91] For conceptual and practical details, see Van Steenbergen, "The Mamluk Sultanate as a Military Patronage State;" see also M. Chamberlain, "Military Patronage States and the Political Economy of the Frontier, 1000–1250," in *A Companion to the History of the Middle East*, ed. Y. Choueiri, Blackwell Companions to World History (Oxford, 2005 [pb 2008]), pp. 141–52.

[92] See also Broadbridge, pp. 168–97. In comparison with the Ṣāliḥīs and Qalāwūnids, the political and ideological failure of Barqūq's entourage to generate their own stable monopoly beyond 1399 should certainly also be linked, as also suggested by Broadbridge, to their lack of success to secure their own legitimating victory, not in the least due to the disastrous defeat by and humiliating submission to the post-Mongol ruler Timur Lank in 1400.

in Ibn Taghrī Birdī's fragment on Jaqmaq's ritual policies—the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn no longer was mentioned as a relevant space for the sultanate's rituals of power even suggests that those changes in ideological and political commitments resulted in a radically different fifteenth-century political culture. Only by that time, it would seem, was the old Fatimid Bayna l-Qaṣrayn fully eclipsed by the Mamluk citadel!



Fig. 9.1. Map of Fatimid Cairo, with the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn at its centre.

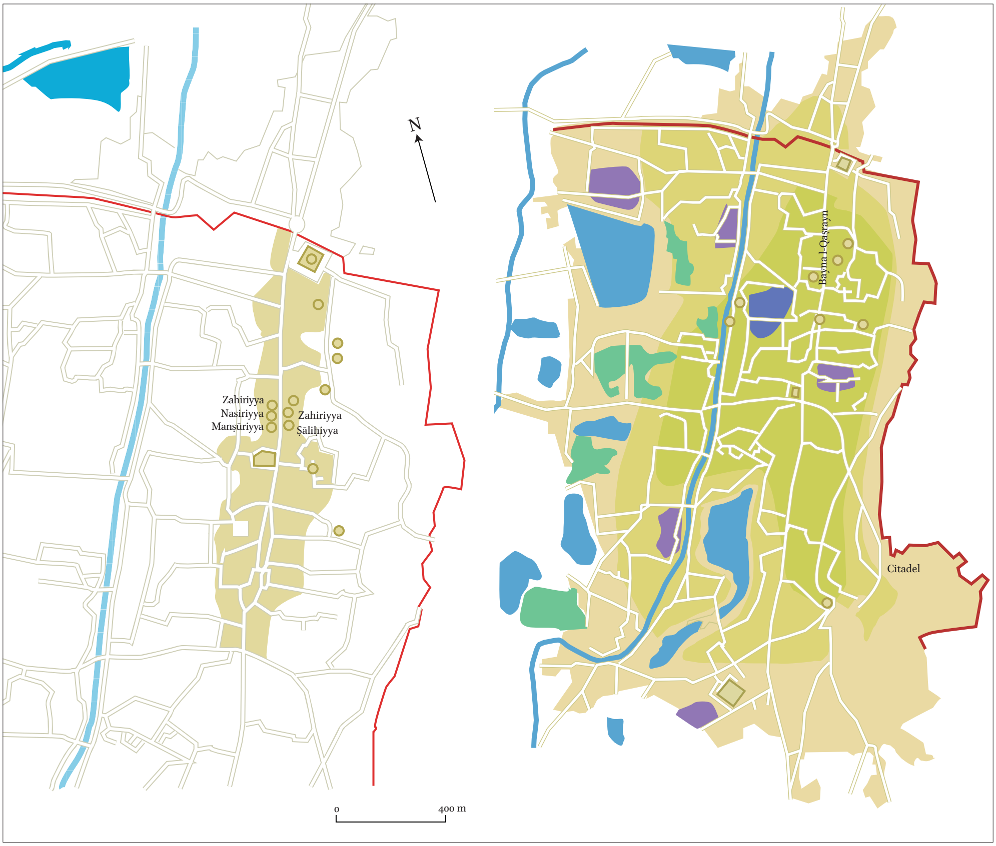


Fig. 9.2. Maps of late medieval Cairo, including the Mamluk Bayna l-Qaṣrayn; a (left): Detail of Bayna l-Qaṣrayn—b (right): Cairo's Bayna l-Qaṣrayn and the Citadel.



Fig. 9.3. The Bayna l-Qaṣrayn today. On the left, the slightly slanting minaret (with *mabkhara*/'incense-burner' topping) and conical dome of the Ṣāliḥiyya; on the right, the restored façade, lofty dome, and square minaret of the Manṣūriyya, the minaret with heavy stucco decoration of the Nāṣiriyya, and the gigantic protruding portal with *muqarnas*-topping of the Ẓāhiriyya (photo: Maya Termonia).



Fig. 9.4. The Citadel of the Mountain (*Qalʿat al-Jabal*) today, overlooking the city from a spur of the Muqaṭṭam mountain range, with some remains of early Mamluk walls to the left of the nineteenth-century citadel mosque of Muḥammad ʿAlī (photo: Maya Termonia).



Fig. 9.5. The Ṣāliḥiyya *madrasa* (1243): Reconstructed façade with minaret (photo: Maya Termonia).



Fig. 9.6. The Ṣāliḥiyya mausoleum (1243–1250): Façade with its three grilled windows, part of the adjacent portal (including part of the inscription slab above the portal), and dome. On the far right, the minaret top of the Ṣāliḥiyya (photo: Maya Termonia).



Fig. 9.7. Ẓāhiriyya (1263): The yellow structure on the left is its only remainder, the southern lower part of the façade wall projecting into the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn, against the background of the majestic and wide angled façade of the Manṣūriyya at the other side of the street (photo: Maya Termonia).



Fig. 9.8. The Manṣūriyya complex (1285–1286): The three-tiered massive minaret, the dome, and window-recessed façade of the mausoleum (only partly invisible due to the remaining lower angle of the Ẓāhiriyya on the right) (photo: Maya Termonia).



Fig. 9.9. The Nāṣiriyya *madrasa* (1294–1303): Façade with Gothic-style portal and inscription band, attaching itself to the minaret base of the Manṣūriyya (i.e., the angled high wall on the left) (photo: Maya Termonia).



Fig. 9.10. The new Ẓāhiriyya complex (1384), and its integration into the Bayna l-Qaṣrayn, with the Nāṣiriyya's façade on the left (photo: Maya Termonia).

CHAPTER TEN

COURT CEREMONIES AND RITUALS OF POWER IN THE LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Stefan Burkhardt

In the great hall of the Major Council in the doge's palace in Venice, several highly indicative pictures illustrate the Fourth Crusade, displaying the conquest of Constantinople and the establishment of the Latin Empire in 1204: The gathering of the crusaders in San Marco (painted by Jean Leclerc), the arrival of Alexios IV in Zara (by Andrea Vicentino), the conquest of the city (by Domenico Tintoretto) and the fictive coronation of Baldwin of Flanders by Enrico Dandolo (by Aliense).[1] In the sixteenth century this event became part of the glorious past of the Venetian Republic and belonged to the well known cultural heritage of La Serenissima.[2]

However, the Latin Empire itself had disappeared. No one—apart from a few Belgian historians—remembered its glory and just in recent years it was rediscovered from oblivion.[3] What are the reasons for this neglect

[1] W. Wolters, *Der Dogenpalast in Venedig: Ein Rundgang durch Kunst und Geschichte* (Berlin, 2010), illus. 103, p. 141; illus. 104, p. 142; illus. 105, p. 142; illus. 107, p. 143.

[2] For this matter, see E. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, NJ, 1981); I. Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven, Conn., 2007), esp. p. 302; see also the contributions in H. Maguire and R. S. Nelson, eds., *San Marco, Byzantium, and the Myths of Venice*, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia (Washington, DC, 2010).

[3] See, for example, the first modern study of E. Gerland, *Geschichte des lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel*, 1: *Geschichte des Kaisers Balduin I. und Heinrich, 1204–1216* (Homburg v. d. Höhe, 1905) and J. Longnon, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1949); see also the studies of R. L. Wolff, *Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople*, Variorum reprint 55 (London, 1976), and B. Hendrickx, "Les institutions de l'empire latin de Constantinople (1204–1261): le pouvoir impérial," *Byzantina* 6 (1974), 85–154; idem, "Les institutions de l'empire latin de Constantinople: la diplomatie," *Acta classica* 17 (1974), 105–19; idem, "Les institutions de l'empire latin de Constantinople: la chancellerie," *Acta classica* 19 (1976), 123–31; idem, "Les institutions de l'empire latin de Constantinople (1204–1261): la cour et les dignitaires," *Byzantina* 9 (1977), 187–217; idem, "The Main Problems of the History of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204–1261," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 52 (1974), 787–99; Antonio Carile, *Per una storia dell'impero latino di Constantinopoli (1204–1261)*, Il mondo medievale, sezione di storia bizantina e slave 2, 2nd ed. (Bologna, 1978); and especially D. Jacoby, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean*, Variorum Collected Studies Series CS 703 (Aldershot, 2001). Furthermore relevant is: V. D. van Aalst and K. N. Ciggaar, eds., *The Latin Empire:*

of an important part of Mediterranean history? On the one hand, only few sources offer an insight into the history of the Latin Empire. Apart from about sixty charters and much more letters, the Byzantine chronicles of Choniates and Akropolites, for instance, describe the capture of Constantinople and the first period after this shocking experience—comparable to the chronicles of Villehardouin and Clari for the Latin point of view.[4] The best source is the chronicle of Valencienne which gives detailed impressions of the reign of Emperor Henry I.[5]

On the other hand, German and French scholars concentrated on the great examples of their splendid rulers—the Roman emperors and the *reges christianissimi*—or the history of their nation. The interest of modern research may be part of a shift in priorities—away from a historiography regarding the individual nations towards the investigation of transcultural/intercultural entanglement and "postcolonial issues": "identities," "religion," "economic interchange," "conflicts," and "violence" are in the focus of attention.[6] The region of the Latin Empire of Constantinople

Some Contributions (Hernen, 1990) and the profound works of F. van Tricht, "'La gloire de l'Empire': L'idée impériale de Henri de Flandre-Hainaut, deuxième empereur latin de Constantinople (1206–1216)," *Byzantion* 70 (2000), 211–41; idem, "La politique étrangère de l'empire de Constantinople de 1210 à 1216. Sa position en Méditerranée orientale: problèmes de chronologie et d'interpretation," *Le Moyen Age* 107 (2001), 219–38, 409–38; and now idem, *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium: The Empire of Constantinople (1204–1228)*, The Medieval Mediterranean 90 (Leiden, 2011). Soon I will publish a study on Mediterranean emperors in the Middle Ages dealing with the Latin Empire: *Mediterranes Kaisertum und imperiale Ordnungen. Das lateinische Kaiserreich von Konstantinopel.* Important contributions have been made in conjunction with the research on the Fourth Crusade, see for example D. E. Queller and T. F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, The Middle Ages series, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1997); G. Ortalli, G. Ravegnani, and P. Schreiner, eds., *Quarta crociata: Venezia—Bisanzio—Impero Latino* (Venice, 2006); A. E. Laiou, ed., *Urbs capta: The Fourth Crusade and Its Consequences*, Réalités byzantines 10 (Paris, 2006); T. F. Madden, ed., *The Fourth Crusade: Event, Aftermath, and Perceptions: Papers from the Sixth Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Istanbul, Turkey, 25–29 August 2004*, Crusades, Subsidia 2 (Aldershot, 2008).

[4] For the sources for the history of the Latin Empire, see B. Hendrickx, "Régestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople (1204–1261/1272)," *Byzantina* 14 (1988), 7–221; Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. A. van Dieten, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 11 (Berlin, 1975); George Akropolites, *Opera*, 2 vols., ed. A. Heisenberg (Leipzig, 1903), repr. with corrections by P. Wirth (Stuttgart, 1978) [henceforth: Akropolites]; Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, 1: *1199–1203*, 2: *1203–1207*, ed. E. Faral, Les classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Age 18–19 (Paris, 1938–1939); Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Ph. Lauer, Les classiques français du moyen âge 40 (Paris, 1924).

[5] Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople*, ed. J. Longnon, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 2 (Paris, 1948).

[6] See T. Foerster and S. Burkhardt, "Tradition and Heritage: The Normans in the Transcultural Middle Ages," in *Tradition and Heritage in the Kingdom of Sicily and the Norman*

provides a very interesting case study: it was strongly influenced by all great developments of Mediterranean history from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, e.g. the schism between the Latin and the Orthodox Church, the rise of the Italian trading cities, the crusades, and the decline of the Byzantine Empire.

In 1204, after the fall of Constantinople, the old Byzantine Empire broke into four parts: the Greek empires of Nicaea,[7] Trebizond,[8] and Epiros,[9] and the Latin rule. The latter was divided into the Latin Empire, the dominions of its vassals, and the Venetian estates.[10] In contrast to the period of Byzantine rule three main features characterize the Latin territories: the overwhelming position of the Venetians, the strong traditions of feudalism imposed on the Byzantine state structure,[11] and the great influence of the papacy.[12]

Peripheries: Cultural Exchange and Norman Identities, ed. S. Burkhardt and T. Foerster (forthcoming, Farnham, 2014).

7 M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea 1204–1261*, Oxford historical monographs (London, 1975).

8 S. P. Karpov, *L'Impero di Trebisonda, Venezia, Genova e Roma 1204–1461*: *Rapporti politici diplomatici e commerciali* (Rome, 1986).

9 D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267–1479: A Contribution to the History of Greece in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1984); A. Stavridou-Zafraka, "The Political Ideology of the State of Epiros," in *Urbs capta* (see above, n. 3), pp. 311–23.

10 See, for example, P. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean: 1204–1500* (London, New York, 1995), pp. 35–92, and D. Jacoby, "After the Fourth Crusade: The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Frankish States," in *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c. 500–1492*, ed. J. Shepard (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 759–78; M. Koumanoudi, "The Latins in the Aegean After 1204: Interdependence and Interwoven Interests," in *Urbs capta* (see above, n. 3), pp. 247–67; G. Saint-Guillain, "Les conquérants de l'archipel: l'Empire Latin de Constantinople, Venise et les premiers seigneurs des Cyclades," in *Quarta crociata* (see above, n. 3), pp. 125–37. For Thessalonike, see T. F. Madden, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople's Fractured Foundation," in *The Fourth Crusade* (see above, n. 3), pp. 45–52; R. Pokorny, "Der territoriale Umfang des lateinischen Königreichs Thessaloniki," *Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters* 62 (2006), 537–606.

11 P. W. Topping, *Feudal Institutions, as Revealed in the Assizes of Romania: The Law Code of Frankish Greece: Translation of the Text of the Assizes with a Comment on Feudal Institutions in Greece and in Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 1949); D. Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale: Les "Assises de Romanie", sources, application et diffusion*, Documents et recherches, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section 10 (Paris, 1971). For the Byzantine tradition, see A. Kazhdan, "State, Feudal, and Private Economy in Byzantium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993), 83–100.

12 J. Gill, "Innocent III and the Greeks: Aggressor or Apostle?," in *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages (1204–1453)*, ed. D. Baker (Edinburgh, 1973), pp. 95–108; K. M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant: The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 114 (Philadelphia, 1976), pp. 1–105; J. Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy, 1198–1400* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1979), pp. 9–119.

Before 1204, the Venetians had been one of the closest allies of the Byzantine Empire and, on the basis of the imperial trading privileges granted to them since 1082, had gained great economic strength in Constantinople and the eastern Mediterranean. The informal political influence resulting from these circumstances led to conflicts and hostility between Venetians and Byzantines. After 1204 the Venetians acquired formally recognized political authority in the "Romania", substituting to a certain degree Byzantine imperial structures. This change, on the one hand, affected—as will be shown below—the self-definition and representation of the Venetian political system.[13] On the other hand, the great economic wealth the Venetians had previously acquired in the Byzantine Empire persisted undiminished and formed the basis for Venice's preeminent hegemony in the Romania in general and in the Latin Empire in particular. This by no means facilitated the stance of the Latin emperors, for the Venetians to some degree were the reason for their troubles.

The Latins had to struggle with two major problems: firstly, they had to deal with difficulties inherited from the Byzantine Empire, such as political instability, strong centrifugal tendencies, declining revenues, and the conflicts with the Bulgarian and the Seljuk states.[14] Secondly, the con-

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[13] D. M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* (Cambridge, 1988); M. E. Martin, "The Venetians in the Byzantine Empire before 1204," in *Byzantium and the West c. 850-c. 1200*, ed. J. D. Howard-Johnston, Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies 18/Byzantinische Forschungen 13 (Amsterdam, 1988), pp. 201–14; T. F. Madden, "Venice and Constantinople in 1171 and 1172: Enrico Dandolo's Attitude Towards Byzantium," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 8 (1993), 166–85; D. Jacoby, "The Venetian Quarter of Constantinople from 1082 to 1261: Topographical Considerations," in *Novum Millennium: Studies on Byzantine History and Culture Dedicated to Paul Speck*, ed. C. Sode and S. Takács (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 153–70; idem, "The Venetian Presence in the Latin Empire of Constantinople: The Challenge of Feudalism and the Byzantine Inheritance," in idem, *Byzantium, Latin Romania* (see above, n. 3), no. IV; idem, "Venetian Settlers in Latin Constantinople (1204–1261): Rich or Poor?," ibid., no. VII; idem, "The Venetian Government and Administration in Latin Constantinople, 1204–1261: A State within a State," in *Quarta crociata* (see above, n. 3), pp. 19–79.

[14] For the Byzantine economy, see A. E. Laiou-Thomadakis, "The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System: Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34 (1980), 177–222, and the contributions in A. E. Laiou, ed., *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 39, 3 vols. (Washington, DC, 2002), especially eadem, "The Byzantine Economy: An Overview," pp. 1145–64; A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900–1200* (Cambridge, 1989). For the decline of the Byzantine Empire before 1204, see N. Oikonomides, "La décomposition de l'Empire byzantin de 1204 et les origines de l'Empire de Nicée: à propos de la 'Partitio Romaniae'," in *XV^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines: Rapports et corapports*, 1 (Athens, 1976), pp. 3–28, repr. in idem, *Byzantium from the Ninth Century to the Fourth Crusade: Studies, Texts, Monuments* (Aldershot, 1992), no. XX; C. G. Hatzidimitrou, *The Decline of Imperial Authority in South-West Central Greece and the Role of 'Archontes'*

quest of Constantinople caused new problems, resulting from the political and religious antagonism between Franks and Greeks and the strong animosities among several groups of Franks.[15] These tensions were further exacerbated by the policy of the papacy, trying to pursue the union of the Roman and the Orthodox Churches. Besides, the introduction of feudal institutions had aggravating consequences for the empire's political unity, because they could trigger conflicts between certain groups of vassals, which were bound by feudal law.[16] Furthermore, the sack of the capital city increased the financial problems of the Latin emperors to a maximum: the great loss of wealth was accompanied by the flight of the former civil servants. Therefore, the administrative structures were severely damaged.[17]

and Bishops in the Failure of Byzantine Resistance and Reconquest: 1180–1297, unpublished PhD thesis (Columbia University, 1988). The Bulgarian Empire is very important for the history of the Latin Empire in ideological and political respects: R. L. Wolff, "The 'Second Bulgarian Empire': Its Origin and History to 1204," *Speculum* 24/2 (1949), 167–206; B. Primov, "The Papacy, the Fourth Crusade and Bulgaria," *Byzantino Bulgarica* 1 (1962), 183–211; G. Prinzing, *Die Bedeutung Bulgariens und Serbiens in den Jahren 1204–1219 im Zusammenhang mit der Entstehung und Entwicklung der byzantinischen Teilstaaten nach der Einnahme Konstantinopels infolge des 4. Kreuzzuges* (Munich, 1972); J. R. Sweeney, "Hungary and the Bulgarian Coronation: A Study in Medieval Papal Diplomacy," *Church History* 42 (1973), 320–44; V. Gjuzelev, "Drei in Bulgarien gefundene Bleisiegel lateinischer Kaiser von Konstantinopel: Historische Interpretation," in *Polypleuros nus. Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, ed. C. Scholz and G. Makris, Byzantinisches Archiv 19 (Munich, 2000), pp. 37–44. For the relations of the Byzantine Empire and its heirs to the Seljuk Sultanate, see A. G. K. Sabbides, *Byzantium in the Near East: Its Relations with the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum in Asia Minor, the Armenians of Cilicia and the Mongols A.D. c. 1192–1237*, Βυζαντινά Κείμενα και Μελέται 17 (Thessalonica, 1981).

15 See especially the contributions in B. Arbel, B. Hamilton, and D. Jacoby, eds., *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (London, 1989), and D. Jacoby, "The Greeks of Constantinople under Latin Rule 1204–1261," in *The Fourth Crusade* (see above, n. 3), pp. 53–73; for the Greek point of view, see A. E. Bakalopulos, *Origins of the Greek Nation: The Byzantine period, 1204–1461*, Rutgers Byzantine Series (New Brunswick, NJ, 1970). For Cyprus, see A. D. Beihammer, "Gruppenidentität und Selbstwahrnehmung im zyprischen Griechentum der frühen Frankenzeit. Ein Interpretationsversuch anhand von zeitgenössischen Briefen und Urkunden," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 56 (2006), 205–37.

16 See in general S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994); S. Burkhardt, "Feudalism in Europe," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Medieval Warfare and Military Technology*, 2, ed. C. J. Rogers (New York, 2010), pp. 43–46. See also the contributions in J. Dendorfer and R. Deutinger, eds., *Das Lehnswesen im Hochmittelalter: Forschungskonstrukte, Quellenbefunde, Deutungsrelevanz*, Mittelalter-Forschungen 34 (Ostfildern, 2010).

17 M. V. Anastos, "Constantinople and Rome: A Survey of the Relations between the Byzantine and the Roman Churches," in *Aspects of the Mind of Byzantium. Political Theory, Theology, and Ecclesiastical Relations with the See of Rome*, ed. M. V. Anastos, S. Vryonis, and N. Goodhue, Variorum Collected Studies Series 717 (Aldershot, Burlington, 2001),

The Latin Emperor stood in the eye of the storm coming from the Bulgarian North, the Epirote West and the Seljuk and Nicaean East. He embodied the Latin rule with all its traditions and problems.[18] Thus, having a closer look at this monarch, we will gain a deeper insight into the social structures and politics of the Latin Empire. At first I would like to consider the concept of emperorship.[19] Many possible forms of emperors existed over the centuries from Roman times throughout the Middle Ages up to Napoleon in nineteenth-century Europe and Jean-Bédel Bokassa in twentieth-century Central Africa. Two common characteristics of these widely differing forms of imperial rule are that the incumbent is not to accept anyone superior to him and that he has to represent and dignify his position at the top of the hierarchy with the aid of special insignia, rituals, and ceremonies. Being emperor seemed to be dangerous. Many of the emperors throughout the centuries were killed—especially in Byzantium. This cruelty may have sprung from the combination of exorbitant claims for power on the part of the emperors and the factual instability or weakness of their rule. How can these characteristics be traced in the imperial rituals of the Latin emperors of Constantinople?[20] What are the traditions of imperial reign that may have influenced the idea of

no. VIII, pp. 1–119, at pp. 52–55; C. G. Ferrard, "The Amount of the Constantinopolitan Booty in 1204," *Studi Veneziani N.S.* 13 (1971), 95–104; but cf. also D. Jacoby, "The Economy of the Latin Constantinople, 1204–1261," in *Urbs capta* (see above, n. 3), pp. 195–214.

[18] For biographical details of the Latin emperors, see R. L. Wolff, "Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, First Latin Emperor of Constantinople: His Life, Death, and Resurrection, 1172–1225," *Speculum* 27 (1952), 281–322; K. Ciggaar, "Flemish Counts and Emperors. Friends and Foreigners in Byzantium," in *The Latin Empire: Some Contributions*, ed. V. D. van Aalst and K. N. Ciggaar (Hernen, 1990), pp. 33–62; P. Lock, "Latin Emperors as Heirs to Byzantium," in *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th Centuries, Papers of the Twenty-Sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St. Andrews, March 1992*, ed. P. Magdalino (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 295–304.

[19] For some considerations on empires over the centuries, see S. E. Alcock, ed., *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History* (Cambridge, 2001); S. Ellis, "Introduction," in *Empires and States in European Perspective*, ed. S. Ellis, CLIOH's workshop II 6 (Pisa, 2002), pp. 13–16; P. A. Rahe, "Empires Ancient and Modern," *The Wilson Quarterly* 28/3 (2004), 68–84; Ph. Pomper, "The History and Theory of Empires," *History and Theory* 44/4 (2005), 1–27; F. Hurlet, ed., *Les empires. Antiquité et Moyen Age. Analyse comparée*, Collection "Histoire" (Rennes, 2008).

[20] For imperial ceremonies and rituals in Byzantium and elsewhere, see M. McCormick, "Analyzing Imperial Ceremonies," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 35 (1985), 1–20; idem, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1986); see also the contributions in the volume H. Maguire, ed., *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, (Washington, DC, 1997), especially G. P. Majeska, "The Emperor in His Church: Imperial Ritual in the Church of St. Sophia," pp. 1–11, J. Trilling, "Daedalus and the Nightingale: Art and Technology in the Myth of the Byzantine Court," pp. 217–30, and H. Maguire, "The Heavenly Court," pp. 247–58.

this monarch? What parallels and differences to other political authorities can be discovered?

In 1204, no one of the crusaders doubted the importance of establishing a Latin emperor. The last *basileus* had fled, and the throne was vacant.[21] Furthermore, a widespread belief persisted that the Byzantines were unworthy to rule because they had a proclivity towards violent changes and were generally untrustworthy.[22]

How then to make and to legitimize a new emperor?[23] The coronation by the pope offered a commonly accepted form of legitimization for western emperors, but due to lack of papal legates this was not possible. Instead, and in accordance with the concept of "Heerkaisertum," it was the conquerors' army who elected the Latin emperor.[24] The two candidates—Baldwin of Flanders and Boniface of Montferrat—attempted to create accomplished facts choosing a third way by occupying the coronation church of Hagia Sophia, the Palace of Blachernai, and the "Palace of Boukoleon," at term which at this late a date referred to the area of the lower Great Palace.[25] In the Byzantine Empire, palaces were of great importance for the rituals of power at the imperial court. They played a main part in blinding and impressing the visitors with golden pomp and provided a suitable frame for the eminent position of the *basileus*.[26]

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[21] Queller and Madden, *Fourth Crusade*, pp. 185–92.

[22] Villehardouin 224–25, ed. Faral, pp. 22–24: "Et si i furent li evesque, et toz li clergiez. A ce s'acorda tous li clergiez, et cil qui avoient le conmandement de l'apostoille, et mostrerent as barons et as pelerins, que cil qui tel murtre faisoit n'avoit droit en terre tenir, et tuit cil qui estoient consentant estoient parçonier del murtre et, oltre tot ce, que il s'estoient sotrait a l'obedience de Rome. Por quoi nos vos disons, fait li clergiez, que la bataille est droite et juste. Et se vos avez droite entention de conquerre la terre et metre a la obedience de Rome, vos arez le perdon tel cum l'apostoille le vos a otroié, tuit cil qui confés i morront. » Sachiez que ceste chose fu granz confors as barons et as pelerins."

[23] See in general E. Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendland: Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des kirchlichen Rechts, der Liturgie und der Kirchenpolitik*, 2 vols. (Würzburg, 1942).

[24] E. E. Stengel, *Den Kaiser macht das Heer. Studien zur Geschichte eines politischen Gedankens* (Weimar, 1910).

[25] Villehardouin 249–50, ed. Faral, pp. 51–52; Clari 80, ed. Lauer, p. 80. Both candidates were forced to give up their position: Clari 93–94, ed. Lauer, p. 91.

[26] For the importance of the Great Palace, see M. C. Carile, "Constantinople and the Heavenly Jerusalem? Through the Imperial Palace," *Bizantinistica* 8 (2006), 85–104; for the exemplary character of Constantinople and its buildings, see B. Ward-Perkins, "Constantinople: A City and Its Ideological Territory," in *Towns and Their Territories between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. G. P. Brogiolo, N. Gauthier, and N. Christie, The Transformation of the Roman World 9 (Leiden, 2000), pp. 325–45; a general impression of the buildings is given by J. Kostenec and A. Tayfun Öner, *Walking thru Byzantium: Great Palace Region* (Istanbul, 2007); for garden sites, see A. R. Littlewood, "Gardens of the

Especially the palace of Blachernai, renovated on Manuel I Komnenos' initiative, rose to the centre of imperial rule in the last decades of the twelfth century and symbolized imperial dignity and continuity.[27]

After some debates, Baldwin was elected by a special committee, which represented the crusaders in their entirety, and one week later he was crowned. To a certain degree, the coronation ceremony mirrors the structures of the Latin Empire and its idea of imperial rule. First of all, the new emperor was accompanied by the secular leaders of the crusade carrying the insignia, and he was crowned by all bishops (spiritual leaders) of the crusader's army.[28] Apart from divine legitimization, this act clearly visualized the source of the new dignity—the army. Secondly, Baldwin was dressed like a Byzantine emperor—purple clothes and boots and the *loros*.[29] However, the barons were able to dress themselves in almost the same way because of the vestments acquired during the sack of the city and the imperial *vestiarion*.[30] In this way they deprived Baldwin from the

Palaces," *Byzantine Court Culture* (see above, n. 20), pp. 13–38. On the Boukoleon Palace, see C. Mango, "The Palace of the Boukoleon," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 45 (1997), 41–50.

[27] F. Tinnefeld, "Der Blachernenpalast in Schriftquellen der Palaiologenzeit," in *Lithostrōton: Studien zur byzantinischen Kunst und Geschichte, Festschrift für Marcell Restle*, ed. B. Borkopp and T. Steppan (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 277–85. Both palaces were of great importance for the crusaders as well and are mentioned in the pact of 1204; see *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen, (1191-aanvang 1206)*, 2, ed. W. Prevenier, Recueil des actes des princes belges 5 (Bruxelles, 1964), no. 267, p. 557: "Debet vero iste imperator habere universam quartam partem acquisiti imperii, et palatium Blacherne, et Buccam Leonis." The palace of Blachernai seems to have been the residence of the Latin emperor: Villehardouin 465, ed. Faral, p. 280, reports that an emissary found Henry I in this palace: "le semadi matin, s'en vint un més batant en Constantinople, et trova l'empereor Henri el palais de Blakerne seant al mengier." The palace of Blachernai and the palace of Boukoleon seemed to have been the location of the imperial chancery: Hendrickx, "Les institutions: la chancellerie," p. 123.

[28] Clari 96, ed. Lauer, pp. 93–95.

[29] Clari 96, ed. Lauer, p. 94: "La si le desvesti on de ses dras et si le descaucha on, si li cauch'a on unes vermelles cauches de samit, se li caucha on uns saullers tous carkiés de rikes pierres par deseure, puis se li vesti on une cote molt rike, qui toute estoit cousue a boutons d'or par devant et par derriere des espaulles dusques au chaint. Et puis se li vesti on le palle: une maniere d'afulement estoit qui batoit seur le col du pié par devant, et par derriere estoit si Ions que il s'en chaingnoit, et puis se li reversoit on arriere par deseure le senestre brach, ensement comme un fanol, et estoit chus palles molt rikes et molt nobles et tous carkiés de rikes pierres precieuses. Aprés se li asfula on par deseure un molt rike mantel, qui tous estoit carkiés de rikes pierres precieuses, et li aigle qui par dehors erent, estoient fait de pierres precieuses et resplendissoient si que che sanloit que li mantiaus fust alumés." For the description of the costume of a *basileus*, see E. Piltz, "Middle Byzantine Court Costume," in *Byzantine Court Culture* (see above, n. 20), pp. 39–51.

[30] Clari 83, ed. Lauer, pp. 83–84: "En chel palais de Blakerne trova on molt grant tresor et molt rike, que on i trova les rikes corones qui avoient esté as empereeurs qui par devant i furent, et les riques joiaus d'or, et les rikes dras de soie a or, et les rikes robes emperiaus,

possibility to abide by the strict rules of the Byzantine dress code, which was previously used to identify the *basileus*. Hence, the Latin emperor was not able to monopolize the imperial way of dressing and was only *primus inter pares*.

Problems arose not only from "technical" or economic restraints, but also from a certain lack of understanding of Byzantine ceremonies. Places of crucial significance for forms of imperial representation were neglected or demolished by the crusaders, especially the palaces and the Hippodrome, while many statues and objects of art were melted down, and the tombs of the Byzantine emperors were plundered.[31] The crusaders, thus, to a certain degree destroyed the historical memory of the Byzantine Empire and reduced their own possibilities to continue the Byzantine traditions.

Although we have almost no evidence for the resumption of Byzantine imperial rituals,[32] there are some indications pointing to the holding

et les riques pierres precieuses, et tant d'autres riqueches que on ne saroit mie nombrer le grant tresor d'or et d'argent que on trova es palais et en molt de lieus ailleurs en le chité;" for the interpretation, see M. F. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, 4: *Alexius I to Michael VIII, Part 1: Alexius I to Alexius V (1081–1204)* (Washington, DC, 1999), p. 144. The vestments seem to have been worn by the barons during the coronation of Baldwin. See Clari 96, ed. Lauer, p. 94: "et estoient li baron trestout malt rikement vestu, ne si n'i avoit Franchois ne Venicien qui n'eust robe ou de samit ou de drap de soie."

[31] For the importance of the Hippodrome, see R. Guilland, "The Hippodrome at Byzantium," *Speculum* 23/4 (1948), 676–82, esp. 681–2; for the works of art in the Hippodrome, see S. Guberti Bassett, "The Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991), 87–96; B. Kiilerich, *The Obelisk Base in Constantinople: Court Art and Imperial Ideology*, Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia 10 (Rome, 1998), esp. pp. 141–65. For the Hippodrome, see now G. Dagron, *L'hippodrome de Constantinople. Jeux, peuple et politique* (Paris, 2011). Choniates, ed. van Dieten, pp. 650–1, was very astonished at the crusaders' melting the antique statues: "Οὐδὲ μὴν τῆς ὑαίνης τε καὶ λυκαίνης τὰς χεῖρας ἀπήγαγον, ἃς Ῥῶμος καὶ Ῥωμύλος ἐθήλασαν· στατήρων δὲ βραχέων, καὶ τούτων χαλκῶν, τὰ παλαιὰ σεμνώματα τοῦ γένους ἀπέδοσαν καὶ καθῆκαν αὐτὰς εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον." See also ibid., p. 652: "εἶπον δ᾽ ἂν ὡς καὶ ἀντίποινα τοῦ τὴν Τροίαν ᾐθαλῶσθαι πυρὶ ταῖς σαῖς σχετλίως φρυκτευθέντι φιλότησιν οἱ Αἰνειάδαι οὗτοι πυρί σε κατέκριναν." For the sack of the imperial tombs, see C. M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West: 1180–1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), p. 261. The tombs had been already partly plundered by Alexius III: ibid., p. 193. For the crusaders' neglecting the palace of Blachernai, see Tinnefeld, *Blachernenpalast*, p. 278.

[32] Some of the Greeks in the Latin Empire seemingly continued to perform the *proskynesis* before the Latin emperor. Clari 97, ed. Lauer, p. 95: "et tout li Griu qui illuec estoient l'aouroient tout comme saint empereeur." See also the entry of Henry I into Adrianople and the reception offered to him by the Greeks in the Kingdom of Thessalonica, as reported by Villehardouin 490, ed. Faral, p. 304: "Et chevauça tant que il vint a Andrenople, et se herberja es prez devant la ville. Et cil de la cité, qui molt l'avoient desiré, issirent fors a procession, si le virent mult volentiers. Et tuit li Gré de la terre furent venu."

of processions in Latin Constantinople.[33] Furthermore one can refer to the description of the execution of Alexios V who was thrown from the Column of Theodosios.[34]

The fact that there are almost no pieces of evidence in the narrative sources for the continuation of Byzantine imperial ceremonies may be due to the scarcity of surviving records, but this may also result from a different way of thinking of the crusaders and their western chroniclers. More insights are perhaps given by non-narrative sources: the position of the emperor between two traditions is illustrated by the portraits on the seals of several Latin emperors. Although they are dressed like a *basileus* and labeled *despotes*, the "core" of the depiction is essentially Latin in style: the seal's obverse exhibits a knightly-dressed emperor riding on a horse at a gallop, whereas the reverse shows an emperor sitting on a throne, conveying the impression of a western monarch.[35] In the same way, several parts of the charters present the Latin emperor acting like other western monarchs, enfeoffing his vassals with fief, granting privileges, and judging law cases.

The emperor had to represent the idealized type of a brave knight surrounded by his fellow combatants. This concept—mirrored in the chronicles and the activities of troubadours—was part of western traditions.[36] This had two consequences: firstly, in comparison to the *basileus* and his

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33 Villehardouin 411, ed. Faral, p. 224, reports that Henry performed a procession "to the shrine of our Lady of Blachernae, on the day of the feast of our Lady St. Mary Candlemas" ("Iceste dolorouse novele si vint à Henri le bal de l'empire si com il aloit a la procession a Nostre Dame de Blaquerne, le jor de la feste madame sainte Marie Candelor"). There seem to be continuities between the Byzantine and the Latin era, for the *basileus* also performed a procession to St. Mary on this day (Gerland, *Geschichte*, p. 82).

34 See Choniates, ed. van Dieten, p. 609. I consider this to be a parallel to the capital punishment of offenders being thrown from the Tarpeian Rock in Rome; see *Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 2, 8, ed. W. Kroll and K. Mittelhaus (Stuttgart, 1932), col. 2330.

35 For these questions, see S. Burkhardt et al., "Hybridisierung von Zeichen und Formen durch mediterrane Eliten," in *Integration und Desintegration der Kulturen im europäischen Mittelalter*, ed. M. Borgolte et al., Europa im Mittelalter 18 (Berlin, 2011), pp. 467–557, at pp. 500–02.

36 For this topic in general, see B. Saouma, "A propos de la Croisade. Quelques critiques des troubadours," in *Actes del Simposi Internacional de Filosofia de l'Edat Mitjana, Vic-Girona, 11–16 d'abril de 1993*, ed. P. Llorente et al. (Vic, 1996), pp. 619–23; C. Dijkstra, "Troubadours trouvères and crusade lyrics," in *Le rayonnement des troubadours. Actes du colloque de l'AIEO, Amsterdam, 16–18 Octobre 1995*, ed. A. H. Touber, Internationale Forschungen zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft 27 (Amsterdam, Atlanta, 1998), pp. 173–84; J. Puckett, "'Reconmenciez novele estoire'. The Troubadours and the Rhetoric of the Later Crusades," *Modern Language Notes* (*French Issue*) 116 (2001), 844–89, esp. pp. 852–63.

subjects, the hierarchical relationship between the Latin emperor and his followers was not determined by such a great distance of rank, the former being only *primus inter pares*. Secondly, the Latin emperor was personally involved in battles, something that made his life more dangerous, as is exemplified by the destiny of Baldwin I and Peter (two out of five emperors). Baldwin was murdered in prison after being captured by the Bulgarians in the battle of Adrianople, and Peter was killed in Epirus while trying to reach Constantinople by land.[37]

In Byzantium, however, it was more important to live up to an imperial virtue, that is to be overwhelmingly victorious or at least to pretend to be—a goal Latin emperors could not achieve.[38] On the contrary, the reputation of the empire was severely damaged by some catastrophic defeats that could not be concealed or sugarcoated.

Another possibility to project the ascendancy of the imperial rank, besides being victorious, was to prove spiritual dignity. The unction, for instance, could be presented as part of a quasi-religious veneration of the monarch, as was the case in France.[39] The Latin emperor, however, could not reach the same degree of sacredness. Despite the enormous amount of relics stored in Constantinople, even after the sack of the city, the emperor was not able to play the role of custodian of the divine treasures.[40] Financial difficulties forced him to sell the most important pieces, first of

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[37] For Baldwin's death, see Gerland, *Geschichte*, pp. 46–51 and pp. 86–93; for Peter's death, see van Tricht, "Gloire," pp. 242–44.

[38] For Byzantine warfare, see W. T. Treadgold, *Byzantium and Its Army: 284–1081* (Stanford, Calif., 1995); J. F. Haldon, *The Byzantine Wars: Battles and Campaigns of the Byzantine Era* (Stroud, 2001). For emperors in battles, see idem, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World: 565–1204*, Warfare and History (London, 1999), pp. 228–33.

[39] D. M. Nicol, "*Kaisersalbung*. The Unction of Emperors in Late Byzantine Coronation Ritual," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2 (1976), 37–52; J. Le Goff et al., "La structure et le contenu idéologique de la cérémonie du sacre," in *Le sacre royal à l'époque de Saint Louis, d'après le manuscrit latin 1246 de la BNF*, ed. idem et al. (Paris, 2001), pp. 19–35.

[40] For the importance of relics in general, see I. Kalavrezou, "Helping Hands for the Empire: Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics at the Byzantine Court," in *Byzantine Court Culture* (see above, n. 20), pp. 53–79, and for thefts of relics P. J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ, 1990). For the looting of 1204, see H. A. Klein, "Eastern Objects and Western Desires: Relics and Reliquaries between Byzantium and the West," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004), 283–314; K. Holbert, "Relics and Reliquaries of the True Cross," in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, ed. S. Blick and R. Tekippe, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions 104 (Leiden, 2005), pp. 337–63, and M. Barber, "The Impact of the Fourth Crusade in the West: The Distribution of Relics after 1204," in *Urbs capta* (see above, n. 3), pp. 325–34.

all the Crown of Thorns, which came into the possession of the king of France. This transaction, in turn, boosted the rank of the French king.[41]

Certainly, every emperor tried to convince the pope to support his reign, so that Peter I was crowned in Rome. But the pope relegated the Latin emperor to an inferior status: in his letters, he called him *Constantinopolitanus imperator* and accepted neither any theoretical claims for world dominion nor any claims for succession to the Roman Empire.[42] Peter I was crowned in Rome, but in San Lorenzo fuori le mura instead of St. Peter or San Giovanni.[43] From the pope's point of view, the Latin emperor had to fulfill two tasks, namely to implement the union of the Latin and Orthodox Churches and to support the crusades.[44]

Nevertheless, the Latin emperor also failed to realize these aims. In many respects the Latin emperor was not able to demonstrate his high and venerable position. This affected not only his relationship with his vassals and the pope, but also with other European monarchs. The king of France held the status of his feudal lord, which was clearly expressed by the salutation: Baldwin II addressed the French king Louis IX as *excellenti domino nostro*.[45] In addition, every new emperor had to take an oath to

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[41] R. Lützelschwab, "Ludwig der Heilige und der Erwerb der Dornenkrone: Zum Verhältnis von Frömmigkeit und Politik," in *Medialität im Mittelalter*, ed. K. Kellermann, Das Mittelalter 9/1 (Berlin, 2004), pp. 12–22; for some consequences of the translation for other European countries on the basis of Bohemia, see J. Kuthan, "Les épines de la couronne du Christ, la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris et son rayonnement en Bohême," in *La Sainte-Chapelle de Paris: royaume de France ou Jérusalem céleste?*, ed. C. Hediger, Culture et société médiévales 10 (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 125–55.

[42] See the letter of Innocent III to Nivelon de Soissons (*Die Register Innocenz' III.*, 9: *9. Pontifikatsjahr, 1206/1207*, ed. A. Sommerlechner et al., Publikationen des Historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturinstitut in Rom 2, 1, 9 [Vienna, 2004], no. 195 (197), p. 351): "Super eo vero, quod a nobis tua fraternitas postulavit, ut nobilem virum . . . comitem Namurcensem, et ballivos Flandriae faceremus ecclesiastica censura compelli, ut iuxta mandatum, quod dedit olim illustris memorie . . . Constantinopolitanus imperator, de proventibus comitatus stipendia militibus et servientibus assignarent in subsidium imperii transmittendis." For more examples, see G. Prinzing, "Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel vom 13. Januar 1212. Überlieferungsgeschichte, Neuedition und Kommentar," *Byzantion* 43 (1973), 395–431.

[43] Hendrickx, "Régestes," no. 139, pp. 97–98; Longnon, *Empire*, p. 154.

[44] See especially the letters of Innocent III (PL 215, no. 70, col. 637 A-637 D; no. 71, col. 637 D-638 A), in which he tried to mobilize resources in support of Baldwin of Flanders, who had asked him for help to strengthen the catholic faith. Baldwin II sees himself "in imperio Romanie in servicio Jeshu Xpisti et sancte fidei ac Romane ecclesie" (*Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. A. Teulet, 2: *De 1224 à 1246* [Paris, 1866], no. 2954, p. 464).

[45] Ibid., p. 464–65, and C. D. Du Cange, *Histoire de l'empire de Constantinople*, 1 (Paris, 1826), no. 13, p. 433.

keep the agreements with the Venetians.[46] Thus instead of representing the highest dignity, from a certain point of view the Latin emperor stayed only a count of Flanders and debtor to Venice.

Venice and the Doges were the real heirs of Byzantium.[47] The exact division of the Byzantine Empire—an act comparable to the organization of space on Venetian galleys—was based on the contracts signed between the crusaders and Venice.[48] The Doge was called "master of 3/8 of the Romania."[49] The political, economic, and religious structures of the Latin Empire were determined by the *Serenissima*.

On the other hand, Venice changed too: spoils of war—relics, statues, and objects of art—flooded the city. These spoils were fully integrated into the heritage of Venice. The new dominions and experiences brought Venice into contact with imperial traditions:[50] the Doge was named *despot* to express his new political mission, and the Venetians became the *defensores Romanie*.[51] Some chroniclers even report that Dandolo was the first candidate for the imperial throne, but refused to be elected; later on rumours were spread that around 1204 the plan existed to transfer the residence of the Doge from Venice to Constantinople.

These developments were manifest in the public ceremonies of Venice. The Doge was adorned with the *trionfi*: silver trumpets, banners, a sunshade, a sword, the privilege to seal with lead bulls, and so on. All of these symbols were known in the years before 1204, but now they indicated an emperor-like rank showing the sovereignty of the Republic of San Marco.[52]

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[46] See, for example, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, ed. G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, 2, Fontes rerum Austriacarum, Abt. 2, 13 (Vienna, 1856), no. 249, pp. 194–95 (for Peter I).

[47] Maguire and Nelson, *San Marco, Byzantium, and the Myths of Venice* (see above, n. 2).

[48] For these treaties and the scholarly discussion so far, see van Tricht, *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium*, pp. 41–59.

[49] In a treaty between Emperor Henry and Marino Zeno, the podestà is called *Venetorum potestas in Romania et totius quarti et dimidie ejusdem imperii dominator*: J. Longnon, *Recherches sur la vie de Geoffroy de Villehardouin suivies du catalogue des actes des Villehardouin* (Paris, 1939), no. 74, p. 192.

[50] Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City*, for example p. 19.

[51] Ş. Marin, "The Venetian Community—Between *Civitas* and *Imperium*: A Project of the Capital's Transfer from Venice to Constantinople, according to the Chronicle of Daniele Barbaro," *European Review of History* 10/1 (2003), 81–102, at pp. 85–6; for the *defensores Romanie*, see *Historia Ducum Venetorum* 4, in *Testi Storici Veneziani (XI–XIII secolo)*, ed. L. A. Berto (Padua, 2000), p. 6.

[52] P. F. Brown, "The Self-Definition of the Venetian Republic," in *City States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy: Athens and Rome, Florence and Venice*, ed. A. Molho et al. (Stuttgart, 1991), pp. 511–48, at pp. 524–26.

In the sixteenth century, the conquest of Constantinople became an important element of legitimization in the struggle against the Ottoman Empire, something that may be considered a proof of the enormous effect of the Byzantine heritage. The Latin Empire, on the other hand, faded away and sank into oblivion—once again not very gloriously—in 1261: Constantinople was captured by the army of Michael VIII Palaiologos. Baldwin II fled, leaving behind his insignia: "a crown in Latin style, decorated with gems and in the front with a little purple jewel, purple sandals and a sword in a purple scabbard."[53] There was not very much Byzantine left by the Latin Empire.

[53] Akropolites 87, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, pp. 185–86: "ταῦτα δὲ ἦν καλύπτρα Λατινικὴ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ μαργάροις πεποικιλμένη καὶ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς λιθιδίῳ κοκκίνῳ, πέδιλά τε κοκκοβαφῆ καὶ σπάθη σηρικὸν κοκκοβαφὲς ἐνδεδυμένη προκάλυμμα."

CHAPTER ELEVEN

FEATURING THE KING: RITUALS OF CORONATION AND BURIAL IN THE ARMENIAN KINGDOM OF CILICIA*

Ioanna Rapti

In 1198, the coronation in Tarsus of Prince Lewon II as King Lewon I raised the extant Armenian principalities of Cilicia to the status of a kingdom alongside the Latin kingdoms of Cyprus and Jerusalem. This was a turning point in the history of the area, which, since the middle of the eleventh century, had been settled and ruled by an Armenian military nobility enjoying increasing autonomy from the Byzantine emperor. The Armenian kingdom of Cilicia was to last until 1375, when it finally fell to the Mamluks who had been invading and conquering its territories for more than a hundred years. During its one-and-a-half-century life, the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia played a significant role in the Eastern Mediterranean. Located between the Crusader states in the Levant and Muslim Anatolia, it controlled major harbours and land routes leading east and southwards (Fig. 11.1). All the same, the new kingdom had a specific significance for the Armenians and for the historic lands of Greater Armenia, most of them being then under Muslim or Georgian rule. The king would soon claim the title of "King of all Armenians" especially through coinage.[1] Although the general authority implied by the title was mostly symbolic,[2] the kingdom represented a political identity that the Armenians had not experienced since the Arsacid monarchy collapsed in 526, and in spite of a series of short-lived Armenian kingdoms that had

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[1] Minting was in itself another major development: pragmatically, it responded to the economic reality of trade and monetary exchange. Symbolically, it embodied the God-derived power of the king, while the royal titulature paralleled the title of the Armenian patriarch, who also claimed authority over all Armenians, see J. Durand, I. Rapti, and D. Giovannoni, eds., *Armenia Sacra, Mémoire sacrée des Arméniens*, exh. cat. (Paris, 2007), pp. 242–47, and P. Bedoukian, *The Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 2nd rev. ed. (New York, 1979).

[2] The variants encountered in different contexts and sources, in Armenian and translation, indicate that the use of royal titles was uneven and quite fluid, C. Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant* (Paris, 2012), pp. 420–25.

grown out of the Abbasid Caliphate.[3] This double importance survived the fall of the Cilician kingdom and determined the approaches to its history: as a Mediterranean component, it was integrated along with Jerusalem in the *intitulatio* of the Lusignan kings, while its national Armenian significance continued to be embodied by the Catholicos (Katołikos), the Armenian patriarch, up until 1441, when the Holy See was established again in Etchmiadzin in Greater Armenia.[4]

Thanks to its crucial place in the world of the Crusades, Armenian Cilicia has been a field extensively discussed in Armenian Studies as well as in general medieval scholarship but mainly within the framework of *histoire événementielle*. Very little is known about the courtly and aristocratic culture of the Armenian principalities and kingdom beyond general assessments of its cosmopolitan character: Frankish culture had a strong impact on lay aristocratic society, though it is delicate to measure how thorough and effective the transformation was.[5] In religion, the Papacy perpetually tempted and influenced the Church.[6] Whatever its relevance, such a view is inevitably inaccurate, given the long process and the complexity of this Mediterranean Armenian state, which responded to its own Anatolian heritage and to its actual Crusader and Middle-Eastern context. The entire life of the Armenian kingdom was a permanent exercise in

3 For an overview of the history of that period, see N. Garsoian, "The Independent Kingdoms of Medieval Armenia," in *Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, ed. R. Hovannisian (New York, 1997), pp. 143–71.

4 The transfer of the Holy See from Sis to Etchmiatzin, near the cradle of Armenian Christianity in Vałaršapat, where it still is today, was an action of major symbolic and political significance. A concurrent patriarch remained in Sis until the beginning of the twentieth century (today at Antelias, Lebanon) but with his authority limited to the Armenians of Cilicia and northern Syria. G. Dédéyan, *Histoire du peuple arménien* (Toulouse, 2008), pp. 401–3.

5 A. and J.-P. Mahé, *Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à nos jours* (Paris, 2012), p. 203 and Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, pp. 435–39.

6 The union to Rome is a very complicated issue. In spite of the mutual fascination between the Holy See at Rome and the Armenian Church, the union concluded in the late twelfth century was never definitive. Among the local clergy, the opposition was strong in Greater Armenia but also in Cilicia. The strongest evidence of this fragile union is the series of councils held to confirm the allegiance to Rome, see B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States. The Secular Church* (London, 1980), p. 337, and P. Halfter, *Das Papsttum und die Armenier im frühen und hohen Mittelälter* (Cologne, 1996), pp. 171–294. See also D. Boundy, "The Anonymous Life of Georg Skewrac'i in Erevan 8356: A Study in Medieval Armenian Hagiography and History," *Revue des Études arméniennes* 18 (1984), 491–502, Dédéyan, *Histoire*, pp. 314–54, P. Cowe, "The Armenians in the Era of the Crusades, 1050–1350," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, 5: Eastern Christianity*, ed. M. Angold (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 404–29, at pp. 415–22, and C. Mutafian, "Trente-six erreurs concernant l'Arménie cilicienne," in *Between Paris and Fresno, Armenian Studies in Honor of Dickran Kouymjian*, ed. B. Der Mugrdechian (Costa Mesa, 2008), pp. 361–78, at pp. 368–97.

establishing and defining itself.[7] The ceremonial practices of the Cilician Armenians, a most efficient means of displaying power and identity, have not been hitherto the focus of a comprehensive study looking to the "when, how and why" of the coronations and other ritualized events in the court. Unlike the longstanding interest in ceremonial during the Eastern and Western Middle Ages, in Armenian studies the issue was raised only recently with Lynn Jones's monograph on the tenth-century palace church of Aght'amar and her substantial discussion of the ninth-to-tenth-century Bagratid and Arcruni ceremonials through the evidence of texts and visual arts.[8] Aspects of royal ceremonies and their visual expression had formerly been pointed out in regards to the Arcruni and Bagratid arts as well as the illuminated manuscripts of Cilicia, which often include images related to the court, but without the large scope and criticism of Jones's publication.[9] Claude Mutafian's recent book on medieval Armenia proceeds to an encyclopaedic, fully documented presentation of the components and the titles of the court, which stresses even more the gap between evidence and its contextualization in matters of structure and experience of ceremonial practices.[10]

The rise of the Cilician kingdom implies a ceremonial framework for royal and aristocratic actions, although there is no evidence of a codified ceremonial followed throughout the duration of the kingdom. Nevertheless, various accounts testify to religious and secular ceremonies, even if the latter are rarely the focus of the narrative. Yet, an analysis of this evidence may permit us to outline some aspects of the ceremonial practices and their performance in the Cilician court and to consider the

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[7] A good example of the balance between eastern and western uses as an issue of identity is found in the letter of Nersēs Lambronac'i to the future king Lewon I, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Documents arméniens* 1, ed. E. Dulaurier (Paris, 1859), pp. 587–603 (hereafter *RHC, Doc. arm.* 1).

[8] L. Jones, *Between Byzantium and Islam. Aght'amar and the Visual Construction of Medieval Armenian Rulership* (Aldershot, 2007), esp. pp. 13–34. See also the informative review by D. Kouyumjian, "An Interpretation of Bagratid and Artsruni Art and Ceremony. Essay Review," *Journal of the Society of Armenian Studies* 18 (2009), 113–23.

[9] S. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia* (Washington, D.C., 1993), pp. 153–60; C. Jolivet-Lévy, "Présence et figures du souverain à Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople et à Sainte-Croix d'Aghtamar," in Byzantine Court Culture, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1997), pp. 231–46; A. Eastmond and L. Jones, "Robing, Power and Legitimacy in Armenia and Georgia," in *Robes and Honor. The Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. S. Gordon (New York, 2001), pp. 146–91; H. Evans, "Imperial Aspirations: Armenian Cilicia and Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century," in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium*, ed. A. Eastmond (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 243–56.

[10] Mutafian, *Arménie du Levant* (see above, n. 2), pp. 413–39.

issue of Cilician ceremonial in both the contemporary Mediterranean Crusader context and the Armenian tradition. The present paper will attempt such an approach on the basis of texts and iconographic documents, with a scope deliberately confined to two most significant events of courtly life: royal accession and royal death.

When Cilicia was elevated to the status of a kingdom in 1198, its Armenian history could be traced back more than a century. During that time and especially after the establishment of the catholicos in Hṙomklay on the Euphrates in 1151, Armenian literature experienced an exceptional development, with the appearance of a great number of new texts and new translations mostly on religious topics. Yet, there is no Armenian-Cilician historiography proper, with the possible exception of the chronicle of Matthew of Edessa and Grigor the priest, who continued his work covering the period from the Armenian migration to the area up to the middle of the twelfth century. Valuable evidence is, however, provided by earlier historians from Greater Armenia and the late twelfth-century Michael the Syrian. Cilician historiography breaks new ground in the middle of the thirteenth century with the chronicle of Smbat *sparapet*, or constable, elder brother of king Het‘um I, whose first-hand and engaged view of the court is perhaps the richest source for the study of Cilician ceremonial and courtly practices.[11] The slightly earlier chronicle of Kirakos Ganjakec‘i offers interesting comparative material and allows us to check many aspects of Smbat's account.[12] The *History of the Nation of the Archers*, focuses on both Greater and Lesser Armenia and provides supplementary information,[13] as do Vardan Aṙewelc‘i and Step‘anos Orbelean writing later in the thirteenth century in Greater Armenia, though they are generally less interested in the performative aspects of Cilician kingship.[14] To these formal historical

11 Two versions of the chronicle, very different from each other, are known: one in the patriarchal library at Etchniadzin and the other at the Mekhitarists' Library at San Lazzaro, Venice. *Chronique du Royaume de la Petite Armenie, RHC, Doc. arm.* 1, pp. 610–72. S. Der Nersessian, "The Armenian Chronicle of the Constable Smpad or of the 'Royal Historian'," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 13 (1959), 143–68; repr. in eadem, *Études byzantines et arméniennes* (Leuven, 1973), pp. 353–77, and Smbat, *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, trans. G. Dédéyan (Paris, 1981).

12 Kirakos Ganjakec‘i, *Patmut‘iwn Hayoc‘*, ed. K. A. Melik Ohanjanyan (Erevan, 1961), and *RHC, Doc. arm.* 1, pp. 413–30.

13 Grigor of Akanc‘, *History of the Nation of the Archers and Mongolian Names and Terms in the History of the Nation of the Archers by Grigor of Akanc‘*, ed. and trans. R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye (Cambridge, 1954).

14 Texts are here considered only as sources for Cilician ceremonial. For a critical overview of most of these texts, see T. Greenwood, "Armenian Sources," in *Byzantines and Crusaders in Non-Greek Sources, 1025–1204*, ed. M. Whitby, Proceedings of the British Academy

texts, one may add the evidence from manuscript colophons as well as the versified chronicle composed most probably in the early 1280s by Vahram of Edessa. This text, accessible since the nineteenth century in Armenian and in French translation,[15] has remained a rather underestimated source perhaps because of its literary hybridity. Composed in a form "inappropriate" for history and rather insipid as poetry, Vahram's versified chronicle, which was most likely intended for recitation before a contemporary audience, is a courtly chant in praise of Lewon II as a powerful king and the offspring of a worthy dynastic lineage. Yet, Vahram's expressive literary images of the court deserve special attention and analysis along with other historiographical texts. Another non-historical text with primary relevance to ceremonial is the Armenian translation of the Latin *Ordo* (*Rule*), considered to have been used in Cilicia for the coronation of Lewon I in 1198.[16] Unfortunately, there is no critical edition or philological study of this text, available only in its nineteenth-century publication by Leon Alishan and its subsequent French translation.[17] Finally, the iconography on coinage and, even more importantly, in illuminated manuscripts constitutes another source for court ceremonial, which may supplement or even challenge textual evidence. Like the texts, images are only sometimes explicitly related to ceremonial, recording some of its aspects, but they generally convey more complex messages of piety, identity, and power.

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132 (Oxford, 2007), pp. 221–52. See esp. p. 222 and p. 228 for Greenwood's remarks on the use of these texts by modern historians and the dearth of close textual scrutiny. Cf. also Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, pp. 20–28.

15 *RHC, Doc. arm.* 1, pp. 493–535.

16 Only the Prologue to the *Rule* has been the subject of a critical edition by I. Havener, "The Prologue to the Rules of Benedict," *Journal of the Society of Armenian Studies* 3 (1987), 35–58, esp. p. 37, with interesting remarks on the style of the translation and the use of the translated *Rule*.

17 Gewond Ališan (Leon Alishan or Léonce Alichan), *Sisuan hamagrut'iwn Haykakan Kilikioy ew Lewon mecagorc* (Venice, 1885), pp. 472–76, and L. Alishan, *Léon le magnifique, premier roi du Sissouan ou de l'Arménocilicie* (Venice, 1888), pp. 329–36. Alishan (1820–1901) contributed much valuable work in the spirit of nineteenth-century Mekhitarist erudition. However, the use of this uniquely interesting material requires particular caution: most often Alishan does not state the origin and the exact nature of the sources he uses, while the documents he publishes are reproduced rather than edited with eventual unacknowledged changes. The French publication is the translation of the second part of his book on Cilicia.

1. *Coronation*

The Place

Among royal ceremonies, the coronation is of paramount importance. The coronation of Lewon I in 1198[18] signalled the birth of the kingdom, a turning point for the Cilician Armenians, and an important development for the Levant. Despite differences in the detail of the narrative, all the accounts highlight the splendour of the celebration and its ecumenical character. The ceremony took place in Tarsus, in the cathedral of the city, Saint Sophia. Little is known about this church, which might have been located at the site of the present-day Great Mosque (Ulu Camii).[19] Saint Sophia was a famous sanctuary that used to attract the devotion of Christians from different rites. In his letter to Lewon I, Nersēs of Lambron, bishop of Tarsus, known for his open-minded and ecumenical approaches, attests to a religious experience shared through the reading of the Gospel in both Greek and Armenian and praises the generosity of the Greek faithful toward this church.[20] The popularity of the cathedral may have even extended beyond Christianity, if Willbrand von Oldenburg's mention of a shrine of Muhammad's sister has any credibility.[21] The choice of Tarsus as the place of coronation could have been for both practical and symbolic reasons: first, the accessibility of the city and its church from the plain as well as from the sea, the harbour being then much closer to the city and connected to it through a tributary of the Cydnus, would have facilitated the gathering of people from the country and the neighbouring states. Sis (present-day Kozan), Lewon's residence and capital throughout the life of the kingdom, was not only rather remote from the main communica-

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[18] The date and the ordinal of the king constitute another difficult point because of the different calendars and contradictory information in sources. The dates of 1197 and 1199 are also encountered particularly in nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature, while many scholars still keep using Lewon's princely (II), rather than the royal (I) ordinal. See Mutafian, "Trente-six erreurs," pp. 367–69; for the date, cf. Halfter, *Papsttum*, pp. 234–37.

[19] V. Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie et dans les montagnes du Taurus* (Paris, 1861), p. 317. F. Hild and H. Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, Tabula Imperii Byzantini 5 (Vienna, 1989), p. 437. See also A. Eger, *The Spaces between the Teeth: A Gazetteer of Towns on the Islamic-Byzantine Frontier* (Istanbul, 2012), p. 156.

[20] *RHC*, *Doc. arm.* 1, p. 596.

[21] Wilbrand von Oldenburg, *Reise nach Palestina und Kleinasien* 19, ed. J. C. M. Laurent (Hamburg, 1859), pp. 18 and 54: "In angulo quodam extra fores ecclesie sepulta est soror Mahumet, cuius tumbam Sarraceni in multo petunt timore et deuotione." See also M. Delpech and J.-C. Voisin, "La mission en Cilicie de Wilbrand von Oldenburg," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 56 (1999–2003), 291–346, at p. 321, and *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291*, trans. D. Pringle, Crusader Texts in Translation (Farnham, 2012), pp. 76–81.

tion routes, but was also probably not yet supplied with the appropriate architectural and urban setting necessary to house such a prestigious and symbolic event as a royal coronation.[22] Secondly, the cathedral of Tarsus was associated with the famous bishop of the city Nersēs of Lambron and a prominent sanctuary in its own right, probably already used for princely and other official ceremonies prior to the coronation of 1198. According to Willbrand von Oldenburg, it was there that Lewon I received the German embassy that Willbrand was leading, while other accounts of embassies in Tarsus[23] indicate that the city and its cathedral were important centres of power. This is further suggested by various aristocratic ceremonies mentioned as having taken place there, such as the dubbing of Prince T'oros and the ordination of John-Baldwin, brother of king Het'um I, as bishop on Pentecost 1260.[24] Scheduled on the day of a major feast and attended by many people gathered for that purpose in Tarsus, these two ceremonies had obviously a public and courtly significance.

The importance of Tarsus as a place to display royal power is confirmed by the fact that until the fall of the city to the Mamluks in 1360, most of the kings of Armenian Cilicia received their crown in the cathedral of that city. The intermezzo of the coronations of Smbat and Lewon III seems a significant interruption related to some irregularity in their accession. As a usurper crowned while he stood for his elder brother Het'um II in visit to Constantinople, Smbat perhaps preferred to break with the rules and certainly felt safer in a discreet ceremony close to the palace than exposed to the people in the plain. At the term of the long period of fratricide started by Smbat's usurpation, Lewon III acceded to the throne under the shadow of his uncle Het'um II, who had resigned to the crown but not to the power, and these circumstances possibly called for a more intimate ceremony of coronation.[25] Sis was the established capital and endowed with its own "Great Church," which duplicated the prestigious dedication of Tarsus's cathedral to Saint Sophia.[26] If the choice of Tarsus for the first

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22 When Wilbrand von Oldenburg visited Sis, the city had been the royal capital for twelve years, yet his impression was that of a settlement that would not have deserved to be called a city had it not been the see of a bishop. See Delpech and Voisin, "La mission en Cilicie," p. 323, and *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, trans. Pringle, p. 77.

23 Similarly, according to the chronicle of Constable Smbat, Lewon negotiated the marriage of his daughter to the Hungarian prince in Tarsus. Smbat, *Chronique*, trans. Dédéyan, p. 91.

24 Smbat, *Chronique*, trans. Dédéyan, p. 103.

25 Mutafian, *Arménie du Levant*, p. 418.

26 Halfter's (*Papsttum*, pp. 239–40) assumption that Tarsus was chosen for its location within Latin territory as a more suitable place for a coronation according to the catholic rite should be considered with caution. The important role of the city throughout the life

coronation can be easily understood, its consistent selection for those that followed seems more difficult to explain. Armenian tradition does not offer similar paradigms of itinerant accession: the Bagratid and Arcruni princes, even if they travelled to receive royal robes and other insignia, were crowned in a church close to their residence. The coronation at the cathedral may be attributed to an influence of the western tradition according to which kings used to receive the royal crown in sanctuaries of major importance or specific royal significance. Still, even if this is the case, the practice appears to have been perfectly appropriated by the Armenian kingdom. An interesting example of a coronation away from the capital occurred one century earlier, in the neighbouring Kingdom of Jerusalem, where the first kings were crowned at Christmas in the basilica of Bethlehem for obvious liturgical and symbolic reasons. However, from the middle of the twelfth century, the coronation ceremonial was moved in time and space to the newly-rebuilt Holy Sepulchre, which apparently embodied the kingdom's identity and became its Great Church.[27] In the case of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, it seems that Lewon I's coronation inaugurated a strong ceremonial tradition related to Tarsus,[28] while the city with its cathedral and its important mixed and aristocratic population maintained a prominent political role as a centre of power parallel to the capital. The mobility of the court between two urban poles, which is not limited to the coronation, interestingly parallels the bipolarity of court culture between Nicosia and Famagousta in Lusignan Cyprus.

The coronation of Lewon I was performed by Conrad of Wittelasbach, bishop of Mainz, who represented the patronage of the Holy Roman Empire. The German prelate and the insignia, brought some time earlier by the imperial legate Conrad of Hildesheim to Acre and then forwarded to Cilicia,[29] attached the new kingdom, politically and ceremonially, to the sphere of the Latin East. The whole pattern of a petition to the Holy Roman Emperor and the intervention of the Empire's chancellor is reminiscent of the accession of Amaury to the throne of Cyprus one year

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of the kingdom could not rely only on this confessional reason. See also Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 337, where the coronation is wrongly placed at Sis.

[27] J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land 1098–1187* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 48, 76, 119, 175, 287. The coronation at the Holy Sepulchre did not coincide constantly with a specific feast cf. below, pp. 306–8.

[28] Halfter, *Papsttum*, pp. 237–38.

[29] *RHC*, *Doc. arm.* 1, pp. 633–34. The version of Smbat's chronicle used in the *RHC* does not specify the place of the coronation but states that, at Lewon's demand, the bishop of Sis went to Acre for the insignia. This has misled certain scholars into placing the coronation at Sis. See also Halfter, *Papsttum* pp. 115–220.

earlier.[30] The aristocratic participants at Lewon I's coronation, as listed in Smbat's chronicle, with their Latin, Armenian, and other eastern names and places of origin, mirror this specific Levantine environment.[31]

The ceremony is generally considered to have followed the *Ordo* of the anointment and coronation according to the Benedictine *Rule*, following its translation by Nersēs of Lambron, who had held a prominent role in the negotiations with the Latins prior to the coronation.[32] The translation was perhaps Nersēs's initiative once the use of the Latin ceremonial had been agreed upon. It is a free translation or paraphrase, in which references to the catholicos (*episkoposapet*) are introduced as well as other specifically Armenian references such as the "throne of the House of T'orgom" and the "people of Hayk."[33] Divine grace comes to the honouree as it did "to Tridat, Constantine and Theodosius." Not least, the translation includes a hymn attributed to St. Gregory the Illuminator to be sung for the crowned king with the *Te Deum*.[34] Yet, it is unclear how the Latin text and/or its Armenian paraphrase were used exactly, though a bilingual celebration performed in Latin and Armenian, like the Greek-Armenian Sunday offices that Nersēs evokes in his letter mentioned above, seems plausible. Still, as Georg Tēr Vardanyan has pointed out, the use of the Armenian translation of the Roman *Ordo* remains hypothetical, given the very poor manuscript tradition of this text and the lack of a critical edition of the few extant manuscripts.[35]

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30 S. Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, 2 (Madison and London, 1969), p. 647. E. Chapin Furber, "The Kingdom of Cyprus," in *A History of the Crusades*, 2, p. 604. P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 181.

31 Excerpts from the Venice redaction were first translated by Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "The Armenian Chronicle." Some passages, including the account of the coronation, are published in English translation after Dédéyan's French text in *The Heritage of Armenian Literature*, 2, *From 6th to 18th century* (Detroit, 2000), pp. 505–15. The pages of the Venice manuscript containing the list of the noblemen present at the coronation are reproduced in C. Mutafian, *Le royaume arménien de Cilicie XII–XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1993), p. 40.

32 For Nersēs, his oeuvre, and translations, see *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 11 (Paris, 1982), cols. 123–28 (s.v. Nersēs de Lambron). For the role of Nersēs in Armenian-Latin church diplomacy, see Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, pp. 335–37.

33 Alishan, *Sisuan*, p. 474, and idem, *Léon le Magnifique*, pp. 330 and 333.

34 Ibid.

35 G. Tēr-Vardanian, "L'intérêt historique et culturel des rituels uniteurs," in *Les Lusignans et l'Outre Mer*, ed. C. Mutafian (Paris, 1993), pp. 290–92. These manuscripts include several canons and blessings from different traditions. In a manuscript from 1287, the *Ordo* is gathered with a Catholic missal and a list of the patriarchs of Armenia, beginning with the tenth-century patriarch Yovhannēs Drasxanakerc'i (ibid., p. 291), but one cannot assume that these texts were originally associated or that they were destined for ceremonial usage.

The coronation of the king by a Latin bishop, also acting as a papal or imperial legate, is a unique feature within the Armenian tradition.[36] Like Amaury's coronation in Cyprus, it was dictated by the specific political context of the establishment of the new kingdom. All later Cilician Armenian coronations were performed by the catholicos, who had also taken part in the first coronation and had perhaps anointed the king. This involvement of a Latin and an Armenian prelate in the first Cilician coronation may bear some analogy to the articulation of the earlier Bagratid and Arcruni coronations in two distinct and complementary steps, the secular investiture according to Abbasid ceremonial and the anointing by the catholicos, which ensured divine sanction and religious legitimacy.[37]

The Insignia

The accounts of Lewon I's coronation provide little evidence about the nature of the royal insignia of which nothing has been preserved.[38] Conrad of Hildesheim, the German emperor's delegate, had brought two crowns intended respectively for the kings of Cyprus and Armenia. They were possibly designed after that of the Holy Roman Empire thus conveying its power and protection. Armenian accounts mention two different crowns having been sent to the Armenian king, one from the Holy Roman emperor and another from the Byzantine emperor respectively. Kirakos of Ganjak, in the middle of the thirteenth century, ascribes different importance to the two crowns: the one given by the Roman Emperor and the Pope had

[36] H. E. Mayer, "Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der Lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Forschung über Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967), 141–232, at p. 162.

[37] Jones, *Between Byzantium and Islam*, p. 19.

[38] The Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem holds a gilded amber sceptre considered to be that of King Het'um I, see B. Narkiss, ed., *Armenian Treasures in Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1979), figs. 11–12. However, the ornamentation does not fit with such an early date, nor is the date founded on historical facts. The sceptre looks rather like an eighteenth-century work and its attribution to the Cilician kingdom must be an early modern assumption. More intriguing is the headgear formerly preserved in the Treasury of Etchmiadzin and believed to be a royal crown that K. Y. Basmaǰean published, with great caution about its identification, along with a silver cross and the portrait of Prince Lewon (future Lewon II discussed below, pp. 310–12). It is true that the lower part of the headgear is reminiscent of a medieval crown, but the quality of the photograph and the summary description do not allow any assumptions regarding the date and the nature of the object which, as Basmaǰean did not preclude, could also have been a liturgical headdress: K. Y. Basmaǰean, "Mer Hnut'iwnerə," *Banaser* 4 (1902), 97–101, at pp. 98–99.

the power of the Apostles Peter and Paul.[39] After he was informed about the impending coronation of Lewon, the Byzantine emperor is said to have sent an embassy bearing a Byzantine crown "beautiful, adorned with gold and precious stones."[40] Kirakos's statement that the Armenian king was crowned with both crowns may indicate that the Byzantine crown was accepted and eventually used, like those sent earlier to Hungary by Constantine IX and Michael VII Doukas,[41] but it does not testify to a second coronation. Like Kirakos, other Armenian accounts mention both crowns, while one version of Smbat's chronicle emphasizes particularly the Greek one.[42] All these texts were written some decades after this first coronation with an interest in stressing the widely accepted legitimacy of the kingdom rather than its vassal condition to the Holy Roman Empire. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the two crowns are mentioned only with regards to Lewon I's coronation. The *Ordo* mentions a second crown carried by the crown-bearer, a civil dignitary, who rides next to the new

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39 *RHC*, *Doc. arm.* 1, p. 422. The French translation speaks of the blessing of relics of the Apostles Peter and Paul, though the actual text makes no mention of the relics or the shrines of the apostles. Cf. Kirakos Ganjakec'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, ed. K. A. Melik Ohanjanyan (Erevan, 1961), p. 156.

40 Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia," p. 648. *RHC*, *Doc. arm.* 1, p. 424, and Kirakos Ganjakec'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, p. 158.

41 In fact, both the story and the role of these two crowns are much more complex and varied than their common use of enamel and their Hungarian destiny imply. The Monomachos crown was not part of the royal regalia of Hungary but was likely a diplomatic gift addressed to the court. On the other hand, the so-called *corona graeca* of the crown of St. Stephen certainly reached the Hungarian court within the context of matrimonial diplomacy, but was less certainly intended for the emblematic kingly function it was to enjoy in later times. Given the disparity in the reception of these two crowns and the complexities of their interpretation, they do not offer reliable parallels to help us reconstruct the form of the Byzantine crown said to have been sent to Lewon I. Yet, they seem to provide confirmation of a more widespread practice for expressing Byzantine sovereignty, which is also attested in textual records, see J. Shepard, "Crowns of the Basileus, Crowns of Heaven," in *Byzantium, New Peoples, New Powers: The Byzantino-Slav Contact Zone, from the Ninth to the Fifteenth Century*, ed. M. Kaimakamova, M. Salamon, and M. Rozycka, Byzantina et Slavica Cracoviensia V (Cracow, 2007), pp. 139–59. For the two crowns, see the surveys by E. Kiss, "The State of Research on the Monomachos Crown and Some further Thoughts," in *Perceptions of Byzantium and its Neighbors (843–1204)*, ed. O. Z. Peny (New York, 2000), pp. 60–83, and C. Jolivet-Lévy, "L'apport de l'iconographie à l'interprétation de la 'corona graeca'," *Acta Historiae Artium* 43 (2002), 22–32. Cf. also the more recent studies by C. Hilsdale, "The Social Life of the Byzantine Gift: The Royal Crown of Hungary re-invented," *Art History* 31/5 (2008), 603–31, who returns to the female origin of the *corona graeca*, and T. Dawson's challenging but little convincing hypothesis that the Monomachos crown was initially an *armilla*, T. Dawson, "The Monomachos Crown: Towards a Resolution," *Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα* 19 (2009), 183–93.

42 Smbat, *Chronique*, trans. Dédéyan, p. 73.

king when the noblemen leave the church after the religious ceremony.[43] However, there is no evidence about a second crown, Byzantine or other, in later royal accession accounts.

The versified chronicle of Vahram offers an interesting account of three coronations (Lewon I, Het‘um I, and Lewon II). Lewon I's coronation by the "German emperor" and the "Roman *Kayser*" (i.e. the Byzantine emperor) does not comprise any mention of other regalia except the crown.[44] In all Armenian texts of the thirteenth century, two concurrent terms and their derivatives refer to it: *t‘ag*, 'diadem', and *psak*, 'crown'. Etymologically, they may have secular and religious connotations respectively but at that time they seem to have been used indiscriminately, with a preference for the first, perhaps because of its deep antique roots and its secular overtones.[45] In Vahram's chronicle, the poet records the anointing of Het‘um I (*ark‘ay Hayoc‘ Ōceal*) followed by his coronation. The latter is the first step of the investiture of the king with his insignia: after the crown, he receives "the gilded sceptre and the orb of gold," the sceptre held in the right hand so "as to guide as a shepherd the flock of Hayk."[46] Vahram continues with a very similar record of Lewon II's coronation. The brief character of his coronation images is enhanced by the standardized vocabulary he uses, though this may have also been governed by the verse and literary genre. Yet, interest in the regalia occurs in other accounts as well. The *Ordo* states that the archbishop places the orb surmounted by the cross[47] in the king's right hand and the sceptre with the *fleur-de-lys* in the left, before the archbishop and the bishops solemnly raise the crown and put it on the forehead of the crowned king.[48] Narratives do not emphasize the participation and the gestures of the bishops, but stress the final image of the invested king in his formal authority as seen, for instance, in the

[43] Alishan, *Sisuan*, p. 475, and idem, *Léon le magnifique*, p. 334.

[44] *RHC, Doc. arm.* 1, p. 42.

[45] Cf. the tradition of the dignity of the *t‘agakap*, the royal crown-giver: N. Garsoian, *The Epic Histories attributed to P‘awstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmut‘iwnk‘)* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), p. 563. *Psak* and *t‘ag* are often used as synonyms, however *psak*, though etymologically obscure, is associated to the nuptial coronation and has rather religious overtones: H. Ačaṙyan, *Hayerēn armatakam baṙaran*, 4 (Erevan, 1979), p. 110.

[46] *RHC, Doc. Arm.* 1, p. 517: եւ գավազան ոսկով օծեալ ի գունդ ոսկի ընդելուեալ (ew gawazan oskov ōceal i gund oski əndeluweal).

[47] Interestingly the wording of the Armenian text places the emphasis on the cross: "the archbishop hands the king a cross on a golden orb" (խաչ ի վերա խնձոր ոսկւոյ / xač i vera xnjor oskwoy), which the French translation renders as "une croix surmontant une pomme d'or."

[48] Alishan, *Sisuan*, p. 474: the orb (խնձոր ոսկւոյ / xnjor oskwoy) is named after the literal translation of "pomme d'or." Alishan, *Léon le magnifique*, p. 332.

emblematic depictions widespread through coinage (Fig. 11.2). Although the *Ordo* maintains the ceremonial role of the sword, most prominent in the Latin tradition, neither historians nor iconography echo such an importance,[49] but it is significantly stressed as a symbol of justice following biblical rather than courtly models.[50] Furthermore, it is worth noting that the narratives do not mention any vestments, robes, or shoes, while the *Ordo* stipulates that the king is clothed with priestly garments under the *pallium* before being taken to the altar to receive his insignia. The omission of the ceremonial garments by the historians and their relatively minor importance in the *Ordo*, especially in comparison to the insignia, seems to contrast sharply with the prominent role that the robes held in the earlier accessions of the Bagratid and Arcruni kings.[51] Unlike late antique sources on the Arscacid monarchy and accounts pertaining to the Bagratid and Arcruni ceremonials, narratives on Armenian Cilicia seem to pay less attention to ceremonial attire as a means to express relations of power or to convey the ideology of kingship, yet the symbolism of ceremonial clothes remained efficient and strong as amply attested by the depictions in illuminated manuscripts.[52]

The Throne

The anointed king was said to take his place on an elevated high throne, where he then received the insignia. The *Ordo*, conversely, stipulated that the bishops and clerks took the fully-dressed king, already provided with his insignia and crowned, from the sanctuary to "the highest throne of kingship which is set in the nave of the church."[53] The adjective "highest" (*barjragoyn*) may refer both to the honour and the physical aspect of the throne. Vahram states that Het‘um I "was given this high chair (*gah*), elevated on this golden throne (*at‘oṙ*)."[54] Such a repetition may be a rhetorical device for emphasis, but it may also point to two different pieces of

[49] The sword appears only exceptionally on coinage, namely on the issues of Kostandin I (1298–1299), see Bedoukian, *Coinage*, nos. 1731–32, and Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni, *Armenia Sacra*, no. 111.

[50] See below, pp. 310–19.

[51] Jones, *Between Byzantium and Islam*, pp. 18–30.

[52] See below, pp. 310–18.

[53] Alishan, *Sissuan*, p. 474: "առնուն զնա թագովն պսակեալ եպիսկոպոսքն և կղերկոսքն ի սրբոյ խորանէն և տանին ի բարձրագոյն աթոռ թագաւորութեան" (aṙnun zna t‘agovn psakeal episkoposk‘n ew kłerkosk‘n i srboy xoranēn ew tanin i barjragoyn at‘oṙ t‘agaworut‘ean); Alishan, *Léon le magnifique*, p. 333.

[54] *RHC*, *Doc. arm.* 1, p. 518.

furniture. Moreover, the two words used here are not simple synonyms. They complement each other in stressing the secular and the sacred significance of the throne.[55] Kirakos of Ganjak offers interesting information in a different context when he mentions the royal insignia taken by Philip of Antioch, son of Bohemond IV, who had reigned briefly as the husband of Zabel, Lewon I's daughter, before he was murdered by the Armenian princes. Like other Armenian authors, Kirakos stresses the betrayal of Philip "who sent the crown of king Lewon to his father," along with other treasures, including "the *pałat ark'unakan* that they used to set up in the days of show/appearance."[56] The word *pałat* is the transcription of the Latin 'palatium', but it never supplanted the term *aparan* consistently used for royal or prestigious residences.[57] Architectural fittings and furniture specifically fashioned as settings for kingly appearances are known to have been used in royal ceremonies. The Byzantine *Book of Ceremonies* mentions that the emperor receives the respects and the *proskynesis* of the dignitaries on the *sellion*, a portable throne set at the east end of the south aisle of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.[58] Biblical illustrations from the late Byzantine period sometimes show officials seated in "box-like" furniture that may correspond to a distinguished type of throne. Portability in palace architecture, better evidenced in Islamic sources, has been shown to be a widespread practice in the late medieval Muslim and Christian East.[59] The elevated throne of the Armenian texts may refer to a such an object, something like a portable pavilion set up to present the king as if on a balcony or platform above the court and the people. Such a piece of furniture is encountered in French *ordines* though only one of the texts

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[55] Garsoian, *Epic Histories*, pp. 511 and 525, points out that 'gah' has a secular meaning while 'at'oṙ' is mostly used in a religious, ecclesiastical context. Of course, the semantic charge had probably weakened since the fifth-century *Epic Histories* and it is questionable whether the medieval audience was aware of it. In a different context, the secular and the sacred aspects of kingship were distinguished in the double investiture ceremonies of the Bagratid kings as pointed by Lynn Jones, *Between Byzantium and Islam*, pp. 18–19.

[56] *RHC, Doc. arm.* 1, p. 428. Cf. R. W. Thomson, "The Historical Compilation of Vardan Aṙewelc'i," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989), 125–226, at p. 213.

[57] Garsoian, *Epic Histories*, p. 507, notes the use of the word 'pałat' for Roman imperial palaces. In later texts, however, the word occurs rarely.

[58] G. Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le "césaropapisme" byzantin* (Paris, 1996), p. 75.

[59] S. Redford, "Portable Palaces: On the Circulation of Objects and Ideas about Architecture in Medieval Anatolia and Mesopotamia," *Mechanisms of Exchange: Transmission in Medieval Art and Architecture of the Mediterranean ca. 1000–1500*, ed. H. E. Grossman and A. Walker (Leiden, 2013), pp. 382–412, at pp. 406–12. For the byzantine box-like furniture, see: M. G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images. Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th–15th Centuries)* (Leiden, 2003), p. 163.

provides a precise description of it.[60] The relief above the main entrance of the castle of Yılankale, which shows a crowned figure seated within an arched frame resting on four low feet (Fig. 11.3), may reflect the use of this kind of throne composed perhaps of a podium and a baldachin.[61] The hypothesis for the existence of a podium in order to raise the throne does not detract from the symbolic significance of the elevation of the king nor does it preclude an influence of earlier imperial models.

Justice

Vahram's versified chronicle significantly states that the elevated position of the new king is related to his expected role as a judge on the throne to "give justice to those who have been despoiled and to rescue the poor who have suffered unfair treatment."[62] This agrees with the importance of the role of judge ascribed explicitly to the king by the *Ordo* and embodied in the royal sword and the sceptre.[63] It is also in agreement with the Armenian tradition formally stated in the late twelfth-century *Lawcode* of Mxitʻar Goš, composed in the north of the historic Armenian lands: the court of justice is an image of the heavenly court, God being the only infallible judge, hierarchically followed by the king on earth.[64] Justice and fairness are indeed fundamental royal virtues praised in all times and contexts, but the way justice is singled out here may refer specifically to a royal pardon granted by the newly crowned ruler. As in the neighbouring Crusader states and Cyprus, so in Cilicia temporal authority and law were closely connected. Although lavish law manuscripts like those produced

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60 J. Le Goff et al., *Le sacre royal à l'époque de Saint Louis d'après le manuscrit latin 1246 de la BnF* (Paris, 2001), pp. 25–26.

61 R. W. Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia* (Washington, D.C., 1987), pp. 271–72, noted the oriental features of the princely garments and identified the depicted prince with the baron Tʻoros, suggesting thus a late twelfth-century date as opposed to the still prevailing interpretation of the sculpture as an image of Lewon I or one of his successors, Hetʻum or Lewon II. The differences in the masonry observed by Edwards indicate a restoration and this rather supports a date later than the twelfth century. A similar cross-legged seating posture is seen, for instance, on the coinage of Hetʻum II (1289–1293 and 1299–1305), see Bedoukian, *Coinage*, nos. 1600, 1624, 1634, 1647–1648. Indeed the relief of Yılankale, discussed here for its evidence about the throne, requires a closer examination beyond the scope of this paper.

62 *RHC*, *Doc. arm.* 1, p. 518.

63 Alishan, *Léon le magnifique*, pp. 333–34.

64 *The Lawcode [Datastanagirkʻ] of Mxitʻar Goš*, trans. R. W. Thomson, (Amsterdam, 2000), p. 109. Mxitʻar explains the existence of religious courts by the absence of secular authority (*anišxanutʻiwn*), "because we have no king or prince," ibid., pp. 77–78. The *Lawcode* was written in a slightly earlier and different context, that of Armenian lands under Muslim and Georgian rule, but it was known and used in Cilicia. Both the *Lawcode* and the ceremonial reflect from different points of view the close connection between justice and rulership.

in Acre have not survived from Cilician Armenia, two exceptional pieces of evidence may illustrate this connection. The Armenian translation of the *Assises* of Antioch survives only in a manuscript from 1331, today in Venice, and, in its frontispiece, it shows Lewon IV as a judge (Fig. 11.4). The inscription reads "King Lewon, fair court/judgment" and can be easily divided in two verses of five syllables. It is tempting to recognize in this formula an acclamation chanted after the coronation or when royal pardon and remission were renewed during regular ceremonies and feasts.[65] The relation between justice and kingship has certainly a long solid tradition, but the emphasis paid to it in the Cilician sources departs from the visual and literary expressions of earlier Armenian kingship.[66] Rather, it seems to share in the promotion of the king as legislator and judge observable in the Late Middle Ages and implies an extension of royal authority into a territory hitherto controlled by the Church. The evidence is too scarce to ascertain whether the concept of royal justice evoked in the texts was made manifest by specific ritual acts within the Cilician coronation ceremonial such as the granting of grace or the release of prisoners, but doubtlessly the ceremonial integrated a new legal dimension of kingship.

Coronation and Incarnation: The Date

Armenian Cilician coronations were usually held on the day of the Epiphany, January 6, when the Armenian Church celebrates jointly the Nativity and the Baptism of Christ, his birth in flesh and spirit.[67] Epiphany and Easter were the major feasts of the Armenian calendar year, each of them being the climax of forty days of lent and introducing equally long periods of celebrations. The choice of the day is not surprising given the context of the Armenian Cilician kingdom and its rise thanks to western patronage. Christmas was a common occasion for the anointing and the coronation of kings in the Latin West. Following this well-established pattern, Roger II of Sicily was crowned on Christmas 1130.[68] Established western tradition as well as the date and the liturgical context explain

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65 Venice, San Lazzaro, MS 107, dated 1331. Լե/ւոն թա/գաւ/որ ու/ղիղ դա/տա/ստան For the manuscript, see C. Mutafian, ed., *Arménie, la Magie de l'écrit*, exh. cat. (Marseille, 2007), no. 3.69, p. 163, with earlier bibliography.

66 Mxit'ar Goš, quoted above, n. 64, stressed this association after the Old Testament model and because of the lack of kingly authority.

67 *Le lectionnaire de Jérusalem en Arménie: le Čašoc'*, ed. C. Renoux, Patrologia Orientalis 44/4 (Turnhout, 1989), pp. 429–33.

68 R. Elze, "The Ordo for the Coronation of King Roger II of Sicily: An Example of Dating from Internal Evidence," in *Coronations. Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. J. M. Bak (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford, 1990), pp. 165–78.

why the coronation of the kings of Jerusalem was held in Bethlehem at the basilica of the Nativity, a place which obviously stressed the symbolic associations between the two ceremonies.[69] However, the coronation on this date was not compulsory. The king of Cyprus had received the crown of Jerusalem earlier in the same year and the coronation of Lewon I seems to have been postponed until Church diplomacy between Latins and Armenians reached an agreement.[70] Byzantine coronations, on the other hand, had been independent of the liturgical calendar for a long time, maintaining a strongly secular character as implied in the *Book of Ceremonies*. Only after Iconoclasm did coronations start being scheduled on major Christological feast-days, yet without a consistent predilection for a specific feast.[71] Lewon I's coronation on Epiphany 1198[72] is not surprising in the light of the western and Crusader examples mentioned above: the coronation became a symbolic celebration of the birth of the Armenian kingdom.

More remarkable is the consistency with which this practice was observed throughout the history of the Cilician kingdom although later coronations were not performed by a Latin bishop but by the Armenian patriarch.[73] Earlier Armenian royal rituals from the Arcruni and Bagratid periods do not provide any precedent for an established ceremonial calendar.[74] The feast of Epiphany marked the beginning of the Armenian liturgical year and celebrated together the Nativity and the Baptism, stressing thus the unity of of Christ's human and divine natures. The ritual of the coronation on this day fitted perfectly with the specific significance of the feast in the Armenian liturgy. Like the symbolic connection between the birth of Christ and that of the newly crowned king, the

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69 The exception of Amaury I's coronation on an ordinary Monday not associated with a particular feast was probably because of his opposition to the patriarch over his marriage. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders* (see above, n. 27), p. 331.

70 Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Armenian Cilicia," p. 647, and Halfter, *Papsttum*, pp. 242–43.

71 Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre*, p. 77. The choice of a major feast for the coronation seems to have been a matter of strategy rather than ceremonial, as when Michel III had the future Basil I unexpectedly crowned co-emperor on Pentecost 866.

72 Halfter, *Papsttum*, pp. 222–23.

73 Evidence for a different day for the coronation of Het'um I and Lewon III (Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, p. 419) needs to be verified and may depend on the circumstances of the coronation (the first as a second husband of the heiress and the second as a king tutored by his uncle), cf. *supra*, p. 297.

74 Early coronations in the Arcruni and Bagratid kingdoms combined secular Abbasid ceremonial with the religious ritual of the anointing and the imposition of the crown by the patriarch. Even when the latter became the main coronation ceremony, it still remained independent of religious festivals. Jones, *Between Byzantium and Islam*, pp. 18–19.

double theophany celebrated on Armenian Epiphany offered a suitable liturgical setting for the celebration of the birth of the kingdom and the *gratia dei* authority of the Cilician kings. Despite the western origins of the practice, once it was adopted it became meaningful in its new context and this connection itself explains the consistency of its use throughout the life of the kingdom.[75]

The Coronation of the Queen

Although the Roman *Ordo* states that "the queen is equal to the king, with whom she constitutes a single body and shares the crown,"[76] the coronation of the queen seems secondary and almost absent from the ceremonial. Two noteworthy exceptions are those of Queens Keran and Zabel. Keran, wife of the future Lewon II to whom she bore fifteen children, is celebrated as royal consort in two well-known miniature paintings but she does not seem to have received the crown with Lewon to whom she was already married when he ascended the throne. On the other hand, Zabel, Lewon I's daughter, was crowned twice. Her exceptional destiny is reminiscent to a certain extent of the dynamic reign of Queen Melissande of Jerusalem, who succeeded her father and ruled first along with her French husband, Fulk of Anjou, and, later, with her son, Baldwin III, with whom she was crowned a second time. Lewon I envisaged Zabel on the throne, strengthened by the prestigious marriage he had negotiated with the king of Hungary but which finally failed after Lewon's death.[77] The Armenian sources are discreet about the realities of Zabel's first marriage to Philip of Antioch, cancelled by the Council of the Cilician princes against the princess's wishes.[78] They praise Zabel as the pious consort of Het'um I and the mother of his heir. Her coronation is well documented in the texts and reflected on coinage, where she is shown holding the cross together with Het'um in the manner of co-emperors.[79] Indeed, it was Zabel who

[75] The concept of divinely awarded royal authority is particularly stressed on coinage through the inscription *kaloruteamb astucoy*, "by the power of God," which appears systematically on Cilician coins, especially those issued by the most powerful and dynamic kings, see Bedoukian, *Coinage*, passim, and I. Rapti, "Image et monnaie dans le royaume arménien de Cilicie (XIII^{e}–XIV^{e} siècle)," in *Des images dans l'histoire*, ed. M.-F. Auzépy and J. Cornette (Saint-Denis, 2008), pp. 40–41.

[76] Alishan, *Sisuan*, p. 475; idem, *Léon le magnifique*, p. 336.

[77] Smbat, *Chronique*, trans. Dédéyan, p. 93.

[78] C. Mutafian, "La vie sexuelle des derniers rois d'Arménie," *Aramazd* 4 (2009), 136–47, at pp. 137–38.

[79] Bedoukian, *Coinage*, pp. 60–61; Rapti, "Image et monnaie," pp. 51–52.

ensured the legitimacy of the authority of her husband and their sons. The transfer of royal power to a female heir in the absence of a male child was acceptable in the Armenian canon law of Mxit'ar Goš and the princess could then bestow the crown on her husband. Still, the rights of this "outsider" were limited since neither he nor his own descendants born from a previous union could lay claim to the crown in their own right.[80] Thus, Zabel's cardinal role in the transmission of the Cilician throne highlights two points which seem essential for the royal accession even if they are not much represented in ceremonial actions: lineage, since the legitimization of kingship relied strongly on blood ties, and the appointment of an heir.

The designation of an heir appears to have been an important step in the process of accession, although it could occur a long time before the actual rise to the throne. Unlike the coronation of Byzantine co-emperors, which introduced the co-emperor to the court before the proper imperial coronation, the ceremonial framework of the designation of an Armenian crown-prince is not explicit. The account of Zabel's appointment is perhaps the most detailed one because of the dramatic and urgent character of the event, the young age, and the female sex of this first successor.[81] However, in Zabel's case, the royal wishes had to be endorsed by the Council of the princes and the young orphan princess was entrusted to the assembly and to the regent who was her tutor and one of the most influential barons in the kingdom. Despite the lack of explicit evidence, the designation of a royal successor must have been provided with its own performative and ceremonial framework. The appointee was probably presented to the court and perhaps received the blessing by a religious authority. Indeed, such a ceremonial is possibly mirrored in some of the royal portraits, to which we now turn.

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80 *Lawcode* 2–28, ed. Thomson, p. 113. The *Lawcode* of Mxit'ar Goš was known in Cilicia where it inspired *sparapet* Smbat's *Lawcode*. The latter is considered either as a revised redaction of the *Lawcode* or a separate text based on earlier sources. See Der Nersessian, "The Armenian Chronicle," p. 377, and A. Bozoyan, "Des manuscrits du Code juridique arménien postérieurs à Mekhitar Gosh," in *Arménie, la magie de l'écrit* (see above, n. 65), p. 161.

81 Smbat, *Chronique*, trans. Dédéyan, pp. 93–94. There was perhaps some ambiguity regarding the legitimacy of this appointment since in 1210 Lewon had sent an embassy to the pope and the Holy Roman Empire petitioning a crown for Raymond-Rouben, the prince of Antioch. Der Nersessian, "Armenian Chronicle," pp. 367–68; Smbat, *Chronique*, trans. Dédéyan, p. 87.

Evidence from Images

The eleventh-century portrait of the family of Gagik, king of Kars, in Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate MS 2556, fol. 135v, probably depicts the designation of Princess Marem as heir, as Thomas Mathews has convincingly argued.[82] A similar reading could be suggested for the youthful portrait of the future Lewon II preserved in a Gospel Book, Matenadaran MS 8321, fol. 25, which is not precisely dated (Fig. 11.5). The manuscript was commissioned by the Catholicos Kostandin I (1247–1267), the prince's godfather, perhaps for Lewon's knighting according to Helen Evans, who nevertheless pointed out the contrast between the western ceremony and the overall Byzantine character of the composition, especially the garments of the prince.[83] However, although at first glance it recalls Byzantine imagery, the composition departs from the Constantinopolitan standards in the fine use of *christomimesis* to praise the prince, a theme rarely encountered, if at all, in Byzantine aristocratic portraits: Lewon is depicted with facial features quite similar to those of Christ Emmanuel blessed by two angels holding flabella who belong to the vocabulary of Eucharistic imagery and allude to the model of the heavenly court pointing to the sacred character of the kingship.[84] The inscription "Lewon son of king Het'um" purposefully stresses dynastic continuity. Moreover, in the metrical dedicatory inscription, the catholicos specifies that the gift, the Gospel Book, shall enable the prince to judge and decide according to the profession of faith and that this present is "a symbol of kingship."[85]

[82] T. F. Mathews and A.-C. Daskalakis, "The Portrait of Princess Marem of Kars, Jerusalem 2556, fol. 135v," in *From Byzantium to Iran. Armenian Studies in Honour of Nina Garsoian*, ed. J.-P. Mahé and R. W. Thomson (Atlanta, 1997), p. 480.

[83] Evans, "Imperial Aspirations," p. 246.

[84] The *christomisesis* finds its most inventive visual interpretation in Roger II's portrait in the Martorana executed a century earlier in the context of the rising kingdom of Norman Sicily, which provides some interesting parallels with Armenian Cilicia, see E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of St. Mary's of the Admiral in Palermo* (Washington, D.C., 1990), p. 196. For alternative views, see T. Dittelbach, "The Image of the Private and Public King in Norman Sicily," in *Art and Form in Norman Sicily, Proceedings of an International Conference, Rome 6–7 December 2002*, ed. D. Knipp (Munich, 2005), p. 160.

[85] Առ ի նշան արքաութեան / դատել ըստ հաւատոյ դաւանութեան (aṙ i nšan ark'aut'ean / datel əst hawatoy dawanut'ean) literaly "Take it as a sign of Kingship to judge according to the profession of faith" or "So as in the sign of Kingship to judge according to the profession of faith." Some ambiguity as a result of poetic license allows both variants in the reading suggested here. A. Mat'evosyan, *Yišatakaraner Hayerēn Jeṙagrac' 13 dar* (Erevan, 1984), no. 215, p. 266. In the ninenteenth century the folio with the dedicatory inscription, now lost, was preserved in the Treasury of Etchmiadzin. It was reproduced, along with the folio bearing the portrait of the prince in Basmaǰean, "Mer Hnut'iwner" (see above, n. 38), p. 99.

The pictorial sanctification of the prince and the dedication clearly point to Lewon as the successor. The knighting of Lewon was celebrated in a large gathering of the highest nobility of the area in 1256, as the chronicle of Smbat records with much emphasis.[86] Did this ceremony provide the opportunity for the official designation of Lewon as his father's successor? The pictorial sanctification of the prince and the sacred symbolism of kingship that this manuscript portrait conveys may represent the religious counterpart of this otherwise secular celebration. The courtly costume of the prince, of which scholars have often noticed the Byzantine style, presents an intriguing feature, which might point to an earlier date and another ceremony. The medallions with the lion walking under a solar disc adorning the robe and prominently displayed on Lewon's chest are more than yet another decorative pattern of Islamic inspiration. Rather, they suggest contacts with the neighbouring sultanate of Iconium, to which the Armenian kingdom became allied under Het'um I and until the latter's switching allegiance to the Mongols in 1245. The lion and the sun, generally metaphors and symbols of power, derive directly from Seljuk coinage and could have been introduced as an allusion to the sultan's protection.[87] The dates of the patriarchate of Kostandin do not allow us to place the portrait in the period of the Seljuk alliance, but perhaps one could propose a date closer to 1245. On the other hand, an anachronistic use of the lion motif may not be excluded, given its heraldic symbolism or its association with the prince's name and, significantly, the walking lion minus the solar disk reappears on Lewon's garment in his later wedding portrait discussed below. Despite the elusive reality of the garment—a Byzantine robe made of Islamic silk or a robe offered by the sultan—the portrait signals Lewon's designation for the throne.[88] Like the bilingual

[86] Smbat, *Chronique*, trans. Dédéyan, p. 100.

[87] W. F. Spenkler and W. G. Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography* (Wisconsin, 1992), pp. 164–67. I have discussed the imagery of the lion in detail elsewhere, see Rapti, "Image et monnaie," pp. 46–50, and Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni, *Armenia Sacra*, pp. 242–47.

[88] In regards to this portrait, I would be cautious of Der Nersessian's assumption that the depiction of coin motifs on these ceremonial costumes is accidental. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, p. 155, made this point for the symmetric lions on Lewon's and Keran's wedding portrait discussed below, arguing that the latter motif appears on a great number of textiles of different origins. Even if the ornament is not always sufficient evidence of direct connections between works of art, it seems, nevertheless, that the textile motifs in these aristocratic portraits do not simply mirror the richness of the wardrobes and the diplomatic network of the Cilician court, as may do textiles in biblical illustrations, but were consciously chosen for their symbolic associations. For the Islamic connections of these textiles, see S. Redford, "On Saqis and Ceramics: Systems of Representation in the North-

coinage struck in Armenian and Arabic under Het'um I, the painting mingles different visual elements in an elaborate language of power. Prince Lewon's portrait introduces this specific visual idiom to convey messages of authority and kingship also encountered in the later royal portraits where Lewon appears almost exclusively as the protagonist within different ceremonial visual contexts.

Chronologically, the next image is the portrait of Lewon and Keran in a Gospel Book from 1262, Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2660, fol. 228, which was commissioned by the prince on the occasion of their wedding. The manuscript was illuminated at the scriptorium of the *catholicos* at Hṙomklay (Fig. 11.6). This is the only extant royal Armenian portrait securely related to a specific aristocratic religious ceremony. It exemplifies the complicated interaction between narrative and official imagery and testifies to the use of lavish books as ceremonial gifts. This so-called wedding portrait—identified as such on the basis of the colophon—in fact displays the well-established Byzantine pattern of the imperial couple, though less rigid and more fluid because of the western Crusader acquaintances both of the painter and the recipients, as Evans has suggested.[89] The nuptial coronation is patterned after imperial imagery but distinguished by the raised book and candle. These specific features do not belong to the ceremonial of marriage but rather point to the piety of the prince and his consort. The prominent displaying of the book is unusual in royal iconography and does not fit with the standards of devotional imagery in donors' portraits. The entire composition could be read as a step further towards the sacralization of the prince's future authority resuming the message of his earlier portrait. It obviously foreshadowed the accession of the couple and anticipated a joint coronation, which, according to the extant records, did not take place. However, the joint kingship of the consorts is eloquently celebrated in the family portrait that Queen Keran commissioned shortly after her husband's coronation (Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2653, fol. 380; Fig. 11.7). This complex composition allows multiple possible readings and seems to convey most eloquently the Cilician ideology of kingship. The kneeling positions may derive from western imagery, which, by that

east Mediterranean," in *France and the Holy Land*, ed. D. Weiss and L. Mahoney (Baltimore 2004), pp. 282–312, at p. 291, and A. Eastmond, "Art and Frontiers between Byzantium and the Caucasus," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. S. Brooks (New Haven and London, 2007), pp. 154–69, at pp. 163–64.

89 Evans, "Imperial Aspirations," pp. 247–48. See also Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, p. 155, and T. Mathews, "L'art de la Cilicie. L'Arménie des Croisades," in *Armenia Sacra* (see above, n. 1), pp. 258–60.

time, had been appropriated in donor portraits in icons and frescoes in the East, but with one significant difference in the scale of the depicted figures: unlike the usual pattern of donor portraits, which distinguish the secular figures from the sacred by means of scale and location in different planes or settings, the royal pair here has the same proportions as that of the saintly figures above, while the scale of the children decreases according to age but with an evident sense of harmony. Although the portrait is not labelled or identified as the depiction of a specific ceremony of the court, it raises the question of the form and the meaning of the Cilician ceremonial dress. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, quite hastily, recognized in the depicted garments and accessories the "ceremonial robes they wore at the time of their coronation,"[90] but once more their realism may be questionable. The predominant feature of the king's and queen's attire is the Byzantine *loros* adorned with precious stones and pearls. However, their way of wearing this imperial attribute under a mantle doubled with ermine is inappropriate for the Byzantine tradition. Moreover, there is no corroborative evidence documenting the actual adoption of this distinctive imperial garment in Cilicia, as there is none from other Byzantine-influenced courts even if their rulers are depicted wearing it. The stylization and the approximate rendering of the *loros* in the mosaics of Norman Sicily, the portraits of Georgian and, later, Serbian kings, as well as in representations of royal saints indicate that, whether or not it was adopted as an actual ceremonial garment, its main symbolism in art was the reference to the Byzantine emperor.[91]

The crowns of the royal couple, similarly decorated with jewels, are rendered carefully but follow only approximately the fashion of the Byzantine Empire: the king's crown is closer in appearance to the western-style crown with three pointed edges as featured on coinage. It also recalls the stylized representation of crowns figured in works of Crusader art, but Lewon's crown seems to combine the form of the latter with a rather precise representation of materials and jewels, which emphasizes its Byzantine-looking aspect. The queen's crown, on the other hand, is reminiscent, strangely enough, of the closed semi-spherical male Byzantine imperial crown introduced during the Comnenian period and has light moving *prependoulia*

90 Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, p. 156.

91 For the *loros* and its representations, see Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality*, pp. 18–27. For the use of the *loros* for rhetorical purposes beyond the Empire, see, for example, A. Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia* (London, 1997), p. 216. For its use in hagiographic imagery, see C. Jolivet-Lévy in collaboration with J. Durand, "Les attributs des saints dans l'art byzantin et l'exemple des saintes femmes," in *Des signes dans l'image: usages et fonctions des attributs dans l'art médiéval*, ed. M. Pastoureau (in press).

framing the face. Like Lewon's crown, possible inspiration from images of saints would allow us to interpret this unusual crown not as a transfer of the male crown but rather as an adaptation of the hemispherical head-cover sometimes worn by female saints like St. Kyriake. According to the Palaiologan fashion, as recorded in images, the queen wears a thin veil under her crown.[92]

The large mantles of the royal couple are doubled with fur, and can be traced back to earlier Armenian parallels, but the precise rendering of the ermine fits better with western contemporary fashions, as may be observed in numerous manuscripts from the Crusader East and Western Europe. Der Nersessian also noted the analogy between the sleeveless mantles of the young princes and the donors of the seventh-century church in Mren.[93] The ceremonial garments of the king and the queen seem to gather different elements of costume as attributes of power rather than real ceremonial dress and this explains the strange association of the mantle and the *loros*, absent from Byzantine imperial iconography. Unlike the attire of the couple, the costume of the children offers a convincing image of civil aristocratic costume. Even if they are the continuation of an earlier tradition, the closest parallels are to be found in roughly contemporary works from the same Eastern Mediterranean area and a comparable aristocratic context.[94] Like many other features of Armenian identity, aristocratic dress did not attempt to revive an ancient tradition from vestiges filtered through a complex historical process but adapted and updated this tradition by responding to contemporary codes and trends and eventually contributing to a widely shared aristocratic Levantine fashion.

A second depiction of Lewon with the *loros* and the crown occurs in a Breviary (*žamagirkʻ*) today at the British Library (Fig. 11.8).[95] The introduction of such characteristic items of Byzantine imperial dress is not stipulated in any of the narratives or in the *Ordo* but, as Evans pointed out, convey the kingdom's imperial aspirations. Still, their occurrence in

[92] For the evolution of the Byzantine crown and its iconography, see Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality*, pp. 27–30.

[93] Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, p. 156.

[94] A close example in time and space is the donors' portrait at Pyrga, Cyprus, with similar attitudes, ermine mantles, and crowns with three pointed edges, but in the small scale usual in western and Levantine devotional imagery. See J. T. Wollesen, *Patrons and Painters on Cyprus* (Toronto, 2010), fig. 24c.

[95] London, British Library, MS Or. 13993, fol. 9v. I have discussed this image extensively in an earlier study. See I. Rapti, "Un Melismos arménien et la politique de l'image de Lewon (Léon) II (1271–1289)," *Cahiers archéologiques* 50 (2003), 161–71. See also M. Vassilaki and R. Cormack, eds., *Byzantium 333–1453*, exh. cat. (London, 2008), no. 294.

art raises the question of a possible reform of Cilician ceremonial under Lewon II drawing inspiration from the newly-restored Empire, but this requires evidence from liturgical manuscripts to be further considered. The re-emerging power of the Palaiologan Empire informed the contemporary political stage and Lewon II could not ignore it. It must be a consequence of his interest in Constantinople that two of his daughters were sent to the Byzantine capital as potential brides for Michael IX, who chose and married one of them, Rita. Yet, the two portraits of Lewon, with the exception of the strongly symbolic elements of the crown and the *loros*, do not really borrow from the contemporary Byzantine wardrobe, which was at that time experiencing thorough changes.[96] More particularly, the frontispiece of the breviary offers a challenging and unique example of conscious visual syncretism. The king, in his expressive interaction with the living contents of the chalice, can hardly be compared to the diminutive and repetitive figures of donors in western liturgical manuscripts, on the one hand, or to the solemn Byzantine imperial figures, on the other. It seems more plausible that these iconographic innovations reflect Lewon II's dynamic and powerful establishment on the throne and corroborate his portrayal in the *History of the Nation of the Archers*. There, Lewon is described as the master of ceremonies, organizing the gathering of the princes and the clergy in Tarsus, inviting the patriarch, and finally proceeding himself to his own anointing.[97]

This inventive integration of Byzantine imperial attributes in Cilician royal imagery was ephemeral—an additional indication that this happened perhaps only in selected images and under specific circumstances. The last composition involving Lewon II was most probably produced for his successor, Het'um II, in 1286, possibly on the occasion of his designation as the crown prince (Fig. 11.9). This is a liturgical manuscript of extreme lavishness and uniquely sophisticated iconography related to kingship with a completely different approach. In its introductory miniature a symbolic tree stemming from the king at the top, who should be

96 M. Parani, "Cultural Identity and Dress: The Case of Late Byzantine Ceremonial Costume," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 57 (2007), 109–13.

97 Grigor of Akanc', *History of the Nation of the Archers*, ed. and trans. Blake and Frye, pp. 378–79: "Then he ordered all to gather in the great and renowned holy church of St. Sophia. He kept vigils and prayers, and crowned himself King, which same was carried out by the will of the Heavenly King Christ. They blessed and anointed the King's son Lewon and (*sic*; *recte* with) the oil of holiness as King over all Armenia." The original text does not mention the crown but only the anointing (*ořhnel*). For the authorship of the text, see P. Cowe, "A hitherto Unrecognized Chronicle to the Year A. D. 1272," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 3 (1987), 15–34.

identified as Lewon, underscores both dynastic continuity and Het'um's legitimacy, as the prince's figure replicates the attitude and gesture of his father. The depiction of the king and his heir breaks with the earlier emulation of the Byzantine imperial, at least sartorial, model. The enthroned crowned figures reproduce rather French Gothic imagery which seems to have spread in the Levantine courts in the third quarter of the thirteenth century replacing earlier western-inspired models.[98] The composition deserves further comment in terms of ceremonial: the figures in princely dress below Het'um are usually considered to depict the four younger sons of Lewon. This identification relies on the number and youthful appearance of the figures and fits satisfactorily with the dynastic character of the composition. However, unlike the established iconography of medieval family trees, the sense of the pattern is here reversed with the hierarchy of the court culminating at the top of the composition. Moreover the meaning could be challenged or refined by the analysis of the accessories of the three princes.[99] In the third rank from above, a young man kneeling and wrapped in a violet purple-mantle raises a crown toward the enthroned figures (Fig. 11.10). It is tempting to recognize here the crown-bearer and to seek similar interpretations for the following figures. The figure below him is distinguished by his aristocratic costume following gothic fashion, his frontal position, and the characteristic gothic gesture of pulling the thin cord attached to his mantle (Fig. 11.11).[100] His privileged place below the crown-bearer and the emphasis on his aristocratic appearance invite us to envisage him as one of the most important dignitaries taking part in the coronation, like the constable or the seneschal to whom the *Ordo* attributes the charge to carry to the church the *fleur-de-lys* and the robes

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98 J. Folda, *Crusader Art. The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1099–1291* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 146–53. idem, "Crusader Art in the Kingdom of Cyprus, c. 1275–1291: Reflections on the State of the Questions," in *Η Κύπρος και οι Σταυροφορίες / Cyprus and the Crusades*, ed. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith, (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 222–23. I. Rapti, "Image et liturgie à la cour de Cilicie: le lectionnaire du prince Het'um (Matenadaran ms 979)," *Monuments Piot* 87 (2008), 105–42, at pp. 109–13.

99 The prevailing interpretation of the miniature as a family portrait was first suggested by Catholicos Garegin Hovsepyan and defended by Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, pp. 157–58, on the grounds of the similarity of the composition with other collective portraits in the manuscript. The courtly interpretation that is re-examined here was first briefly suggested by L. Durnovo, "The Portraits of the Sovereigns in the Opening Page of the Lectionary of 1288," *Izvestija A.N. Arm SSR* 4 (1946), 64–65 (in Russian). Cf. also I. Drampian, *Lectionary of King Hetum II (Armenian Illustrated Codex of 1286 A.D.)* (Erevan, 2004), pp. 98–99.

100 I. Rapti, "Image et liturgie à la cour de Cilicie," p. 112.

respectively.[101] Moreover in his raised left hand he seems to hold a sceptre although the mannerism and the fluidity of the drawing make it difficult to ascertain. The fifth figure, kneeling symmetrically to the crown-bearer and clothed like him in a non-distinctive garment, raises a big ewer with a large handle (Fig. 11.12). This may be the courtier who according to the *Ordo* carried a vessel into the church and who later served at the royal table with the seneschal. Alternatively, he may be identified as the chamberlain who brought water to wash the king's hands at the beginning of the banquet following the coronation.[102] The last figure, at the base of the tree, seems to be sitting cross-legged and to raise a small piece of white cloth. The interpretation of these young figures as dignitaries is not completely opposed to their prevailing identification as the brothers of the crown prince, since the highest titles were often the privilege of the king's immediate family. In the miniature, the components of the ceremonial of the coronation are displayed hierarchically, while the undifferentiated youthfulness of the four beardless figures, which contrasts them to the short-bearded enthroned young man, was perhaps intended to associate these court officers to Het'um's younger brothers and to suggest or anticipate their allegiance. It is not impossible that the court and Het'um himself planned to use the translation of the Latin *Ordo*, while the composition itself may respond to the court's Frankish-Levantine connections and taste.

Interestingly, the text besides the tree is an excerpt from the Proverbs (11:2) praising righteous men. Here, it is copied under the figure of King Salomon, who faces the king and the prince. The excerpt does not belong to the readings of the lectionary and its relevance to the marginal composition rests on the role of the king as judge and law-giver, stressed within the context of the coronation in the *Ordo* and acknowledged in various texts.[103]

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101 Alishan, *Sisuan*, p. 472: Մենեսջալն ծաղկիւն որ է Ֆլառտլիս և ջամբռլայն թագաւորական զգեստիւն (menesǰaln całkiwn or ē flaṙtlis ew ǰambṙlayn t'agaworakan zgestiwn); Alishan, *Léon le magnifique*, p. 329, translates զգեստիւն as "insignia". The text does not explain precisely the function of these robes, nor does it mention them elsewhere.

102 Alishan, *Sisuan*, p. 475; idem, *Léon le magnifique*, pp. 334–35.

103 Cf. above, pp. 305–6. I have focused on this manuscript in the article cited above, "Image et liturgie à la cour de Cilicie."

As a whole, this frontispiece[104] praises the king and his heir but remains deliberately ambiguous in its details. Its sophistication and sense of harmony invite us to be cautious of any reading of the miniature as a narrative of ritual: the significant correspondence of some of its components with the text of the *Ordo* is not sufficient evidence to consider it as a representation of a ceremonial performance. Neither does it seem to display a sequence of enactments or a specific moment of the anticipated coronation. Rather, it prefigures it in a more suggestive and general manner. Ironically, Het'um's coronation never took place since he declined the crown even if he remained the head of the kingdom most of his lifetime.

These images do not illustrate Cilician ceremonial and can hardly help to reconstruct it given that they are not descriptive or narrative but programmatic. Nevertheless, they offer valuable evidence, which parallels the texts or supplements them. For instance, the crown-bearer, the *t'agapah* or *t'agadir*, depicted behind Lewon in the London Breviary (Fig. 11.8) confirms the prominence that the Armenian version of the *Ordo* ascribes to this dignitary. Purposefully or not, this follows ancient Armenian tradition, while the dignitary's title keeps its old Armenian lexical form amongst generally transliterated titles with Frankish resonances.[105] Furthermore, despite the great variety in their iconographic models and themes, these miniatures display an impressive repertory of garments, intimating not only the importance of ceremonial dress at the Armenian court but also its customization according to the political and diplomatic issues that court ceremonies needed to address in the most efficient manner possible. The fact that some of the manuscripts discussed above were—or may have been—commissioned to celebrate specific ceremonies does not restrict the meaning of their "ceremonial" illustrations within the sole framework of the celebrated events. These manuscripts were kept, offered as gifts, and perhaps used as records for their illustrious owners whose memory they conveyed. The Queen Keran's Gospels discussed above (Fig. 11.7) may be considered as such a piece of evidence. The image of unity, authority, and piety in the dedicatory portrait accompanied by a verse dedication parallels, in a way, a long colophon composed like a chronicle which

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[104] This frontispiece faces the full-page portrait of St. Basil on fol. 6v, which I discussed in the paper mentioned above, "Image et liturgie à la cour de Cilicie," p. 109.

[105] For the title, see Garsoian, *Epic Histories*, p. 563. The slight modification of the lexical form from the fifth-century 't'agakap' ('he who ties the crown') to 't'agadir' ('he who places/sets the crown'), encountered in thirteenth-century documents, may mirror a change in the process and the form of the crown from a diadem to the circular or semispherical crown.

records the dynastic continuity of the family tracing it back to Lewon I. Significantly, Queen Keran's Gospels were commissioned for the monastery of Akner, the burial place of Lewon I. This royal family in prayer below the intercessory image of the *Deesis* gathers in the same page secular and divine, temporal and heavenly and allows several levels of reading. The painting stresses the piety in present and conveys their expectation for the end of the times introducing thus the issue of the ceremonial for death and commemoration.

2. *Burial and Commemoration*

Historians often record the death of important people and recount them in great detail, especially when these are related to heroic deeds, but they mention burial and mourning only scarcely. However, in spite of their scantiness, these accounts reveal the importance that the burial place of the ancestors had in Armenian culture. When death came in battle or far from the homeland, the body was taken to "rest with the fathers" as was often said.[106] Armenian canon law criticizes excessive mourning without further regulation: the period of grief depended on the prestige of the deceased and the circumstances of the death.[107] As for the commemoration of the dead, this was as essential as the funeral, if not more. The deceased were commemorated in exchange for donations to the church, which would take care of the prayers, while the importance of the memorial services and their regularity depended on the prestige of the dead man, on his generosity and on that of his family. Provision for commemoration was made during one's lifetime and the practice was not limited to aristocratic patrons alone.[108] The Armenians who crossed the Taurus and settled in Cilicia needed to create new *lieux de memoire* and this was also a most efficient means to appropriate the new lands symbolically.

106 For example, see T'uma Artsruni, *History of the House of the Artsrunik'*, ed. and trans. R. W. Thomson (Detroit, 1985), pp. 291, 292, and p. 311, with the exceptionally detailed description of Prince Ašot's death, which the Armenian author had witnessed himself.

107 T'uma Artsruni, *History of the House of the Artsrunik'*, p. 292: according to T'uma, the mourning for Prince Derenik lasted ten months. Matthew of Edessa records the wearing of black garments and profuse weeping among men as a sign of grief. See *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, trans. A. E. Dostourian (Lanham, 1993), pp. 82, 104.

108 A. Baladian, J.-M. Thierry, and J.-P. Mahé, *Le couvent de Horomos d'après les archives de Toros Toramanian*, Monuments et Mémoires de la fondation Eugène Piot 81 (Paris, 2002), pp. 147–68.

Armenian aristocrats were buried in religious foundations related to their lands. In his account of the death and burial of Prince Kostandin, father of Princes Lewon and T'oros and forefather of the Roupenid clan, Matthew of Edessa stresses the symbolic connection between the memorial and the estate: Kostandin was buried in the monastery of Kastałon in the vicinity of the fortress he had founded and held: "The lightning hit the fortress called Vahka and passing through the servants' living quarters, struck some silver plates. . . . "[109] Fostering memory was also a priority of the Armenian religious leaders. Soon after the See of the Catholicos was established in Hṙomklay in 1151, the Catholicos Grigor Tłay translated the remains of three among his most illustrious predecessors in a crypt under his cathedral.[110]

Prestigious funerary monuments have not survived, but the burial places of the Armenian aristocracy and high clergy are often recorded in narratives and manuscript colophons. Since the twelfth century, the monastery of Drazark, the exact location of which close to Sis is yet to be identified, housed the burials of princes and patriarchs. The Armenian *euchologion* (mastoc' / Ritual) distinguishes burial rituals according to age—child or adult—for lay persons and according to religious status for monks and the secular clergy.[111] The performative character of the burial may have been based upon the standard codified liturgy, with variations in the intensity of the lamentations, the duration of grief and the scheduled commemorations, and, perhaps, the shape and the dimensions of the funerary monument. There is no direct archaeological evidence for the latter, since, ironically, only the gisant of Lewon V Lusignan, who was buried in Paris, survived the tempestuous destinies of the Cilician kingdom.[112] The funeral seems to be among the less discussed aspects of Armenian religious practices and is ignored in the debate between confessions.[113]

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109 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia and the Crusades*, trans. Dostourian, p. 174.

110 Smbat, *Chronique*, trans. Dédéyan, p. 55.

111 F. C. Conybear, *Rituale Armenorum* (Oxford, 1905), pp. 134, 161, 243, 276.

112 F. Baron (forthcoming); C. Mutafian, "Le dernier royaume d'Arménie," in *Armenia Sacra* (see above, n. 1), pp. 240–41, fig. 6. The gisant was transferred to the Convent of the Celestines from Saint-Denis. Separate burial is not recorded. In his will, Lewon wished to be buried in white, which the canons of Saint-Denis explained as an Armenian tradition, which is not confirmed by Armenian sources.

113 The most resistant stronghold of Armenia's pagan culture, funerary rites constituted a serious internal issue for the Armenian Church during its formative period, see A. Martirossian, *Le Livre des canons arméniens* (*Kanonagirk' Hayoc'*) *de Yovhannēs Awǰnec'i. Église, droit et société en Arménie du IV*[e] *au VIII*[e] *siècle*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 606—Subsidia 116 (Leuven, 2004), pp. 94–100.

Against this background, the death of Lewon I appears as an outstanding case, which raises the issue of Armenian tradition and the appropriation of Western and Levantine ceremonials.

The earliest chronicle to recount Lewon I's death is that of the Constable Smbat:[114]

> In the year 668 a painful illness struck King Lewon [I] and he died from that. While he was still alive, his princes came to him with the catholicos Tēr Yohan and when he realized that he would pass away he asked to be taken out of Sis following the road to [the monastery of] Akner that he had built himself so as to be buried there when he died. On the way he addressed all of them and exhorted them to remain unwavering in their mutual love and the most valiant in the defence of the country, and to keep infallibly faithful to his young daughter Zabel that he was leaving heir of his kingdom. He had chosen as tutor for his child, the great prince sire Adam, who was lord of many fortresses and districts [...] They arrived to the village of Mrvan he stopped because his body was weakened by the pain. The virtuous *vardapet* [doctor of theology] Grigor who was also called Skewrac'i was there too so as to administrate the holy communion [...] Then started thinking about leaving this life and taking care of his soul in a decent way and of having his body buried in the Holy Monastery of Akner; he called the holy *vardapet* Grigor and confessed his sins, professed the orthodox faith and received communion from the hands of the holy *vardapet* glorifying God, and this was the first of May. Then an argument arose about where the corpse should be buried, since the Catholicos Tēr Yovhannēs pressured into taking the body to Drazark and the princes to Akner according his [Lewon's] own will. And when he [the King] passed to Christ, they reached the following compromise: to remove his insides and take them to Akner while they would bring the corpse to Sis, where they would bury it in his church in a sarcophagus, may the Lord have mercy of him and forgive his sins.

The account, as one would expect, emphasizes the king's piety following the cliché of the confession and the communion and honours him with a good death. The truly striking feature is the separation of the heart from the corpse and their burial at two different locations. This seems to be an *hapax* in Armenian funerary practices, recorded only in the case of Lewon I. Kirakos of Ganjak, a most reliable thirteenth-century historian, also records the separate burial of Lewon's body at Sis and of his intestines at Akner. He recounts too the argument about the burial place, but he sets it among the aristocracy without involving the catholicos and this time

[114] The account is after the Venice redaction of the chronicle, see Smbat, *Chronique*, trans. Dédéyan, pp. 93–94. The English translation is by the author after the Armenian edition: S. Agelean, *Smbatay Sparapeti Taregirk'* (Venice, 1956), pp. 222–23.

the alternative is a burial at Sis. Kirakos explains the reluctance of some noblemen as regards Akner because of the location of the monastery close to the border and the subsequent risks of profanation by the infidels.[115] The slightly later verse chronicle of Vahram Rabuni also includes the information of the separate burial, but it inverts the locations and states that the intestines were buried at Sis, in a church built for that purpose.[116]

The overall impression is that the king stage-managed his last hours as a ceremonial performance. The journey from Sis to Akner that the king consciously undertook as his last one may ironically mirror the inaugural visits he carried out after his coronation, whether to inspect his territory or to return to his residence in Sis. Smbat and Vahram attribute the foundation of Akner to Lewon, while Kirakos records the king's devotion to that place and suggests that Lewon had possibly commissioned it to house his own dynastic mausoleum.[117] The fact that Lewon explicitly required a single burial makes the issue of the separation even more complicated and so does the neutral manner in which this is recorded. In fact, the texts quoted above present it as a pragmatic deal between the opposing parties. The issue of the separation of the intestines could have arisen if the corpse needed to be embalmed for the period of mourning at least. Yet, embalming was not generally supposed to result into two distinct burials neither in the Armenian tradition, nor in those of Byzantium and the Latin East. Smbat's account highlights the different attitudes of secular and religious authorities on the issue. The patriarch's action against the dead king's will was perhaps aimed to uphold tradition and to bring the king's body to rest in the place housing the most holy and illustrious graves of the kingdom. Whether the patriarch had other reasons for depriving Akner of the privilege to receive the first royal tomb we do not know. Interestingly, the aristocracy, as Kirakos reports, did not consider the prestigious cemetery of Drazark as an alternative burial site, but the capital proper, where Lewon's tomb would acquire specific importance as the memorial of the ruler who raised the city's rank from a princely residence to a royal capital. Be this as it may, none of the authors sounds surprised by this unusual arrangement, and it can hardly be a simple coincidence that there was a rise in such multiple burials among the aristocracy of gothic Europe. Admittedly, this practice does not appear to have enjoyed great popular-

115 *RHC*, *Doc. arm.* 1, pp. 427–28, 459. The exact location of the monastery of Akner remains unknown.

116 Ibid., p. 514.

117 Ibid., pp. 427–28.

ity among Frankish aristocratic and royal circles. The burials of the latter were, however, carefully planned in relation to sacred places and sites of memory. Lewon's burial project at Akner follows the tradition of aristocratic tombs in monasteries outside a settlement, but also interestingly meets the innovation of the double burial that was introduced for the first ruler of the Armenian kingdom. On the other hand, the tomb built in Sis endowed the new capital with a dynastic memorial and ensured the talismanic presence of the kingdom's founder.[118] It is tempting to suppose that Lewon was himself involved in the elaboration of his double burial but this cannot be proven. Crowned under the protection of the German emperor and by a papal legate, Lewon died with a strong attachment to the Latin world, planning to be succeeded by his daughter and a Hungarian son-in-law. His western connections may have informed the performance of his last days or hours, but it is more difficult to assume that Lewon consciously sought ubiquity or was aware of the symbolic implications of western aristocratic dismembering burials.[119] It is also unclear whether this striking innovation, which can hardly be understood as the simple solution of an argument, was accompanied by specific ritual arrangements. Separation of the entrails is very rarely documented in the East and raises the question of the regularity, the reasons, and the ritual character of this practice. When Lewon, younger brother of Het'um I, died in 1258 in Adana, his body was buried in the monastery of Mlič, close to Tarsus, in the ancestral lands, while the intestines were taken much further, to Akner, near Sis.[120] Like Lewon I, Het'um's brother died from disease. There is no further evidence for any specific relation between the transfer to Akner and mortal diseases. More possibly the monastery had become a preferred burial site for members of the court following Lewon I's burial and the division of the corpse allowed the double burial of the prince, who had held the rank of marshal, both in his ancestral lands and in the royal mausoleum.

Still, the innovative examples of Lewon I and Marshal Lewon seem to have been rather ignored in the decades that followed. The second marriage of Zabel to Het'um joined at the head of the kingdom the two major

118 This talismanic role of the king's dead body is implied in the account of Kirakos and the fear of profanation he reports, *RHC, Doc. arm.* 1, p. 428.

119 P. Binski, *Medieval Death* (London, 1996), pp. 55–69.

120 Smbat, *Chronique*, trans. Dédéyan, p. 102. The monastery of Mlič is mentioned as the see of the bishop of Tarsus in Smbat's chronicle and received many aristocratic burials such as that of Smbat's own son in 1270. Smbat, *Chronique*, trans. Dédéyan, p. 123.

Armenian clans of Cilicia and may have diminished the fervour towards Latin customs. Zabel was buried at Drazark like many other members of the royal family, including Het‘um I, who had died near Akner. Zabel's last moments are chanted with an eschatological overtone by Vahram, while the accounts of Het‘um's death, much more discreet than those of Lewon, show a different example of ritualization: taking heed of the afterlife, Het‘um embraced religion at the eve of his death and for a short while took the monastic habit and the name of Makar.[121] Despite his imperial aspirations and his unfailing authority, Lewon II did not innovate in terms of burial but joined his parents at Drazark, which served as the royal mausoleum almost exclusively. Interestingly, except for Lewon I, very few burials are recorded in the actual city of Sis. Among them was that of Baron Konstandin, King Het‘um I's powerful father and supporter. Other evidence comes indirectly from the chronicle of Smbat, which states that, in 1265, Ōšin, brother of King Het‘um and lord of Korikos, died in Tarsus and his corpse was transferred to Sis to be buried in the mausoleum of his father.[122] The existence of a family mausoleum might be corroborated by the brief mention in *The History of the Nation of the Archers* that the Mamluks "destroyed the tombs of the kings" during the raid of 1266.[123] That this mention immediately follows the description of the burning of the cathedral of Saint Sophia of Sis allows us to suppose that the place of the royal burials was a chapel adjacent to the church or a gawit‘ (narthex) in accordance to common practice in Armenian architecture. A number of questions, however, arise: what was the form of these royal tombs, who was buried there and how? The word *širim*, translated here as 'tomb', does not refer to any specific form of funerary monument and allows room for

[121] Grigor of Akanc‘, *History of the Nation of the Archers*, ed. and trans. Blake and Frye, pp. 372–73, where it is stated that Het‘um was buried with great honours. The same text, ibid., p. 357, reports that Het‘um I found refuge at Drazark during the Mamluk invasion of 1266, when his second son T‘oros was killed and Lewon himself taken captive. The invaders "demolished the tombs of the kings" (ibid. p. 358: եւ շիրիմս թագաւորաց քակեցին), and they "cast wood into the fine and great church, which was in the center of Sis and burned it" (ibid., p. 359).

[122] Smbat, *Chronique*, trans. Dédéyan, p. 116; Der Nersessian, "Armenian Chronicle," p. 373.

[123] Grigor of Akanc‘, *History of the Nation of the Archers*, ed. and trans. Blake and Frye, pp. 358–59 (եւ շիրիմս թագւորացն քակեցին [ew širims t‘agworac‘n k‘akec‘in] translating քակեցին [k‘akec‘in] as 'demolish').

speculation regarding the coexistence of different forms of burials and, possibly, simple commemorative monuments.[124]

One wonders whether the manuscript that Queen Keran offered to the monastery of Akner after Lewon II's accession could perhaps suggest the will to challenge tradition and restore that royal foundation as a dynastic mausoleum. It seems more plausible, however, that the aim of the gift was to celebrate Lewon's kingship with a tribute to an honoured ancestor and the founder of the by-then well-established royal dynasty. Evidence from manuscripts shows, furthermore, the efficiency of ritualized commemoration in shaping and enhancing identity and power beyond the physical space of individual tombs and funerary monuments. The Synaxary today in Venice, San Lazzaro MS 710, dated to 1310–1320, is not a lavish manuscript but was commissioned by King Ōšin and includes more than fifty entries commemorating members of the royal family and a wider ancestry on the anniversaries of their death.[125] Collected in a single book intended for the cathedral, these commemorated ancestors were both close and distant in time: they included the archbishop Nersēs of Lambron, the princes T'oros and Lewon, the "first king of the Armenians Lewon," and went back even to the "the king of the Armenians Gagik," the king of Kars who made his small kingdom over to Byzantium and emigrated with his noblemen to Cappadocia. Thus the synaxary fostered the collective memory and the hope of the kingdom, which at that time was struggling to survive. A far cry from Lewon I's exceptional "ubiquity", by the beginning of the fourteenth century, the regular commemoration of the ancestors, structured by the calendar of the church and based upon the liturgy rather than on physical presence of the grave, had prevailed.

Cilician Ceremonial: A Fluid and Pragmatic Response

The kingdom of Armenian Cilicia was established as a pragmatic response to the geo-strategic context of the Eastern Mediterranean after the Third

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124 The very limited evidence from prestigious tombstones in Tarsus reveals a characteristic combination of tradition with contemporary funerary models. These examples have been discussed in detail by the present author elsewhere: I. Rapti, "Note sur une pierre tumulaire découverte à Tarse: l'épitaphe de sire Philippe mort en 1351," *Cahiers archéologiques* 54 (2011), 75–82.

125 *Mayr Cucak hayerēn jeṙagrac' Matenadarani Mxitareanc ' i Venetik* [Grand Catalogue of Armenian manuscripts in the Library of the Mekhitharists of Venice], 4 (Venice, 1993), coll. 2–27.

Crusade. This was probably an expected consequence of the increasing power of the Armenian military nobility established in the area since the eleventh century. The upgraded status of the new kingdom generated new forms of power and new political relationships that required appropriate means of expression. The ceremonial practices of the Armenian court comprised a much wider series of public ritual acts beyond the coronation and the burial discussed in this paper. Embassies and visits, diplomatic gifts, dubbings, marriages, or births structured the life of the aristocracy, while court and people met during regular religious ceremonies, which often had a secular and courtly counterpart.[126] As the most efficient tool for enforcing authority and social relations, ceremonial became the mirror of this new state, its aspirations, and tribulations. The kingship of Lewon I was celebrated in sumptuous ceremonies of coronation and burial separated by an auspicious rule. The specific circumstances of the creation of the kingdom and the gradual and selective acculturation of the Armenian aristocracy in the culture of the Crusader States and the Byzantine Empire allow us to appreciate why Cilician ceremonial did not look for inspiration backwards, towards Bagratid and Arcruni ceremonial, which itself had evolved undergoing many changes and variations. In many respects, Cilician Armenian ceremonial broke with tradition in order to follow the prevailing trends of its time in the wider area of the Levant, though, on occasion, it combined innovation with fundamental traditional Armenian aristocratic and other ritual practices, such as the primacy of the anointing, the hereditary transmission of power, and the honour accorded to ancestral memory. Although Cilician Armenians never seem to strictly emulate paradigms from the past, they share with their predecessors the flexibility of their ritual modes and the ability to balance different poles of influence. The model that Lewon I introduced, more or less consciously, was revisited by the following generations according to their aspirations and needs. From the first king Lewon, crowned in Latin with a German crown and perhaps anointed in Armenian, to the last king Lewon V, buried as a Frenchman in exile at Saint-Denis far from his ancestors, Armenian Cilicia developed multiple rituals of power. Evidence from texts and images does not allow us to reconstruct the details of their various developments but reveals their complex character and their conscious and elaborate combination of various cultural and visual ingredients. Free from the obsession

[126] On the ordination of Jean/Baldwin and the account of Wilbrand von Oldenburg on the celebration of Epiphany, see above, n. 21.

of codified ceremonial protocols—although tradition was often respected and acknowledged—the Armenian Cilician court was nevertheless deeply aware of their efficiency in featuring kingship and particularly sensitive to their performative and symbolic significance. Stranger by language, minority by religion, surprising in its powerful visual expression, the Armenian Cilician court may recall the multicultural and multilingual experience a hundred years earlier of another fostered Mediterranean, Roger II of Sicily. Beyond the "westerness" or the "armenity" of its every single component, Cilician ceremonial, nevertheless, embodies the fluidity and multiplicity[127] that distinguishes entities and people in the thirteenth-century East.

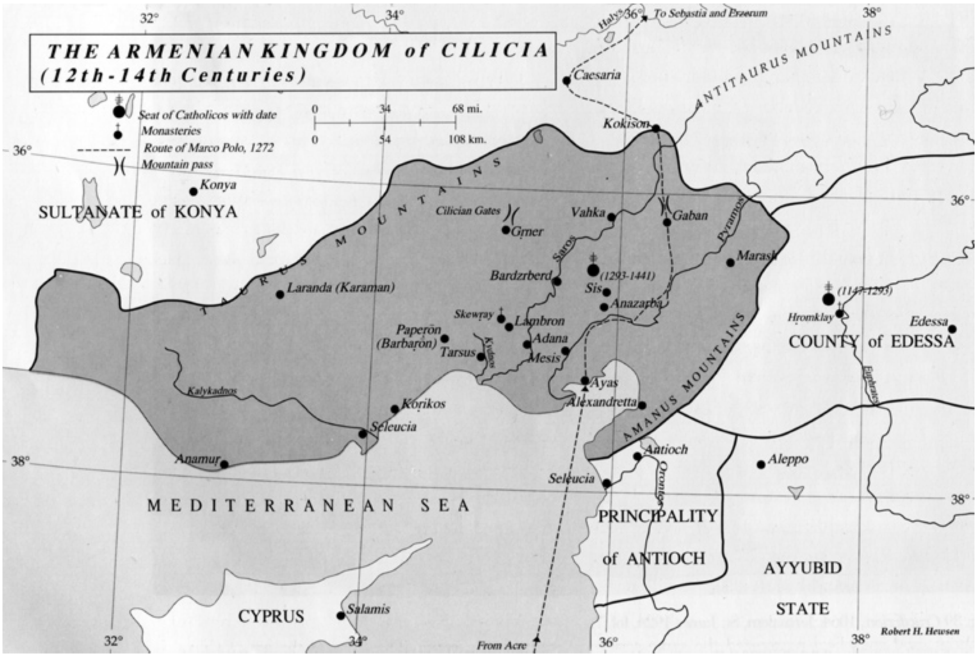


Fig. 11.1. The Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia. After Th. F. Mathews and R. S. Wieck, eds., *Treasures in Heaven. Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, exh. cat. (New York, 1994), p. 66. With the permission of R. H. Hewsen.

[127] For the concept, see G. Saint-Guillain and D. Stathakopoulos, eds., *Liquid and Multiple: Individuals and Identities in the Thirteenth Century Aegean* (Paris, 2012), at pp. 259–61.



Fig. 11.2. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des médailles et antiques. Silver coin (tram) of Lewon I (1198–1219). © BnF.



Fig. 11.3. Turkey, Castle of Yılankale, relief above the entrance. Enthroned ruler. © I. Rapti.



Fig. 11.4. Venice, San Lazzaro, MS 107, fols. 2v–3r. Lawcode of Antioch (1331). Lewon IV. © Venice, San Lazzaro, Mekhitarists' Library.



Fig. 11.5. Matenadaran, MS 8321, fol. 25 (ca. 1256). Prince Lewon II. © Matenadaran.



Fig. 11.6. Jerusalem, Saint James Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2660, fol. 228 (1262). Portrait of Prince Lewon II and his wife, Princess Keran. © Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, Saint James.



Fig. 11.7. Jerusalem, Saint James Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2653 (*Queen Keran Gospels*), fol. 380 (1272). Portraits of King Lewon II, Queen Keran, and their children. © Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, Saint James.



Fig. 11.8. London, British Library, MS Or 13993 (Breviary/*žamagirk'*), fol. 9v (ca. 1275). King Lewon II praying before the altar escorted by the crown-bearer. © The British Library Board, MS Or 13993.



Fig. 11.9. Matenadaran, MS 979 (*Lectionary of King Hetum*), fol. 7 (1286). Frontispiece with King Salomon and arborescence. © Matenadaran.



Fig. 11.10. Matenadaran, MS 979, fol. 7, detail. A crown-bearer. © Matenadaran.



Fig. 11.11. Matenadaran, MS 979, fol. 7, detail. A prince. © Matenadaran.



Fig. 11.12. Matenadaran, MS 979, fol. 7, detail. A figure with an ewer. © Matenadaran.

CHAPTER TWELVE

ADVENTUS, ARRIVISTES AND RITES OF RULERSHIP IN BYZANTIUM AND FRANCE IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURY

Jonathan Shepard

1. *Introduction*

This study owes its origins to the project "Political Culture in Three Spheres: Byzantium, the Latin West and Islamic world," which aims to examine "the rules of the game" from the beginning of the eighth to the later fifteenth century.[1] Prominent among the project's lines of enquiry are the following two topics: the ways in which ruling elites in the three spheres independently drew on the past—imperial Rome's or, more generally, classical antiquity—so as to dignify or legitimise their own ascendancy and to "format" the present-day political order; and, secondly, the ways in which they may have picked up *contemporary* customs and symbols from one another's political cultures. We recognise that Byzantium and the Latin West had their own separate pathways back to antiquity and to the associated idea of a single *imperium* spanning the civilised world. Western churchmen and educated nobles drew directly upon Latin historical and rhetorical texts, forming rather different impressions of what was admirable about the Roman political order from those which the Byzantines harboured on the strength of their source-materials and present-day preoccupations. And, of course, outstandingly ambitious westerners like Charlemagne and Otto I sought transformation of their status and benediction of their hegemony through rites performed by the Roman pope, taking on the name of "emperor."[2] Recognizing the eastern and

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[1] Since 2004, the project has organised workshops in Aberystwyth, Oxford, York, and Cambridge, in addition to a series of "strands" at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds. A framework volume, setting out the fundamentals of political culture in Byzantium, the Latin West, and the Islamic world, is in preparation.

[2] An immense bibliography on these episodes is available. See, e.g., the respective entries on Charlemagne and Otto (with earlier literature) in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 5 (Munich and Zurich, 1991), cols. 960–61; ibid., 6 (Munich and Zurich, 1993), cols. 1565–66; R. Schieffer, "Neues von der Kaiserkrönung Karls des Grossen," *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Jahrgang 2004, Heft* 2

western emperors' separate starting-points and lines of approach towards the model of order that "Romanness" represented, our project attempts to compare the uses they and lesser potentates made of this shared past.

The rites of *adventus* and of triumphs provide material for straightforwardly comparative treatment, and what follows is partly an exercise in this. However, the focus will be on the second of the fore-mentioned topics, the question of how far-ruling elites in different spheres "picked and mixed" from among one another's devices for commanding respect. Byzantine and western rulers were drawing on a common stock of cults of saints and relics, and they had access to a common foundation-narrative, featuring Constantine as an ideal leader of Christian people.[3] In light of this, one might *a priori* expect some cross-fertilization between their rites of rulership to have occurred, and not only at the very top of the tree, between *imperatores* and *basileis*. Cross-fertilization was all the more likely in a period that saw the formation of new political elites intent on dignifying their status in the Christian West, while communications between western and eastern spheres were becoming easier. This was the situation from the later tenth century onwards, when increasing numbers of westerners travelled on pilgrimages to the Holy Land, and many gained direct experience of the Byzantine world.[4]

Two further considerations are worth noting, in respect of propitious conditions for cross-fertilization. Firstly, around this same time Byzantium enjoyed a marked resurgence of material resources and military power,

(Munich, 2004), 3–25; R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne. The Formation of European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 117–18; J. Laudage, *Otto der Grosse (912–973): eine Biographie* (Darmstadt, 2001), pp. 185–91.

[3] For the cult of Constantine in Byzantium, see, e.g., O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell* (Jena, 1938; repr. Darmstadt, 1956), pp. 129–34; contributions to P. Magdalino, ed., *New Constantines* (Aldershot, 1994); G. Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 89–91, 97–99, 119–22, 204–17. For Constantine's image in the West, see, e.g., *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 5, col. 1375 (U. Mattejiet).

[4] See, on their routes, F. Micheau, "Les itinéraires maritimes et continentaux des pèlerinages vers Jérusalem," in *Occident et Orient au X^{e} siècle. Actes du IX^{e} congrès de la société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public* (Paris, 1979), pp. 90–91; K. Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople: The West and Byzantium, 862–1204* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 21–22, 27, 81–82; E. Kislinger, "Reisen und Verkehrswege zwischen Byzanz und dem Abendland vom neunten bis in die Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts," in *Byzanz und das Abendland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, ed. E. Konstantinou (Cologne, 1997), pp. 254–55; N. Jaspert, "Das heilige Grab, das wahre Kreuz, Jerusalem und das Heilige Land. Wirkung, Wandel und Vermittler hochmittelalterlicher Attraktoren," in *Konflikt und Bewältigung. Die Zerstörung der Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem im Jahre 1009*, ed. T. Pratsch (Berlin and Boston, 2011), pp. 75, 77–78. See below, p. 354.

which its rulers were prompt to celebrate, thereby corroborating their longstanding claim to Roman qualities of invincibility and, so to speak, "recharging" the ceremonial for celebrating victory.[5] Secondly, Byzantium's upswing towards the year 1000[6] brought pungency to the question of "Who are the Romans now?," at a time when the western emperor was himself acquiring more plausible "Roman" credentials. There is good reason to suppose that Otto III wanted his dominion to partake of "Roman" qualities, in strategic and intellectual terms alike. The erudite churchman Gerbert of Aurillac sought his favour through such assertions as: "ours, ours, is the Roman empire," outmatching the Greeks' empire in both might and eloquence. Gerbert's statement prefaces his *Libellus de rationali et ratione uti*, which he had composed "so that Greece may not boast a monopoly in imperial philosophy and Roman might."[7] To less enthusiastic contemporaries such as Thietmar of Merseburg, Otto appeared to be "trying to renew the ancient custom of the Romans, now largely defunct" through such acts as dining apart at a raised, semi-circular table.[8] These and other public gestures could well have gained inspiration from ceremonial in the Byzantine court, as when Otto declared the Polish leader Bolesław Chrobry to be "friend and ally of the Roman people."[9]

It can scarcely have been easy for westerners in the tenth century—whether potentates or intellectuals—to distinguish between which were

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5 For an outline, see J. Shepard, "Equilibrium to Expansion (886–1025)," in *Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. J. Shepard (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 516–22. See also below at nn. 21, 31.

6 See, for assessments of the empire's strengths and shortcomings at this time, contributions to P. Magdalino, ed., *Byzantium in the Year 1000* (Leiden, 2003), esp. C. Holmes, "Political Elites in the Reign of Basil II" (pp. 35–69); J.-C. Cheynet, "Basil II and Asia Minor" (pp. 71–108); P. Stephenson, "The Balkan Frontier in the Year 1000" (pp. 109–33); V. von Falkenhausen, "Between Two Empires: Byzantine Italy in the Reign of Basil II" (pp. 135–59).

7 The preface to Gerbert's philosophical *Libellus* was edited by J. Havet, *Lettres de Gerbert (983–997)* (Paris, 1889), p. 237; P. Riché, *Gerbert d'Aurillac. Le pape de l'an mil* (Paris, 1987), pp. 189–90.

8 Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon* 4.47 (29), ed. R. Holtzmann, MGH SS rer. Germ., n.s. 9 (Berlin, 1935), pp. 184–85.

9 Reportedly, Otto dramatized his declaration by placing his own crown on the head of Bolesław: Gallus Anonymus, *Chronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum* 1.6, ed. K. Maleczyński, Monumenta Poloniae historica, n.s. 2 (Cracow, 1952), pp. 19, 20. See J. Shepard, "Otto III, Boleslaw Chrobry and the 'Happening' at Gniezno, A.D. 1000: Some possible Implications of Professor Poppe's thesis concerning the Offspring of Anna Porphyrogenita," in *Byzantium and East Central Europe*, ed. G. Prinzing et al., Byzantina et Slavica Cracoviensia 3 (Cracow, 2001), pp. 43–46, 48; repr. in his *Emergent Elites and Byzantium in the Balkans and East-Central Europe* (Farnham, 2011), no. 10. On this episode, see also the contribution of B. Weiler in the present volume.

ancient Roman customs, vestments, and symbols and which were peculiar to the great power to the East that styled itself "Christian" and "Roman" and advertised its mounting dominance in south-central Italy and the central Mediterranean. After all, one of the fortified towns founded in the empire's north Apulian borderlands around 1020 bore the grandiloquent name of "Troy" (Troia), befitting its formidable size; and, until the fifth decade of the eleventh century, a Byzantine reconquest of Sicily was on the cards.[10] In any case, westerners seeking to reconstruct ancient usages and dignify their regimes could only get so far from studying the texts of Livy and Sallust and other written narratives. The difficulty of reconstituting ancient usages from terminology alone is already patent from the entry on "triumphs" in Isidore of Seville's work on "Etymologies." Isodore complains that "writers confuse these names" (of "triumph" and "trophy"). In trying to elucidate them, he himself cites Greek terms which were, presumably, current in contemporary, seventh-century, Byzantium.[11] Without being able to see for themselves the form that ancient ceremonies took, gaps which written data alone could not fill, westerners might well have looked to the purportedly Roman customs and symbols that were—literally—on parade in the streets of the "New Rome."

2. *The General Background to* Adventus *and Triumph*

Before looking closer at specific developments and some possible instances of cross-fertilization in the tenth and eleventh century, one should

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[10] On Troia, see J.-M. Martin and G. Noyé, "Les villes de l'Italie byzantine (IX^{e}–XI^{e} siècle)," in *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantine*, 2, *VIII^{e}–XV^{e} siècle*, ed. V. Kravari et al. (Paris, 1991), pp. 40–41, 44–46, 48–49 and fig. 7 (plan); J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille du VI^{e} au XII^{e} siècle* (Paris, 1993), pp. 259–63; von Falkenhausen, "Between Two Empires," p. 148. For Sicily's strategic significance and the successive projects to reconquer it, see V. von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina nell' Italia meridionale dal IX all' XI secolo* (Bari, 1978), pp. 28–31, 137–38; W. Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1981), pp. 199–201, 206–13; V. Prigent, "La politique sicilienne de Romain Ier Lécapène," in *Guerre et société au moyen âge Byzance-Occident (VIII^{e}–XIII^{e} siècle)*, ed. D. Barthélemy and J.-C. Cheynet (Paris, 2010), pp. 83–84.

[11] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, Book 18.2.2–3, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 (Oxford, 1911). I am most grateful to Dr Thomas Förster (Centre of Medieval Studies, University of Bergen) for drawing this passage to my attention. The terms 'pompeuein', 'thriambe', and 'tropē', cited by Isidore, were presumably known to him from spoken Greek. For variants in literary usage in the Middle Byzantine period, see E. Trapp et al., *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts*, 4. Faszikel (Vienna, 2001), pp. 691–92 (θριάμβευσις, θριαμβία); for πόμπευμα, πόμπευσις, πομπευτικός, ibid., 6. Faszikel, p. 1350.

recall that eastern and western Christendom shared fundamental rites of rulership alongside their religious faith. *Adventus* was rooted in the urban political culture of the eastern Mediterranean world. Essentially, the ceremony involved the pre-planned reception of an eminent person. The event solemnly forged or reaffirmed a positive relationship between that person and the elite constituting "meeters-and-greeters," alongside the other sections of the populace that turned out. The occasion was irenic and invoked the supernatural protectors of a town or community. It was thus readily adaptable to Christian religious celebrations and commemorations. *Adventus* ceremonial for greeting bishops, relics, and other persons—such as emperors—deemed praiseworthy is attested in both eastern and western halves of the early Christian Roman Empire.[12] An ancient Roman triumph, in contrast, celebrated conclusively successful violence. The victorious *imperator* would parade with his troops, prisoners, and booty through the streets of a town, and in Republican Rome triumphs culminated with thanksgiving to Jupiter in the Capitol.[13]

As is well-known, Christian Roman emperors refashioned *adventus* to solemnise their establishment within a virtually impregnable "God-protected city" (or "New Jerusalem"), where such ceremonial meshed well with military triumphs. An emperor returning to Constantinople after a more or less successful campaign might receive an *adventus* at Constantinople's Golden Gate and then lead a triumphal procession across the city to Hagia Sophia and the Great Palace. He would be greeted outside the Golden Gate (itself evoking Jerusalem's Golden Gate) by church leaders, the senate, heads of the City's corporations, and other worthies; citizens would line the main street down which the triumph passed. A triumphal procession mingled thanksgiving to God with display

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12 For the populace's participation in imperial Roman *adventus*, see J. Lehnen, *Adventus principis. Untersuchungen zu Sinngehalt und Zeremoniell der Kaiserankunft in den Städten des Imperium Romanum* (Frankfurt am Main, 1997), pp. 243–66. For the adaptation of *adventus* to Christian devotions and the needs of early Christian imperial regimes, see *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 1 (Munich and Zurich, 1980), pp. 170–71 (T. Kölzer); K. G. Holum and G. Vikan, "The Trier Ivory, *Adventus* ceremonial and the Relics of St. Stephen," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979), 113–21; S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1981), pp. 18–22, 39–55, 62–67; A. P. Kazhdan et al., eds., *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. (Oxford and New York, 1991), 1:25 (M. McCormick).

13 See, e.g., S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, eds., *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, revised 3rd ed. (Oxford, 2003), p. 1554 (E. Badian). One should note that *adventus* ceremonial already featured in triumphs of the Republican era, being staged for the victorious commander at the *pomerium* and at the Capitol: Livy, *Ab urbe condita libri* 28.9.7, ed. and trans. F. G. Moore, 8 (Cambridge, MA, 1949), pp. 38–9; Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana* 43.21.2, ed. and trans. E. Cary and H. B. Foster, 4 (London-New York, 1916), pp. 248–9.

of captives and the spoils. Both *adventus* and triumphs in Constantinople have received careful exposition from Michael McCormick.[14] He shows how these rites long remained part of a Byzantine ruler's repertory of political devices. It is, however, no accident that his source-material, for early Byzantium as well as later, owes much to the *Book of Ceremonies*. This mid-tenth-century compilation, drawn partly from documentation for much earlier processions and rites of rulership, offered practical guidelines for stage-managing future solemn occasions, whether recurrent festivals or the ad hoc.[15] Its commissioner, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, was a zealous proponent of well-ordered proceedings, setting out his views in the preface.[16] His reign inaugurated what McCormick has fairly termed the "high tide of triumph." The twenty years or so from the mid-950s saw in Constantinople "as many victory celebrations as are known to have occurred in the preceding 150 years."[17] This apparent cluster registers shifts in Byzantine political culture of the period, and does not result merely from the vagaries of source survival.

3. *Triumphs and* Adventus *in Mid-Tenth-Century Constantinople and Domestic Politics*

Constantine VII had particular political reasons for presenting himself as master of the ceremonies of triumphs. He was not a general himself, and had never commanded an expedition, a deficiency of which he was aware.[18] In fact, campaigning on the eastern front was not particularly successful in the earlier years of his reign; the expedition to reconquer Crete in 949

[14] M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 14–16, 189–90, 208–26. See also Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee*, pp. 172–78; E. Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," repr. in his *Selected Studies* (New York, 1965), pp. 37–81; Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, ed. and trans. J. Haldon (Vienna, 1990), pp. 259, 268–69 (commentary); Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, pp. 64–65.

[15] Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J. J. Reiske, 1 (Bonn, 1829); partial ed. A. Vogt, *Le livre des ceremonies*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1935–1939); McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, p. 9. For the distinction between recurrent, irregularly recurring, and "one-off" ceremonial occasions, see M. McCormick, "Analyzing Imperial Ceremonies," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 35 (1985), 10–13.

[16] *De cerimoniis*, preface, ed. Reiske, 1, pp. 3–5; ed. Vogt, 1, pp. 1–2.

[17] McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, p. 159.

[18] As witness Constantine's efforts to amass materials for his treatise on imperial expeditions, apparently for his personal use: Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *Three Treatises*, ed. Haldon, pp. 45–46, 51–53, 66–68 (introduction).

proved disastrous; and sympathisers of Romanos I Lekapenos, the senior emperor he had ousted in 945, remained articulate and at large.[19] All the more reason, then, for Constantine to put his book-learning to political effect,[20] laying on spectacular triumphs and, on one occasion, himself performing the *calcatio* on a captured amir in a public place, the Forum of Constantine. Presumably, through doing the deed himself rather than delegating to a general, Constantine sought to demonstrate personal responsibility, and he prescribed correct form for future *calcationes*.[21] He also seized upon the precedent set by Romanos Lekapenos to associate himself with *adventus* for holy relics arriving in Constantinople. The most celebrated instance concerns the *Mandylion* of Christ, which Lekapenos had acquired from Muslim-ruled Edessa and which was greeted at the Golden Gate and processed through the City in 944. After ousting Romanos, Constantine effectively appropriated the cult of this unique contact-relic, getting himself literally "written into the script" of texts commemorating its *adventus* each year.[22] He also disseminated images referring to the *Mandylion*, notably the icon sent to St. Catherine's monastery on Sinai. This shows Abgar, the king who had first received the *Mandylion* from Christ, bearing Constantine's own features.[23] Constantine VII staged

[19] For land warfare and the Cretan expedition, still indispensable is A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, trans. M. Canard, 2.1 (Brussels, 1968), pp. 332–55. See also E. McGeer, "Two Military Orations of Constantine VII," in *Byzantine Authors: Literary Activities and Preoccupations*, ed. J. W. Nesbitt (Leiden, 2003), pp. 111–35. Theophylact, a son of Romanos, remained patriarch until his death in 956 and, although his demeanour towards Constantine seems to have been unexceptionable, his role as a potential rallying-point and legitimiser of opposition was ever to be reckoned with. One mark of lingering hostility towards Constantine is the systematic omission of his role from the revised version of a festal sermon commemorating the *Mandylion*'s reception at Constantinople: E. von Dobschütz, "Der Kammerherr Theophanes," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 10 (1901), 177–78.

[20] On Constantine's political finesse and reverence for book-learning, see, respectively, T. E. Gregory, "The Political Program of Constantine Porphyrogenitus," *Actes du XV^e Congrès international d'études byzantines* 4 (Athens, 1980), pp. 122–30; Shepard, "Equilibrium," pp. 511–13.

[21] *De cerimoniis* 2.19, ed. Reiske, esp. pp. 610, l. 16–611, l. 10; John Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. H. Thurn, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 5 (Berlin and New York, 1973), p. 241. See McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp. 160–65.

[22] E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, n.s. 3 (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 38**–85** (texts), 92**–94**, 98**–100** (commentary). See S. G. Engberg, "Romanos Lekapenos and the *Mandilion* of Edessa," in *Byzance et les reliques de Christ*, ed. J. Durand and B. Flusin, Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance Monographies 17 (Paris, 2004), pp. 132–39.

[23] K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons, I, From the Sixth to the Tenth Century* (Princeton, 1976), pp. 94–98; pls. xxxvi–xxxvii. Apparently, Constantine sent a clergyman, Niketas, with a gift for the patriarch of Jerusalem in 947:

at least two other *adventus* of relics in Constantinople, for the body of St. Gregory of Nazianzen and the hand of John the Baptist.[24]

There were indeed precedents for such *adventus*, and Constantine's own father, Leo VI, had organised a reception upon recovering the relics of St. Lazaros from Cyprus.[25] However, Constantine was innovating, in so far as he intermingled within a few years rites of *adventus* with triumphs. He was, in effect, playing to his strengths, demonstrating the benefits of the new relics he was bestowing upon his powerbase, the city of Constantinople, while also claiming responsibility for victories.[26] No less importantly, mounting these ceremonies effectively was, in itself, a measure of Constantine's ability to get the political elite and ordinary citizens to act in concert and, literally, to orchestrate their movements.[27] Presumably, foreigners were invited to attend *adventus* and triumphs in Constantinople. They were certainly urged to attend routine processions, as Liudprand of Cremona attests for his stay there in 968.[28]

T. Pratsch, "Der Platz der Grabeskirche in der christlichen Verehrung im Osten," in *Konflikt und Bewältigung*, pp. 62–63.

24 For Constantine's sponsorship of the translation of Gregory of Nazianzen's relics, involving a letter addressed to Gregory on his behalf and a eulogy delivered on 19 January 946, see Theodore Daphnopates, *Correspondance*, ed. J. Darrouzès and L. G. Westerink (Paris, 1978), pp. 142–45 (text), 18 (introduction); B. Flusin, "Le panégyrique de Constantine VII Porphyrogénète pour la translation des reliques de Grégoire le Théologien (BHG 728)," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 57 (1999), 5–97, esp. pp. 12, 32–37. On the reception for John the Baptist's hand, see Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. Thurn, p. 245. See also I. Kalavrezou, "Helping Hands for the Empire: Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics at the Byzantine Court," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, DC, 1997), pp. 67–72, 76.

25 Arethas, *Scripta minora*, ed. L. G. Westerink, 2 (Leipzig, 1972), pp. 13–16; R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin, 1: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarchat œcuménique, 3: Les églises et les monastères*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1969), pp. 299–300; S. Tougher, *The Reign of Leo VI (886–912)* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 13, 201.

26 That Constantine—together with Leo VI, Photios, and Basil the Chamberlain—effectively set out and implemented a kind of programme for Byzantine orthodox culture with reference to the late Roman and early Byzantine past, is suggested by P. Magdalino, "Orthodoxy and Byzantine Cultural Identity," in *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Byzantium*, ed. A. Rigo and P. Ermilov, Quaderni di Nea Rome 4 (Rome, 2010), p. 35.

27 The practical difficulties of orchestrating harmonious proceedings across a cityscape are evident from studies of *adventus* in German and other west European towns in the later middle ages: A. Lampen and P. Johanek, "Adventus. Studien zum herrscherlichen Einzug in die Stadt. Zur Einführung," in *Adventus. Studien zum herrscherlichen Einzug in die Stadt*, ed. P. Johanek and A. Lampen (Cologne, 2009), pp. viii, xi–xv (discussing contributions to this volume).

28 Liudprand of Cremona, *Legatio* 9, ed. P. Chiesa, *Liutprandi Cremonensis. Opera Omnia*, CCCM 156 (Turnhout, 1998), p. 191.

4. *Byzantine Triumphs and Their Supporting "props" in the Later Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*

There were, then, specific political considerations underlying Constantine VII's intensification of *adventus* and triumphs in the mid-tenth century. Yet it was not all "smoke and mirrors," conjured up by a consummate impresario. The second half of the tenth and first half of the eleventh centuries was an era of expansion—economic and administrative as well as military—and the rebellions that convulsed Byzantium during Basil II's reign may well represent "growth-pangs" rather than signs of imminent collapse.[29] Emperors were inclined to highlight the subjecting of peoples and extending of borders as functions of rulership.[30] This theme, alongside triumphs, resonated in Byzantine political culture long after the spurt of substantive territorial expansion between 958 and 972 ended. Emperors, whether or not from authentically military backgrounds, had obvious grounds for parading spoils and captives and for representing their martial qualities as gifts from God. Slightly less obvious yet equally significant for our purposes is the attentiveness to classical precedents that celebrants showed in the later tenth century. This is manifest in what we learn of the triumph in honour of John I Tzimiskes's defeat of the Rus and the Bulgarians in 971. His refusal to ride in a four-horse-drawn carriage and installation of a captured icon of the Virgin instead seems to have evoked a celebrated episode from Republican Rome, whilst emphasising Tzimiskes's combination of *modestia* and piety. A panegyric apparently written soon afterwards was replete with classical allusions and lore and this (hypothetical) text was, most probably, the common source of Leo the Deacon's and John Skylitzes's accounts.[31] Likewise, the obvious visual

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[29] For the economy, see, e.g., A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900–1200* (Cambridge, 1989). For military rebellions amidst internal consolidation, see C. Holmes, *Basil II and the Governance of Empire (976–1025)* (Oxford, 2005); eadem, "Political Literacy," in *The Byzantine World*, ed. P. Stephenson (London, 2010), pp. 144–45.

[30] J. Shepard, "Emperors and Expansionism: From Rome to Middle Byzantium," in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. D. Abulafia and N. Berend (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 71–77.

[31] Leo the Deacon, *Historiae libri decem* 9.12, ed. C. B. Hase (Bonn, 1828), p. 158; Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Thurn, p. 310. The use of four horses was, most probably, in pointed contrast to Camillus's vainglorious triumph in Rome. For this, and the likelihood that a classicising panegyric was the common source of both Leo the Deacon and Skylitzes, see A. Kaldellis, "The Original Source for Tzimiskes' Balkan Campaign (971 AD) and the emperor's classicizing propaganda," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 37 (2013), 35–52.

message of the public disrobing of Boris was his unfitness for imperial Roman garb.[32]

If evidence of ceremonial triumphalism is thinner for Basil II's era,[33] this may partly reflect the protracted and repetitive nature of his campaigns against the Bulgarians, whose inconclusiveness would have been all too well-known to Constantinople's citizens. That Basil himself associated imperial warfare with divine service and benediction is suggested by the famous image in his Psalter: clad as Roman general and wearing a *stemma*, he receives from Christ another crown—perhaps with additional connotations of victory—while foreign and domestic foes crouch beneath his feet. Basil rests his spear shaft on the neck of one of them in line with his grandfather's prescription, while the others undergo virtual *calcatio*.[34] When eventually the Bulgarians succumbed, Basil celebrated in full triumphal style. In 1019 he entered Constantinople through the great middle portals of the Golden Gate, wearing a golden crown adorned with a crest (*tufa*).[35] Triumphs were celebrated in Constantinople from time to time in the generation following Basil's death, and victorious generals could receive the honours. Thus in 1043 Constantine IX Monomachos held a triumph for Stephen Pergamenos and his troops, after their defeat of George Maniakes.[36] The celebrations were elaborate, generating "crowns of valour" (*aristeioi stephanoi*) that most of the soldiers wore.[37] Mementos which were artefacts rather than vegetation could subsequently have circulated widely, and what is now known as "the crown of Monomachos"—first reported in mid-nineteenth-century Hungary—may itself be a product of the triumph. Timothy Dawson has suggested that this artefact originated as a triumphal arm-ring in the form of a miniature crown, made for presentation to Pergamenos.[38] At any rate, the triumph's

[32] Leo the Deacon, *Historiae libri* 9.12, ed. Hase, pp. 158–59; Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Thurn, p. 310. Skylitzes's unequivocal placing of the disrobement in the forum seems preferable to Leo the Deacon's implication that it occurred in the palace: McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, p. 174, n. 172.

[33] McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, p. 177.

[34] *De cerimoniis* 2.19, ed. Reiske, p. 610, ll. 19–21; above, n. 21. See also, e.g., A. Cutler and J.-M. Spieser, *Byzance mediévale 700–1204* (Paris, 1996), p. 319 and fig. 254; P. Stephenson, *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 51–56 and pl. 1.

[35] Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Thurn, pp. 364–65. See McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, p. 178; Stephenson, *Legend of Basil*, pp. 54, 56, 58–61.

[36] Michael Psellos, *Chronographia*, ed. and trans. E. Renauld, 2 (Paris, 1928), pp. 6–7; Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Thurn, p. 428; McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp. 180–82.

[37] Psellos, *Chronographia*, ed. and trans. Renauld, 2:6.

[38] T. Dawson, "The Monomachos Crown: Towards a Resolution," *Byzantina Symmeikta* 19 (2009), 186–90. He cites Constantine VII's prescription for an emperor returning to

éclat was such as to receive coverage from the much later Syriac historian, Bar Hebraeus.[39] Emperors continued to stage triumphs followed up by races in the Hippodrome in the twelfth century, and to advertise them to outsiders.[40] The triumph laid on for Manuel at Antioch in 1159 followed the pattern of such proceedings in Constantinople, according to John Kinnamos; it was presumably organised by imperial officials, acting in concert with the Frankish authorities in the principality.[41]

Besides staging fairly frequent celebrations of victories, Constantine VII and his successors went to some lengths to provide material "props" that would perpetuate and broadcast the theme of military success, while also proclaiming the empire's Romanness.[42] Such props could be monumental, integral to Constantinople's fabric, for example the stone Obelisk constructed in the Hippodrome whose embellishment Constantine oversaw.[43] And the era of Constantine and his successors most probably saw the Golden Gate, that key station for triumphs, reinforced with an elaborate outer gate. The gate displayed on its outer face a hotchpotch of classical and Byzantine carvings, with perhaps also a Victory offering a crown.[44] The new monument celebrated both present-day victories and the ancientness of the empire and its lore. Professor Mango, drawing attention to this outer gate, remarked that "it would have looked from a distance not unlike the face of a Roman triumphal arch."[45] He very tentatively suggested attribution to Nikephoros II Phokas (963–969),

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Constantinople from an expedition: senior officials were to present him with a miniature crown to wear on his arm: Porphyrogennetos, *Three Treatises*, ed. Haldon, Text (C), p. 148, ll. 846–49.

39 Bar Hebraeus (Gregory Abu'l Faraj), *Chronography*, trans. E. A. Wallis Budge, 1 (Oxford, 1932), p. 201.

40 See A. Simpson, "Narrative Images of Medieval Constantinople," in *Niketas Choniates. A Historian and a Writer*, ed. A. Simpson and S. Efthymiadis (Geneva, 2009), pp. 195–96.

41 John Kinnamos, *Epitome rerum*, ed. A. Meineke (Bonn, 1836), pp. 186–88, esp. p. 187; William of Tyre, *Chronicon* 18.25, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 63A (Turnhout, 1986), p. 848; P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 69 and n. 154.

42 Temporary furnishings and decorations were also loaned or set out by the citizens of Constantinople for triumphs and other major festive occasions: McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp. 205–8.

43 W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie Konstantinopels* (Istanbul, 1977), p. 65; McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, p. 176, n. 180. By the mid-tenth century there was something of a vogue for "the drawing of Constantinople's monuments and statues, and their redeployment as motifs in sacred contexts:" P. Stephenson, "Staring at Serpents in Tenth-Century Constantinople," *Bysantinska Sällskapet Bulletin* 28 (2010), 75.

44 C. Mango, "The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000), 181–86.

45 Mango, "Triumphal Way," 186.

who installed the bronze gates of the towns of Tarsus and Mopsuestia at, respectively, the Acropolis walls and the Golden Gate.[46] (Figs. 12.1 and 12.2). At any rate, this "triumphal monument" is, to Mango's eyes, "middle Byzantine," and likely to date from before the Comnenian period.[47] And it is hard to envisage a mid-eleventh-century emperor having occasion to raise such a monument.

The theme of imperial victory extended to the medium of silks, being sometimes, in effect, broadcast to the Latin West. A prime instance is a silk showing two female figures whose "walled crowns" indicate that they personify cities (or, most probably, the single City of Constantinople). (Fig. 12.3) The women welcome a victorious emperor, offering him crowns, and there seems to be scholarly consensus that the scene refers to an actual event. André Grabar suggested that the event in question was Basil II's victory over the Bulgarians, which he celebrated with a thanksgiving to the Mother of God at her renowned church in the Parthenon of Athens before proceeding to make his triumphal entry into Constantinople.[48] However, Günter Prinzing has adduced arguments for identifying the scene with the fore-mentioned triumph of John Tzimiskes. Two crowns (of the vanquished Bulgarian regime) featured prominently in the rites performed in 971, and Prinzing points to the bold blue and green colours of the women's tunics; the colours may symbolise the corporations (*demes*) of the Blues and the Greens, who traditionally played an important part in acclaiming triumphant emperors on their way through the City.[49] The case for associating the scene on the silk with Tzimiskes'

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[46] Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Thurn, p. 270; John Zonaras, *Epitomae historiarum libri XVIII*, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, 3 (Bonn, 1897), pp. 503–4; Mango, "Triumphal Way," 186. For what remains above ground of the outer gate, see Mango, "Triumphal Way," 181–82.

[47] Mango, "Triumphal Way," 182, 186. The Golden Gate was no longer in use for triumphal entries in the Comnenian period.

[48] Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Thurn, p. 364. See A. Grabar, "La soie byzantine de l'évêque Gunther à la cathédrale de Bamberg," repr. in his *L'art de la fin de l'antiquité et du Moyen Age*, 1 (Paris, 1968), pp. 226–27; ibid., 3 (Paris, 1968), pls. 30–33. On Basil's reasons for diverting to Athens and giving thanks in the Parthenon, see A. Kaldellis, *The Christian Parthenon* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 89–91.

[49] G. Prinzing, "Das Bamberger Gunthertuch in neuer Sicht," *Byzantinoslavica* 54 (1993), 218–31, esp. pp. 225–29 and fig. on p. 220; G. Prinzing, "Nochmals zur historischen Deutung des Bamberger Gunthertuch auf Johannes Tzimiskes," in *Byzantium. New Peoples, New Powers*, ed. M. Kaimakamova et al., Byzantina et Slavica Cracoviensia 5 (Cracow, 2007), pp. 123–32, esp. pp. 125–27, 131–32. See also Stephenson, *Legend of Basil*, pp. 62–65 and pl. 2; T. Papamastorakis "The Bamberg Hanging Reconsidered," *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, n.s. 24 (2003), 375–92 (for this reference I am most grateful to Professor C. Angelidi); M. Restle, "Das Gunthertuch im Domschatz von Bamberg," in *Byzantina*

triumphal *adventus* is powerful, and is perhaps stronger still if in fact a classicising panegyric was composed soon afterwards.[50] At any rate, it is most probable that an actual victory is the subject of the silk, and this bears on our main theme in two respects. Firstly, the silk clearly alludes to Byzantium's classical legacy. The "walled crowns," vestments and stance of the female personifications aver the unbroken continuity of the political order from antiquity in a manner comparable to the "Roman triumphal arch" added to the Golden Gate, and they carry the same message of victory. Secondly, the silk itself constitutes evidence of the Byzantines impressing the theme of classical-style triumph upon foreigners. The silk is known as the *Gunthertuch*, after Bishop Gunther of Bamberg, who most probably received it as a gift from the emperor while passing through Constantinople in 1064/65. A few months later, in the summer of 1065, Gunther died on his way home, and the large silk became his winding-sheet.[51] This can hardly have been the sole occasion when westerners acquired mementos of victory and evocations of antiquity on journeys to, or through, Byzantium.[52] Their imagery is likely to have had all the more impact on foreign recipients and observers so long as Byzantine material resources and military capability remained formidable, as they did even in the third quarter of the eleventh century. At any rate, antique themes of triumph and expansion of empire alongside claims to heaven-sent victory were active ingredients of the eastern empire's political culture in this period.[53]

Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65 Geburtstag, ed. K. Belke et al. (Vienna, 2007), pp. 547–68.

50 Kaldellis, "Original Source," 38, 46.

51 On what little is known of Gunther's stay(s) in Constantinople on the outwards and perhaps also homewards run, see Prinzing, "Das Bamberger Gunthertuch," 219–20, 230 and n. 52; D. Jacoby, "Bishop Gunther of Bamberg, Byzantium and Christian Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the Eleventh Century," in *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie. Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*, ed. L. M. Hoffmann and A. Monchizadeh, Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik 7 (Wiesbaden, 2005), pp. 276–78 and n. 59.

52 The ivory casket depicting the *adventus* of two emperors before a walled city, probably of tenth-century date, could have reached western Europe before 1204, although Jean Langlois, chaplain to the bishop of Troyes, is generally credited with bringing it to the west after the Fourth Crusade: Grabar, "La soie byzantine," pp. 222–24 and pl. 35; Prinzing, "Das Bamberger Gunthertuch," 222; H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixom, eds., *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*, exhibition catalogue (New York, 1997), no. 141, pp. 204–6 (H. Maguire); Stephenson, *Legend of Basil*, pp. 59–60.

53 See also Shepard, "Emperors and Expansionism," pp. 79–81.

5. Adventus *in the Earlier Medieval West: Duke William V of Aquitaine and Proliferating Resource-Centres*

Turning to the Latin West, one cannot attempt full assessment of which potentates and communities drew directly upon ancient rites and authority-symbols, and of how or why. Three general observations must make do, followed by considerations as to why *adventus* ceremonial and, even, Byzantine rites of triumph and emblems of victory might have resonated particularly strongly with certain western regimes in the late tenth and eleventh centuries.

Firstly, in the West as in Byzantium, rites of *adventus* carried heavy overtones of imperial Roman authority. The city of Rome was the setting for them par excellence, although imperial-style *adventus* could occur elsewhere in the urbanised south, especially when a ruler entered a newly-subjugated city as, for example, Louis the Pious did at Barcelona in 801.[54] Accordingly, popes would stage them for emperors visiting Rome and, in the later tenth century and at the beginning of the eleventh, several *adventus* were laid on for Ottonian visitors to the city with, one should note, the School of the Greeks customarily chanting *laudes* in Greek. Rites of *adventus* were sufficiently engrained in Ottonian political culture for aspirants to the throne like Henry the Wrangler, duke of Bavaria, to stage them.[55] Secondly, *adventus* of other types, involving translation of relics or ceremonial greetings of prelates and abbots, were much commoner, and were by no means confined to population-centres with a strong sense of continuity from the Roman past, that is, to the Mediterranean region. *Adventus* found new applications in changing circumstances in north and south alike. For example, in 1076 Bishop Burchard II of Halberstadt received a festive welcome upon escaping from detention at the hands of

[54] For the *adventus* that Louis the Pious laid on for himself at Barcelona, see *Vita Hludovici imperatoris* 13, ed. E. Tremp, MGH SS rer. Germ. 64 (Hannover, 1995), pp. 318–21; McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp. 374–75.

[55] A. T. Hack, *Das Empfangszeremoniell bei mittelalterlichen Papst-Kaiser-Treffen* (Cologne, 1999), p. 332. See also, for a list of papal encounters with the Ottos, ibid., pp. 613–16. For Henry the Wrangler at Quedlinburg, see Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon* 4.2 (2), ed. Holtzmann, p. 132; D. A. Warner, "Ritual and Memory in the Ottonian *Reich*: The Ceremony of *Adventus*," *Speculum* 76 (2001), 279–80. *Adventus* on Palm Sunday drew unmistakable parallels between the emperor and Christ: Warner, "Ritual," 262, 281–82; J. R. Oesterle, *Kalifat und Königtum. Herrschaftsräpresentation der Fatimiden, Ottonen und frühen Salier an religiösen Hochfesten* (Darmstadt, 2008), pp. 330–34. For a possible instance of *adventus* staged beyond the ancient imperial frontiers, see J. Dudak, "Emperor Otto III's 'Advent' at Gniezno in March 1000," *Byzantinoslavica* 63 (2005), 117–30, esp. pp. 123–30.

Henry IV and returning to his see: this *adventus* served as defiance of royal policy.[56] Thirdly, rites of secular *adventus*, triumphs, and use of triumphal ways were quite rare for secular figures below the level of kings in the medieval west before the eleventh century. And for France, one may note the sparseness of records of *adventus* ceremonies for early Capetian kings, in contrast to those for their Carolingian and Merovingian predecessors. A noteworthy exception comes from Robert the Pious's yearlong tour of Aquitaine and Provence around 1019–1020. Robert was, according to his *Vita*, solemnly received at the shrines of Gilles, Saturninus, Vincent, and other saints; he communed with the saints directly, "addressing their ears with most humble and worthy prayers," while distributing money to the people and kissing the hands of lepers.[57]

It is probably no accident that southern France witnessed Robert's departure from his usual routines of *Christomimesis* in residences like Paris's Ile-de-Cité, where he would wash the feet of poor clergy on Maundy Thursday, with twelve apostle-like "poor men" ever in attendance.[58] Southwest and western France saw a flurry of *adventus* for other laymen and even intimations of classical triumph around the time of Robert's grand tour. One should not, of course, attribute these fashions simply to regard for rites in contemporary Constantinople. Magnates in these regions were very eclectic, and they and their churchmen had robust local traditions of *Romanitas* to draw upon.[59] Their *adventus* drew inspiration

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[56] Bruno, *Bellum Saxonicum* 83, ed. F.-J. Schmale et al., *Quellen zur Geschichte Kaiser Heinrichs IV.*, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 12 (repr. Darmstadt, 2006), pp. 322–23; K. Hitzbleck, "Die Einzüge der Bischofs von Halberstadt," in *Adventus. Studien zum herrscherlichen Einzug in die Stadt*, ed. P. Johannek and A. Lampen (Cologne, 2009), pp. 61–62. By the late middle ages, "provincial *adventus*" were commonplace enough in German towns to warrant prescriptive texts: M. A. Bojcov, "How One Archbishop of Trier Perambulated his Lands," in *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany 800–1500*, ed. B. Weiler and S. Maclean (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 318–24.

[57] Helgaud of Fleury, *Vita regis Rotberti pii*, 27, ed. R.-H. Bautier and G. Labory, *Sources d'histoire médiévale* 1 (Paris, 1965), pp. 126–27. See G. Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor. Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, 1992), pp. 126–27 and n. 58 on p. 374.

[58] Helgaud, *Vita regis Rotberti* 21, ed. Bautier and Labory, pp. 104–5; Koziol, *Begging Pardon*, pp. 166–67.

[59] For the question of *Romanitas* in the south see, e.g, C. Lauranson-Rosaz, "La romanité du Midi de l'an Mil," in *L'an mil*, ed. R. Delort and D. Iogna-Prat (Paris, 1990), pp. 49–74; M. Zimmermann, "Western Francia: The Southern Principalities," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, 3, *c. 900–c. 1024*, ed. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 426, 452. Twelfth-century troubadours were, however, sufficiently aware of the contrast between their own language and Latin to refer to the latter as *lengua romana*: L. Paterson, "Was there an Occitan Identity in the Middle Ages?" repr. (in translation) in her *Culture and Society in Medieval Occitania* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 4–5.

from book-learning about the ancient Caesars and from the receptions provided for one or two of them at Rome. The foremost southern magnate was Duke William V of Aquitaine (ca. 994–1030). According to an encomiastic contemporary, Ademar of Chabannes, William was, on his frequent travels, "taken for a king rather than a duke." Grandiose receptions contributed to his image, along with embassies and gifts exchanged regularly with other potentates, presiding over councils, and the patronage of monks.[60] William, as count of Poitou, was most firmly entrenched at Poitiers. But he sought quasi-monarchical hegemony across southwestern France, and availed himself of rites of rulership involving *adventus*. At the end of 1023 or beginning of 1024—and thus soon after King Robert's tour of the south—"all the citizens" of Limoges greeted William at the gates and they processed to the cathedral, where monks carrying gospel books and burning incense received him.[61] The duke's grandiose self-association with towns is hardly surprising, given Aquitaine's past as a Carolingian *regnum* and notions of "the entire monarchy of the Aquitainians," as William's immediate predecessor had styled himself *dux* over;[62] his own active interest in Roman law; and his almost annual visits to Rome where, reportedly, the pope would welcome him as if he were Augustus, and the "entire Roman senate" would acclaim him as their "father."[63]

William V of Aquitaine was neither an arriviste nor very successful on the battlefield.[64] In fact, there is a somewhat defensive cast to his grand gestures, as he sought to cope with the martial capabilities and mounting ambitions of other lords in southwest and western France. William was trying to bolster and dignify his regime in conditions of socio-political flux. One sign of volatility is the new forms of collective religious devotion that appeared in southern France at the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The "Peace-Assemblies" combined processions of relics with oaths to keep the "Peace of God," under direction from bishops and lay magnates,

60 Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon* 3.41, ed. P. Bourgain, CCCM 129 (Turnhout, 1999), p. 161. Zimmermann, "Western Francia," p. 451. For a sceptical assessment of William's power, see B. S. Bachrach, "Toward a Reappraisal of William the Great, Duke of Aquitaine, 995–1030," *Journal of Medieval History* 5 (1979), 11–21, esp. pp. 17–19; idem, "'Potius rex quam esse dux putabatur'," *Haskins Society Journal* 1 (1989), 11–21, esp. pp. 14–18.

61 Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon* 3.57, ed. Bourgain, p. 178; Koziol, *Begging Pardon*, p. 134; H. Fichtenau, *Living in the Tenth Century*, trans. P. Geary (Chicago, 1991), p. 53.

62 The predecessor was William IV "Towhead": Zimmermann, "Western Francia," p. 436.

63 Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon* 3.41, ed. Bourgain, p. 162.

64 Bachrach, "Toward a Reappraisal," 12–15.

while channelling or arousing popular fervour with Millennial overtones.[65] Duke William together with the churchmen who sponsored them professed to be championing peace and order against newly wanton and audacious violators. Their protestations, declarations, and rites have been cited as evidence that a "feudal revolution" or "mutation" occurred around the year 1000, a view that has come under heavy criticism.[66] Whatever one makes of the churchmen's protestations about combat-ready *milites* on the rampage, the proliferation of castles and—concomitantly—of smaller "resource-centres" across southwest and western France can scarcely be wholly illusory, the propaganda of clerical and monastic writers anxious to defend their own properties.[67] Gregory Koziol seems to me fully justified in linking the efflorescence of rites of quasi-royal rulership among certain French regional magnates with this competition for ascendancy: they sought an aura of what amounted to righteous rulership, rather than merely asserting specifically proprietorial rights or limited jurisdictions.[68] In these circumstances, one might expect Byzantine political culture to have had its uses, especially to "upwardly mobile" magnates in quest of unimpeachable legitimacy at another's expense, and well-aware of the eastern empire's resurgence.

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65 Ralph Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque* 4.14–16, ed. J. France (Oxford, 1989), pp. 194–97; Koziol, *Begging Pardon*, pp. 134–35, 137; R. Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History. Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), pp. 28–49; idem, "The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000," *Speculum* 75 (2000), 141–42. Scepticism about connections between socio-political flux, the millennium, and the "Peace of God" movement is championed by D. Barthélemy, *L'an mil et la paix de Dieu* (Paris, 1999); counter-arguments from, e.g., M.-D. Grigore, *Ehre und Gesellschaft. Ehrkonstrukten und soziale Ordnungsverstellungen am Beispiel des Gottesfriedens (10. bis 11. Jahrhundert)* (Darmstadt, 2009), pp. 306–8, 318–32.

66 The idea of a "feudal revolution" received classic formulation from G. Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. A. Goldhammer (Chicago, 1981), pp. 147–66. Rather than attempting to review the historiography, we shall merely note that the idea of major change underway around 1000 has notable advocates (e.g. J.-P. Poly and E. Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation, 900–1200*, trans. C. Higgitt [London, 1991]), but has undergone criticism from, most notably, D. Barthélemy, *La mutation de l'an mil a-t-elle eu lieu*? (Paris, 1997). For Anglophone rounds in the debate, see the contributions in *Past and Present* to "Debate: The 'Feudal Revolution'" by T. N. Bisson, no. 142 (1994), 6–42; D. Barthélemy and S. D. White, no. 152 (1996), 196–204, 205–23; T. Reuter, C. Wickham, and T. N. Bisson (again), no. 155 (1997), 177–95, 196–208, 208–25; R. E. Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c.890–1160* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 14–16, 112–45, 223–24; T. N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, 2009), pp. 41–53.

67 I discuss this further in a work now under preparation, *Europe in Ferment, 950–1100*. See also C. West *Reframing the Feudal Revolution. Between Marne and Moselle, c.800 to c.1100* (Cambridge, 2013).

68 G. Koziol, "Political Culture," in *France in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. M. Bull (Oxford, 2002), pp. 52–55.

An established grandee like Duke WiIliam V could easily draw upon a wide variety of plausible models for rites of monarchical authority, including the *adventus* he himself received in Rome. However, Aquitaine and western France lay not far from the Lower Rhone valley, whose commercial links with the Eastern Mediterranean world outlasted antiquity and were still vibrant in the early tenth century.[69] And from the later tenth century onwards the Holy Land attracted increasing numbers of pilgrims (above, p. 338). While their objective was Jerusalem and the shrines in its vicinity, many travelled through Byzantine-ruled territories.[70] Of those who visited Constantinople, the more eminent or useful-looking would receive some sort of hospitality from the imperial authorities. Bishop Gunther is most likely to have acquired his victory-silk this way (above, p. 349). Indeed, the emperor presented particles of the True Cross to some of these visitors,[71] and the earlier eleventh century saw a series of imperial initiatives to assert responsibility for Jerusalem and, spectacularly, to oversee the reconstruction of part of Jerusalem's church of the Holy Sepulchre.[72] Against this background, one might a priori expect the revitalised antiquity, triumphalism, and imperially authenticated relics on display in Constantinople to have appealed to travellers from the sophisticated yet

[69] Agathias commented on the enduring excellence of Marseille's inhabitants in the late sixth century (*Historiarum libri quinque* 1.2.2, ed. R. Keydell, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 2 [Berlin, 1967], p. 11); Greek traders were still expected to pay port-dues at Arles in 921, judging by Louis the Blind's confirmation of these and the other privileges granted by his predecessor to the Church of Arles (*Recueil des actes des rois de Provence (855–928)*, ed. R. Poupardin [Paris, 1920], no. 59, p. 108); and in 1044 a charter of Bishop Pons of Marseille could quite routinely make provision for a group of Greek monks who were living under the auspices of the abbey of Saint-Victor (*Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseille*, ed. M. Guérard et al., 1 [Paris, 1857], no. 61, p. 89; J.-M. Sansterre, "Des moines grecs dans la région de Marseille vers le milieu du XIe siècle," *Byzantion* 67 [1997], 563–64). On routes linking Languedoc and Provence with Corsica, Sardinia, and the Eastern Mediterranean, see J. H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 91–92.

[70] Micheau, "Les itinéraires maritimes," pp. 84, 86–90.

[71] Ralph Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque* 4.19, ed. France, pp. 202–3; William of Jumièges et al., *Gesta Normannorum ducum* 7.15, ed. E. M. C. van Houts, 2 (Oxford, 1995), pp. 118–19. Two particles of the Cross were bestowed by the patriarch on Abbot Richard of Saint-Vannes in 1027, supplementing a silk the emperor gave: *Vita Richardi abbatis S. Vitoni Virdunensis* 17, MGH SS 11 (Hannover, 1854), p. 288. See also Jacoby, "Bishop Gunther," pp. 276–77.

[72] Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt*, pp. 74, 101–2, 107; M. Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 77–81; A. Beihammer, "Byzanz und die islamische Staatenwelt im Zeitalter Kaiser Basileios' II. und des Kalifen al-Ḥākim," in *Konflikt und Bewältigung*, pp. 192–93; Jaspert, "Das heilige Grab," pp. 75–76. See also, for further details about the building work, R. Ousterhout, "Rebuilding the Temple: Constantine Monomachos and the Holy Sepulchre," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48 (1989), 66–78.

highly competitive political culture of Aquitaine, and also from adjoining regions and rival regimes. And in fact there are hints of the repercussions of more frequent journeying to the eastern Mediterranean world among regimes somewhat lowlier than William V's.

6. Adventus, *Triumph, and Conquest: Three Case-Studies with Imperial Echoes*

Arrivistes make the most obvious enthusiasts for novel yet self-explanatory triumphal rites and emblems which could help legitimise their conquests and other gains. At the same time, such rites had more general appeal to competitive figures in arenas where antique traditions and contemporary eastern triumphal ceremonial had resonance. Three case-studies may illustrate this. They are disparate and geographically somewhat diffuse. Yet each, after its fashion, carries echoes from the contemporary Christian East, and each involves pilgrimages to Jerusalem via Constantinople, or diplomatic exchanges with Byzantium.

William IV Taillefer, Count of Angoulême (988–1028)

The case of William Taillefer, a generally staunch supporter of William V, suggests how pilgrimages to the East could trigger innovative and high-flown rites among lesser lords, too. Taillefer headed east on the grand collective journey led by Richard of Saint-Vannes in 1026–1027 and presumably accompanied him to the receptions and gift-giving accorded by the emperor and patriarch at Constantinople.[73] We have an eyewitness account of the *adventus* staged at his main town, Angoulême, upon his return from Jerusalem in 1027: "the monastic clergy of Saint-Cybard, ... dressed in white robes with variegated ornaments," met Taillefer and, together with "a vast throng" of clergy and laypersons, escorted him the final mile into town to the chanting of *laudes*.[74]

Richard Landes has drawn attention to this evocation of royal *adventus*, *translatio* of relics, and Christ's Entry into Jerusalem.[75] Noting that such blatant "Christ-simulation" was most unusual, he casts doubt on our

[73] *Vita Richardi abbatis* 17, p. 288; Landes, *Relics*, p. 157. See above, n. 71.
[74] Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon* 3.65, ed. Bourgain, pp. 184–85.
[75] Landes, *Relics*, p. 168. For Ottonian evocations of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, see n. 55.

source's claim that all was done "according to custom."[76] The choreographer of this *adventus* was none other than the source's author, Ademar of Chabannes. Apparently, he hoped to win Taillefer's favour through a quasi-Biblical "happening," in hopes of securing the abbacy of Saint-Cybard by way of reward.[77] In treating Taillefer to an *adventus* befitting a "just ruler," Ademar was, in effect, pushing at the boundaries of political culture. Taillefer's son and heir, Alduin, entered Angoulême in similar style and on a supremely symbolic day, Palm Sunday, 1028. This did not, however, prevent Alduin's younger brother from defiantly seizing one of his key castles the following day, and such extravagantly self-promoting ceremonial failed to catch hold.[78] If, as is likely, the *adventus* for Taillefer was the confection of an idiosyncratic scholar, one might doubt its overall significance. However, Ademar had various informants about contemporary eastern Christian rites and historical events, most notably two learned Greek monks, Symeon and Kosmas. It was probably thanks to these holy men that he wrote "with some gusto on Byzantine affairs," including the recent victories of Basil II.[79] Ademar was, perhaps, trying to treat Taillefer to the kind of ceremonial he might have heard tell of during his travels to the East; such an *adventus* might bolster his standing vis-à-vis Duke William and other allies and rivals.

Fulk Nerra, Count of Anjou (987–1040)

One outstandingly eager student of *adventus* was Fulk Nerra, count of Anjou. In comparison with Duke William V or indeed his own brother-in-law, William IV Taillefer, Fulk was an arriviste, challenging the status quo in his bid to establish dominion on his own terms over the Lower Loire. He mounted ferocious campaigns against his rivals, mainly the counts of Blois and other northern French lords, though he also had to reckon with William of Aquitaine as his uneasy southern neighbour. He

[76] Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon* 3.65, ed. Bourgain, p. 185; Landes, *Relics*, pp. 169–70.

[77] Landes, *Relics*, pp. 162–63, 167, 170.

[78] Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon* 3.66, ed. Bourgain, p. 187; Landes, *Relics*, pp. 169, 181–82.

[79] R. L. Wolff, "How the News was brought from Byzantium to Angoulême: Or, the Pursuit of a Hare in an Ox Cart," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 4 (1978), 140. On Symeon—St. Symeon of Sinai and Trier—and Kosmas, see ibid., 183–89. See also Landes, *Relics*, pp. 157–58, 161–63 and n. 43; A. Haverkamp, "Der heilige Simeon (gest. 1035), Grieche im fatimidischen Orient und im lateinischen Okzident," *Historische Zeitschrift* 290 (2010), 1–51, esp. pp. 4–6, 39–40. I am grateful to Professor Günter Prinzing for bringing the latter study to my attention.

therefore sought to identify his regime with military victories and to claim invincibility through monuments and ceremonies. On at least one occasion this involved performing the rite of *calcatio*. Judging by William of Malmesbury's account, Fulk carried this out on his own son, Geoffrey Martel. Geoffrey lay prostrate before him, in what amounted to *proskynesis*, while Fulk prodded him with his foot, saying repeatedly, "You are beaten at last, beaten!"[80] While conducting an extensive castle-building programme, Fulk sought to link his rule specifically to Angers, a city well-endowed with Roman walls and other monuments from antiquity. There, he constructed—or at least named—a *Via triumphalis* in commemoration of his defeat of the Bretons at the Battle of Conquereuil in 992.[81] In fact he drew a connection between *adventus* and military victory, apparently envisaging processions—triumphs—at his powerbase.

Vying with more elevated magnates like William V, Fulk expressly invoked ancient precedents. One might explain Fulk's actions in terms of classical antiquity and general Christian ritual alone, since he was acquainted with Roman law and classical Roman history, likening himself to Cincinnatus in style. He invited comparison by clearing woodland outside Angers, calling it the "the count's plantation" ("Cultura comitis"), and reportedly working it with his own oxen.[82] Evoking imperial Roman practices, he had the right hand of Count Conan of the Bretons cut off as punishment for attempted usurpation, after defeating him at Conquereuil.[83] Fulk may have had personal experience of processions in Rome itself. According to the "Legend of the death of Crescentius," Pope Sergius IV escorted him out of the city "with all the clergy and the Roman people."[84] Whether or not he actually received this honour, Fulk was clearly taken with the notion of combining *adventus* for relics with military triumph. At his monastery at Belli Locus (Loches) commemorating Conquereuil, he

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[80] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum* 3, 235, ed. R. A. B. Mynors et al., 1 (Oxford, 1998), pp. 436–37; B. S. Bachrach, "Neo-Roman vs. Feudal: The Heuristic Value of a Construct for the Reign of Fulk Nerra, Count of the Angevins (987–1040)," *Cithara* 30 (1990), 10.

[81] Fulk mentions the *Via triumphalis* in one of his charters: Y. Mailfert, "Fondation du monastère bénédictin de Saint-Nicolas d'Angers," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 92 (1931), 60; Bachrach, "Neo-Roman," 7–8; idem, *Fulk Nerra, the Neo-Roman Consul, 987–1040* (Berkeley, 1993), pp. 44–45, 150–51.

[82] Bachrach, "Neo-Roman," 7; idem, *Fulk Nerra*, pp. 44–47, 113, 151–53.

[83] Ralph Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque* 2.3, ed. France, pp. 60–61. See Bachrach, "Neo-Roman," n. 47 on pp. 24–25; idem, *Fulk Nerra*, p. 44.

[84] *Légende de la mort de Crescentius*, in *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou*, ed. L. Halphen and R. Poupardin (Paris, 1913), p. 147.

staged an *adventus* for relics of "the holy martyrs" Daria and Chrysanthus which he had acquired in, apparently, Rome. He had them installed in the church of the Holy Sepulchre after their reception "by all the clergy and people and the abbot and monks."[85]

These extravaganzas could merely reflect familiarity with contemporary western Christian rites and antique lore. One should not, however, exclude the possibility that Fulk's interest in *adventus* and triumphs drew inspiration and visual expression from more recent celebrations in the eastern empire, or from Byzantine imagery seen by him or other members of the arms-bearing classes of France. Fulk himself went on no fewer than four pilgrimages to Jerusalem, and at least two took him through the eastern empire.[86] Moreover, there is direct evidence of Fulk's susceptibility to what he observed in the East. According to a somewhat later collection of miracle stories, his ship nearly foundered in a storm in the course of his second pilgrimage (in 1009). Fulk learns from his fellow-travellers of the saint whose cathedral church is "in those parts," and how mariners have escaped the perils of the sea thanks to his prayers. St. Nicholas of the nearby city of Myra duly hears Fulk's prayers, and Fulk vows to build a monastery in his honour.[87] He did so several years after returning home, giving to his foundation lands "I myself have cleared and levelled," through which the *Via triumphalis* runs.[88] He also donated a relic of St. Nicholas, presumably acquired while he was in Byzantium.[89] So he seems to have picked up from his shipmates, presumably easterners, the cult of St. Nicholas, patron-saint of travellers.[90]

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[85] *Légende de la mort de Crescentius*, ed. Halphen and Poupardin, p. 147; Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, pp. 125–26. Although the tale is at least partly fabulous, one may accept that Fulk acquired these relics in the course of his travels: *Légende de la mort de Crescentius*, ed. Halphen and Poupardin, p. 144, n. 2; Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, pp. 114–15, 124–25.

[86] B. S. Bachrach has demonstrated this conclusively: "The Pilgrimages of Fulk Nerra, Count of the Angevins," in *Religion, Culture and Society in the Early Middle Ages. Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan*, ed. T. F. X. Noble and J. J. Contreni (Kalamazoo, MI, 1987), pp. 205–17.

[87] *Miracula Sancti Nicholai*, ed. Y. Mailfert, "Fondation du monastère bénédictin de Saint-Nicolas d'Angers," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 92 (1931), 55 (text), 45–46 (introduction); Bachrach, "Pilgrimages of Fulk Nerra," p. 206 and n. 9 on p. 214.

[88] Charter of Fulk: ed. Mailfert, "Fondation du monastère bénédictin," 60; Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, pp. 151, 165–66.

[89] *Miracula Sancti Nicholai*, ed. Mailfert, 56 (text).

[90] On the Normans and other disseminators of St. Nicholas's cult from the Byzantine world to northwest Europe in the earlier eleventh century, see I. H. Garipzanov, "The Cult of St Nicholas in the Early Christian North (c.1000–1150)," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 35 (2010), 230–32.

This was not, in fact, Fulk's sole opportunity to acquire relics or first-hand knowledge of Byzantine customs. In 1035, he visited Constantinople where he was received by the emperor.[91] "Men of Antioch" guided him across Asia Minor "by the emperor's command," and he proceeded to Jerusalem still under escort (*sub conductu*), according to the *Gesta consulum Andegavorum*.[92] Whether Fulk had enjoyed similar treatment on his preceding pilgrimage in 1009 or, indeed, whether his sea-voyage had taken him anywhere near Constantinople is uncertain. This remains a possibility, however, and in any case that voyage's hazards provided ample opportunity for observing the devotions of easterners (above, p. 358). His performance of *calcatio* on Geoffrey Martel occurred not long after his return from his pilgrimage of 1035.

Fulk was a bird of passage through Byzantine lands and waters and not, in any political sense, *philorhomaios*. As noted above, his self-image was more that of a meritocrat, embodying true Republican virtue in the spirit of Cincinnatus. But precisely because of his arrivisme,[93] he was an avid collector of marks of well-established authority, inclined to go to extravagant lengths in hopes of establishing a quasi-royal regime. His *Via triumphalis* exemplifies this, as do charters in his name, which occasionally even presume to style him "count of Anjou ... by the grace of God."[94] Herein lay the attractions of a slightly alien, yet unquestionably imperial—in fact "Roman"—political culture. Byzantium's rites of triumphal rulership were in full flower, while the facilities for travellers—such as escorts—laid on for Fulk and other western pilgrims not only exemplified administrative efficiency but also vindicated the eastern empire's claims to Romanness. If Fulk and other notables were already studying classical history from the written word, they might well have looked to

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[91] *Gesta consulum Andegavorum*, in *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou*, ed. Halphen and Poupardin, p. 50.

[92] *Gesta consulum Andegavorum*, ed. Halphen and Poupardin, p. 50; Bachrach, "Pilgrimages of Fulk Nerra," pp. 210, 211.

[93] Fulk's forebears had been counts of Anjou since the earlier tenth century, but the family ethos was that of "new men." And Fulk was the first to try and establish lasting hegemony over an extensive ensemble of territories spanning the Lower Loire and monumentalised by castles: Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, pp. 6–9, 162–63, 171–78, 254–55; D. Bates, "West Francia: The Northern Principalities," in *New Cambridge Medieval History*, 3:406–7.

[94] Wary of flagrantly breaching acceptable norms, this charter adds the emollient phrase "dedicated to earthly knighthood:" Koziol, *Begging Pardon*, pp. 261–62 and n. 86 on p. 407; idem, "Political Culture," p. 44; Bates, "West Francia," pp. 412–13. For a slightly different perspective, focused on Fulk's likely penchant for the term "consul", see Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, pp. 153, 165–66, 257.

contemporary eastern imperial rites and imagery for animated examples, a means of authenticating their own "Roman" aspirations. It is unlikely that a triumph in Constantinople—let alone any ceremony of *calcatio*—coincided with Fulk's visits, but striking visual imagery and the rhetoric of victory were prominent in Byzantine political culture and, by the time of his pilgrimages, the grandiose addition to the Golden Gate may well have been in place, and a talking-point for travellers (above, pp. 347–8). To Fulk, intent on establishing himself in Angers and gaining credentials for hegemony across the Loire region, Byzantium's manifold trappings of victory and rites solemnising the bond between ruler and City could very well have appealed.

*Duke William of Normandy Enters London: A Problem of Non-*Adventus?

If Fulk Nerra evoked the classical past and likened himself to figures such as Cincinnatus through oblique or visual methods,[95] panegyrists of the mid-eleventh century were forthright in comparing the leader of a nearby duchy with Roman heroes. William, a Norman-born cleric, used the education he had gained at Poitiers to sing the praises of the Norman duke, William, soon after his conquest of England. He compared the duke's strategy with Julius Caesar's two invasions of Britain, regarding William's planning as superior.[96] Thanks to the "illustrious men excellently versed and learned in letters" in his entourage, Duke William himself had ready access to written information about classical Roman history and lore.[97] But he also had ample means of supplementing this book-learning through reference to contemporary practices in the eastern empire. William's predecessors had forged quite close links with the eastern Mediterranean world. Thus Symeon, the Greek monk who briefed Ademar of Chabannes on Byzantine affairs (above, p. 356), had been en route to Normandy to collect the money the duke had pledged for his house of St. Catherine's on Sinai.[98] By that time, the later 1020s, Jerusalem was attracting ever more pilgrims from northern France as well as Aquitaine. William's own father, Duke Robert, died at Nicaea in 1035, having met up with his great-uncle

95 Bachrach, "Neo-Roman," 3, 7–9, 11; idem, *Fulk Nerra*, pp. 151–53.

96 William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi* 2.40, ed. R. H. C. Davis and M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1998), pp. 168–75, esp. pp. 172–73; pp. xv, xvii–xix, xxi–xxii (introduction).

97 William of Jumièges et al., *Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. E. M. C. van Houts, 1 (Oxford, 1992), preface, pp. 4–5; B. S. Bachrach, "Some Observations on the Military Organisation of the Norman Conquest," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 8 (1985), 7.

98 Landes, *Relics*, p. 157; Haverkamp, "Der heilige Simeon," 39–40.

Fulk Nerra, seemingly by prior arrangement, so as to travel together to Jerusalem under imperial escort; the emperor had received him in Constantinople on his outwards journey.[99] Sometime before his invasion of England, William was himself on the receiving end of embassies from Byzantium, according to William of Poitiers.[100] Moreover, individuals in Duke William's entourage had personal experience of the imperial court's customs. Thus in the reign of Isaac I Komnenos and at the beginning of Constantine X's, Odo II Stigand, eldest son of William's steward and trusted associate, Odo I, spent three years at court, receiving the title of *protospatharios* and, apparently, waiting upon the emperor.[101] One of his pursuits at court was horse-medicine.[102] Such attention to Byzantine veterinary knowhow fits quite well with the suggestion that William's shipbuilders owed something to Byzantine designs for vessels capable of transporting horses commodiously across the Channel in 1066.[103]

The diffusion westwards from Byzantium of practical techniques alongside decorative motifs and authority-symbols could also have occurred at a slightly lowlier social level. A fair number of other Normans besides Odo II Stigand and his brother Robert served the emperor in some capacity in the third quarter of the eleventh century before eventually heading back to Normandy.[104] The *Gesta Herwardi* depicts an encounter at Ely in 1070–1071 between the Saxon rebel Hereward the Wake and the Norman knight, Deda. The knight, released after a spell as Hereward's captive, is said to have compared the rebels' cavalrymanship favourably with what

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[99] *Gesta consulum Andegavorum*, ed. Halphen and Poupardin, p. 50; Ralph Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque* 4.20, ed. France, pp. 202–4; William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum ducum* 6.12(13), ed. van Houts, pp. 82–85. See above, n. 92. The doubts as to the historicity of Robert's meeting with Fulk expressed by L. Halphen (*Le comté d'Anjou au XI^e^ siècle* [repr. Geneva, 1974], pp. 215–16) seem unwarranted: Bachrach, "Pilgrimages of Fulk Nerra," pp. 208–10. On Robert's pilgrimage, see also D. C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (London, 1967), pp. 36–37, 409.

[100] William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi* 1.59, ed. Davis and Chibnall, pp. 96–97.

[101] K. Ciggaar, "Byzantine Marginalia to the Norman Conquest," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 9 (1987), 49–51.

[102] Ciggaar, "Byzantine Marginalia," 49, 52–53.

[103] B. S. Bachrach, "On the Origins of William the Conqueror's Horse Transports," *Technology and Culture* 25 (1985), 505–31, esp. pp. 513–15; J.-C. Cheynet, "L'implantation des Latins en Asie Mineure avant la Première Croisade," in *Migrations et Diasporas Méditerranéennes (X^e^–XV^e^ siècles)*, ed. M. Balard and A. Ducellier, Byzantina Sorbonensia 19 (Paris, 2002), p. 119.

[104] Ciggaar, "Byzantine Marginalia," 48–49, 54–55; Cheynet, "L'implantation," p. 119. For Norman and other western mercenaries at Byzantium in the mid-eleventh century, see J. Shepard, "The Uses of the Franks in Eleventh-Century Byzantium," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 15 (1993), 275–300.

he had seen "among the people of the Franks or among the Roman empire or among the Constantinopolitan (apud Francorum gentem seu apud Romanum imperium vel apud Constantinopolitanum)."[105] This flamboyantly literary, polemicizing work apparently dates in its present form from the early twelfth century,[106] and one cannot be sure that Deda himself had seen Byzantine cavalry in action. Yet for a Norman knight to have done so appeared plausible enough to the work's author. It is even possible that he—or his source—used "vel apud Constantinopolitanum" to define the term "Romanum imperium" more closely, rather than to denote an additional polity: he may, in other words, have viewed the eastern empire as "Roman."

Given such contacts between the Norman politico-military elite and Byzantium, and given also the Norman leadership's enthusiastic self-comparison with the classical Roman past, the various hints of Byzantine emblems and motifs and of rites of rulership involving *adventus* in the aftermath of the conquest of England are unsurprising. Without attempting systematic review, or setting these hints against the indications of familiarity with Byzantine manners—including the title of *basileus*—among the conquered Saxons,[107] one may note a few instances here. According to the *Carmen de Hastingae proelio*, it was a skilful craftsman from "Greece" who made "a noble crown (*stemma*)," "a crown (*diadema*) befitting" William's new status of king, for his coronation in Westminster Abbey.[108] This poem almost certainly dates from within a few years of the coronation, perhaps from just afterwards.[109] So whatever the exact design

[105] *Gesta Herwardi*, in *Maistre Geffrei Gaimar: Lestorie des Engles*, ed. T. D. Hardy and C. T. Martin, Rolls Series 91.1 (London, 1888), pp. 378–79; Ciggaar, "Byzantine Marginalia," 55–56; H. M. Thomas, "The *Gesta Herwardi*, the English, and their Conquerors," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 21 (1998), 215, 222–23; Cheynet, "L'implantation," p. 119.

[106] The early twelfth-century author is, most probably, identifiable as Richard of Ely; Richard drew on an Old English *Life* of Hereward, written by Hereward's priest Leofric, and he also had oral informants: E. M. C. van Houts, "Hereward and Flanders," *Anglo-Saxon England* 28 (1999), 201–23, esp. pp. 202–3, 206–8, 223.

[107] On the title *basileus* applied to kings from Aethelstan onwards, see J. Shepard, "From the Bosporus to the British Isles," *Drevneishie Gosudarstva Vostochnoi Evropy 2009 god*, ed. T. N. Jackson (Moscow, 2010), p. 23. From around the mid-1050s the seals of Edward the Confessor, double-sided like Byzantine *bullae*, styled him "*basileus* of the English," the first known use of the term *basileus* on a western seal: L. Jones, "From *Anglorum basileus* to Norman Saint: The Transportation of Edward the Confessor," *Haskins Society Journal* 12 (2002) [2003], 103–5 and fig. 4.

[108] Guy, Bishop of Amiens, *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, ed. and trans. F. Barlow (Oxford, 1999), p. 44, ll. 757, 762; p. 46, l. 794.

[109] Guy, Bishop of Amiens, *Carmen*, p. xl (introduction).

of the crown William wore at Westminster, our earliest sources' recourse to terminology of ultimately Greek origin—stemma and diadem[110]—to denote the crown points to a locus of unmistakably imperial authority. The *Carmen*'s author, most probably Bishop Guy of Amiens, was not in William's employment or patronage, but his nephew had fought at Hastings. Guy, while celebrating the victory, was reminding William that "his [own] family and friends had made a noteworthy contribution." Thus he was tapping into Norman political culture of the mid-eleventh century with his representation of William's crown as being in eastern imperial style.[111] The source of inspiration behind the types of crown shown on William the Conqueror's silver pennies is open to question,[112] but their elaborate forms carried the unmistakable message that he was no longer a *dux* but a *rex*, and this was where the connotations of Byzantine imperial imagery had their uses. There can be little doubt that William's pose with a sword across his right shoulder derives from the design—controversial in Byzantium itself—of coins of Isaac I Komnenos.[113] Presumably, he adopted it because of its eastern imperial associations, rather than as a general expression of martial prowess.

Intimations of eastern imperium also appear on the Bayeux Tapestry, a work designed to impress upon William's subjects the justice of his cause as well as the totality of his victory at Hastings. The accosted and addorsed animals along its upper and lower borders recall the design of the main panels of imperial Byzantine silks, manufactured on repeat pattern looms. There were no technical grounds for showing accosted animals on the Tapestry, each of whose images was stitched anew by hand. The paired animals served as a mark of specifically imperial grandeur, mediated through silks, and some top-quality silks are likely to have made

[110] 'Diadema' also occurs in William of Poitiers's account of the coronation: William of Poitiers 1.59, ed. Davis and Chibnall, pp. 96–97; Ciggaar, "Byzantine Marginalia," 59, n. 98.

[111] Guy, Bishop of Amiens, *Carmen*, p. xlii (introduction). Guy depicts his nephew Hugh's role in the slaying of King Harold in almost Homeric terms: Guy, Bishop of Amiens, *Carmen*, pp. 32–33; xxvi–xxvii, xxxii (introduction).

[112] According to M. M. Archibald, "William wears a closed imperial crown on all his types" after 1066: "Coins," *English Romanesque Art 1066–1200. Hayward Gallery, London 5 April-8 July 1984* (London, 1984), no. 389, p. 326. She discounts the view that coin-designers might have sought to portray particular, physical, crowns (ibid.).

[113] For the "first English coin-type to present the king holding a sword," datable to ca. 1080–1083, see Archibald, "Coins," no. 394 (photo) on p. 325, p. 327. For the image of Isaac wielding his sword: P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, 3: *717–1081*, 2 (Washington, DC, 1973), pl. 63 (Isaac, 2.5). See also Ciggaar, "Byzantine Marginalia," p. 61, with photos of coins on p. 60; Cheynet, "L'implantation," p. 119.

their way to William's court.[114] Indeed, it is conceivable that a Byzantine silk inspired the design of the masthead of William's ship. Noting its distinctiveness, Wolfgang Grape saw analogies in the form of the patriarchal cross with two cross-bars which some Byzantine emperors clasp on their coins.[115] (Fig. 12.4) However, the small cross atop a square frame enclosing another cross on William's masthead calls to mind the standard carried by the emperor on the Bamberg silk. There, a small cross tops the labarum upon its staff.[116] It is not impossible that the Tapestry's weavers drew upon the design of some Byzantine silk with an emphatically triumphal theme so as to convey the exaltedness, as well as the righteousness, of the leader of the invasion-fleet of 1066.

If William's employees and other sympathetic contemporaries viewed the Channel-crossing and subsequent battle at Hastings in momentous terms, rivalling the feats of antiquity, their recourse to forms of *adventus* to describe events is unremarkable in itself. King William's journey to the English coast to embark for Normandy in March 1067 had the air of a "triumphal progress."[117] William of Poitiers depicts his reception in Normandy explicitly in terms of classical triumphs and *adventus*. "All the citizens" came out to greet his entry into Rouen, "so that you could have thought the whole city was cheering, as did Rome formerly when it joyfully applauded Pompey."[118] Communities of monks and clergy vied to pay due respects; "furthermore, if anything new could be devised, it was added." Reportedly, a similar spectacle awaited William at his royal abbey of Fécamp, where he celebrated Easter, before moving on to other Norman churches, Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives and then Jumièges.[119] Writing in Normandy within a decade of the Conquest and with reason to hope that his work would come to his ruler's attention,[120] William of Poitiers probably relates the actual proceedings accurately enough, while making a

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114 R. Howard Bloch, *A Needle in the Right Hand of God* (New York, 2006), pp. 157–61; D. Terkla, "From Hastingus to Hastings and Beyond: Inexorable Inevitability on the Bayeux Tapestry," in *The Bayeux Tapestry. New Interpretations*, ed. M. K. Foys et al. (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 149–50.

115 W. Grape, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, trans. D. Britt (Munich, 1994), p. 39; illustration showing the masthead on p. 134.

116 Howard Bloch, *Needle in the Right Hand*, p. 156. See Fig. 12.3.

117 Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 208.

118 William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi* 2.41, ed. Davis and Chibnall, pp. 176–77.

119 William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi* 2.44, ed. Davis and Chibnall, pp. 178–81; Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 208–9.

120 William of Poitiers had served for many years as one of Duke William's chaplains: William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi*, ed. Davis and Chibnall, p. xvi (introduction).

contribution to the classicising presentation of recent events through his own work. What he refrains from doing is attempting to couch William's arrival before London in similarly classical, triumphal, terms. He gives instead a rather vague account of negotiations outside the walls with the leading citizens and bishops, who were ready to offer William the throne; William's consultation of his knights as to whether to accept; and one counsellor's praise of his *modestia*.[121]

A rare detail in William of Poitiers' depiction of the Conqueror before London is his despatch of an advance-party to build a fortress in the city, an acknowledgement that he could not assume compliance from London's "large and famously warlike population."[122] This detail concurs with what the *Carmen de Hastingae proelio* has to say of the "evil inhabitants" and "foolish mob" of London.[123] They held out for some while, and only the threat of siege-engines and assault followed by William's outwitting of the envoy of the duplicitous chief city father, Ansgar, led to the handover of the city's keys by the council.[124] After relating these goings-on at length, the *Carmen* presents a detailed description of the crown made for William by the fore-mentioned craftsman from "Greece" and then turns to the coronation itself on Christmas Day, 1066. By command of one of the two archbishops present, a procession to Westminster Abbey was "organised, according to the usual and ancient custom, in double file";[125] "the king, escorted by a great concourse of counts and dukes and the applause of the people, comes last."[126] This depiction of a liturgical procession probably registers the arrangements William and senior churchmen actually made in circumstances for which there was no exact precedent.[127] Yet the *Carmen*'s author, lurching from William's double-dealing to fulsome exegesis of the crown's symbolism and the inauguration ritual, perhaps also registers a sense of something lacking, unease that no suitably dignified

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[121] William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi* 2.28–29, ed. Davis and Chibnall, pp. 146–49. On William's representation of English notions of accession customs, see G. Garnett, *Conquered England* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 3–4.

[122] William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi* 2.28, 29, ed. Davis and Chibnall, pp. 146–47, 148–49.

[123] Guy, Bishop of Amiens, *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 38, l. 637, p. 40, l. 649.

[124] Ibid., pp. 38–45.

[125] Ibid., p. 46, ll. 795–96.

[126] Ibid., p. 46, ll. 801–2.

[127] J. Nelson, "The Rites of the Conqueror," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 4 (1982), 117–32. On the crowning itself and the English *ordo* used, see also Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 206–7, 248–53; D. Bates, *William the Conqueror* (London, 1989), p. 71; Garnett, *Conquered England*, pp. viii, 358.

reception had been forthcoming from the citizens of London. Norman political culture was, after all, attuned to *adventus*, judging by William of Poitiers' version of the scenes in Normandy upon William's return.[128] And a significant proportion of the Norman elite had some personal acquaintance with Byzantine court life and rituals. Writing soon after William's entry into London and balking at outright fiction, Bishop Guy seems to be trying to explain away the foolish and disorderly Londoners' failure to pay the Conqueror due honours in the form of an *adventus*. After demonstrating how William duped Ansgar, Guy waxes lyrical about the "noble *stemma*" that William commissioned. Does not this invocation of the Byzantine associations of William's crown serve as a kind of compensation for non-*adventus* in London town?[129] If that is so, it suggests how Byzantine authority-symbols could fill a gap in political cultures where references to classical precedents and expectations of re-enactment of classical rites (like *adventus*) were running high.

7. *Conclusion*

Ample stocks of monuments, texts, and written lore from classical antiquity were available to political and intellectual elites in the Latin West as well as in medieval Byzantium. The eastern imperial leadership drew on them intensively in the tenth century, partly to serve the domestic political agenda of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos but also to enact his broader vision of imperial decorum, and subsequent regimes formatted their very real military successes and material strengths in emphatically Roman terms, making deliberate allusion to antiquity. That this aroused emulation and elements of imitation amongst western *imperatores*, especially Otto II and Otto III, is understandable enough. But the late tenth

[128] L. J. Engels (*Dichters over Willem de Veroveraar. Het Carmen de Hastingae proelio* [Groningen, 1967], p. 17) suggested that the *Carmen* itself was written to welcome William back. See also E. M. C. van Houts, "Latin Poetry and the Anglo-Norman Court 1066–1135: The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio," *Journal of Medieval History* 15 (1989), 54–55.

[129] The question of whether William's crown really was the work of a Greek craftsman is of less concern to us here than Guy's emphasis on the crown's eastern, and thus imperial, associations. But one should not dismiss the possibility that Greek craftsmen—whether shipwrights or smiths—could have accompanied Norman visitors back from the East or have arrived via Rus. See above, nn. 101, 103. On the presence of individual Byzantines in northwest Europe in the eleventh century: Shepard, "From the Bosporus," pp. 26–27; idem, "Concluding Remarks," in *Early Christianity on the Way from the Varangians to the Greeks*, ed. I. Garipzanov and O. Tolochko [= *Ruthenica: Supplementum* 4] (Kiev, 2011), pp. 143–44.

and earlier eleventh centuries also saw the proliferation of mutually competitive political formations across southwest and western France. At the same time, Jerusalem and the Holy Land drew increasing numbers of pilgrims eastwards. Some travelled via Byzantium, the more eminent laymen and clerics receiving hospitality at the imperial court. The emblems of authority, rites of rulership, and religious devotions observable in Eastern Christendom were of particular appeal to arrivistes like Fulk Nerra, anxious to legitimise newly-gained political hegemony in a region. Duke William of Normandy was, in a literal sense, an arriviste in Anglo-Saxon England and contemporary encomiasts formatted his conquest in such fulsomely classical terms that they seem to have found the lack of any *adventus* for William in London anomalous, even embarrassing. Elaborate description of the inauguration-ritual fills the gap in the *Carmen de Hastingae proelio*, but *ekphrasis* of a Byzantine-style *stemma* serves as the most solemn mode of articulating William's new-found hegemony. The perspectives and priorities of the new monarchs and quasi-monarchs were regional and self-serving and yet, from the late tenth to the mid-eleventh century, one may observe spores of cross-fertilization in play, with elements of eastern political culture and also religious cults taking hold among western regimes. Their hold was fitful yet intensive. In light of this, one may better understand how elements of western political culture travelled eastwards, so that Alexios I Komnenos believed himself well-acquainted with "the customary Latin oath" and even with liege-homage at the time of the First Crusade. Such signs of cross-fertilization from west to east are, in effect, the sequel to what had passed from east to west two or three generations earlier.

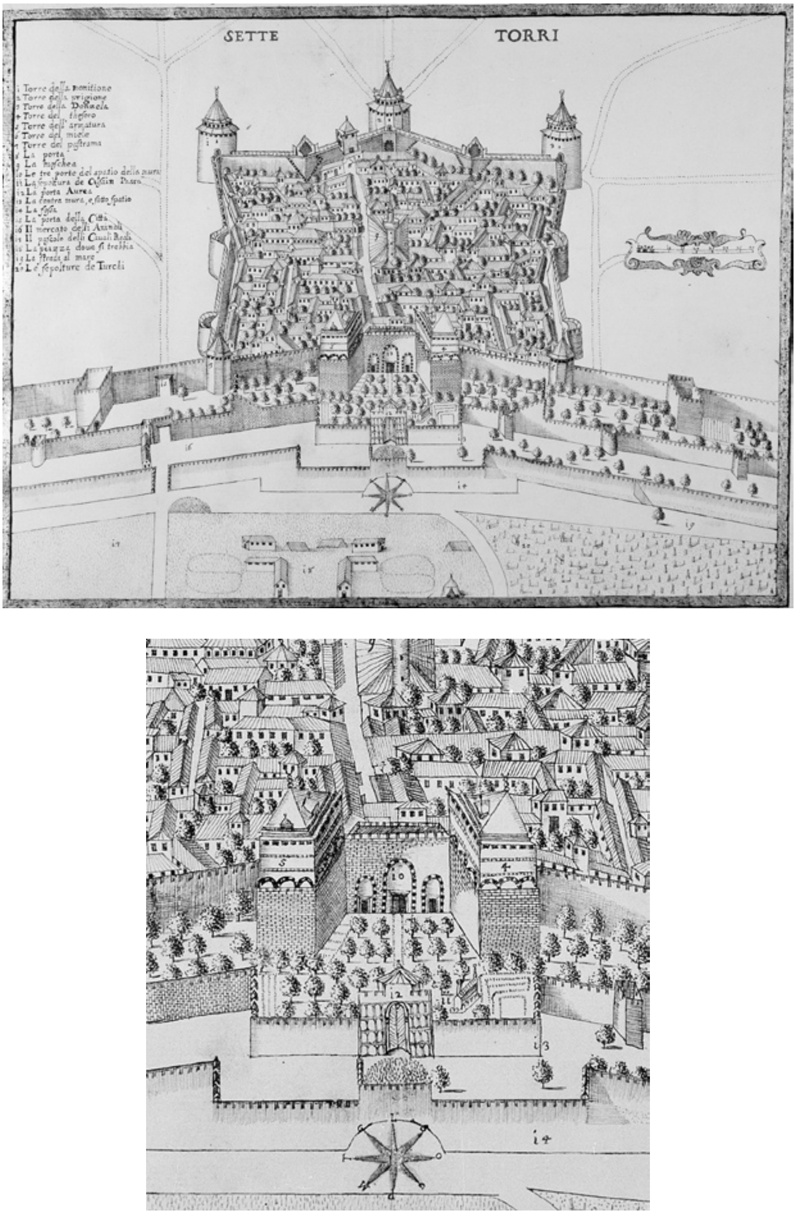


Fig. 12.1. The triumphal outer gate added to Constantinople's Golden Gate in the middle Byzantine period, as pictured ca. 1685. The tiers of frames for holding statuary were then still clearly visible.
Detail of 'The Castle of the Seven Towers' by Francesco Scarella, ca. 1685. Reproduced with kind permission of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (detail from Cod. 8627, fol. 5 "Sette Torri")



Fig. 12.2. The Golden Gate of Constantinople's triumphal outer gate: south curtain wall, showing tiers of frames.
Photograph reproduced with kind permission of Professor Cyril Mango.

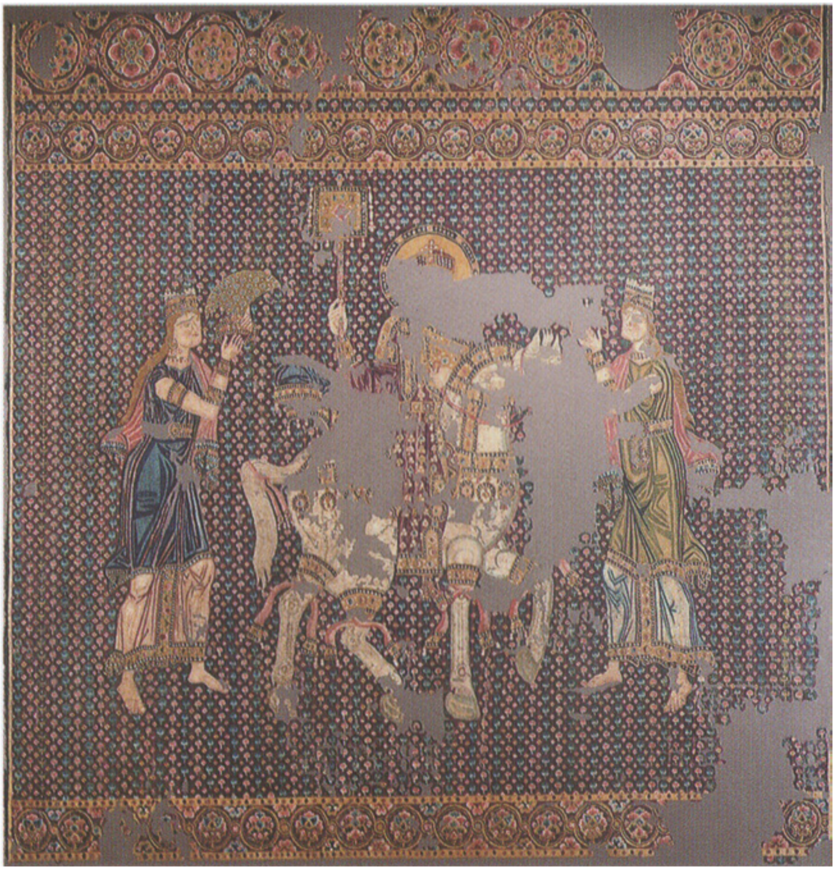


Fig. 12.3. Bamberg tapestry, showing two female personifications of a City greeting a triumphant emperor, probably John Tzimiskes after his defeat of the Bulgarians and Rus in 971.
Illustration taken from P. Stephenson, *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer* (Cambridge, 2003) and reproduced with kind permission of Cambridge University Press, the Diözesanmuseum Bamberg and the Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege.



Fig. 12.4. *Bayeux Tapestry*: the ship carrying Duke William of Normandy across the English Channel, with a masthead whose design may draw upon a Byzantine silk's triumphal theme.
Reproduced with kind permission of The Bayeux Tapestry Museum, Centre Guillaume Le Conquérant.

PART FOUR

RITUAL PERFORMANCES AND THEIR REFLECTIONS IN ART AND LITERATURE

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

VIOLENCE IN THE PALACE: RITUALS OF IMPERIAL PUNISHMENT IN PROKOPIOS'S *SECRET HISTORY*

Stavroula Constantinou

In the first chapter of Prokopios's *Secret History* (550),[1] which opens with the presentation of the lurid sexual life of Antonina, the wife of emperor Justinian's general, Belisarios, we read the following:

> οὓς δὴ ἅπαντας πρῶτα τὰς γλώττας, ὥσπερ λέγουσιν, ἀποτεμοῦσα εἶτα κατὰ βραχὺ κρεουργήσασα καὶ θυλακίοις ἐμβεβλημένη ἐς τὴν θάλατταν ὀκνήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἔρριψε, τῶν τινος οἰκετῶν Εὐγενίου ὄνομα ὑπουργήσαντός οἱ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ἄγος, ᾧ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἐς Σιλβέριον εἴργασται μίασμα. καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Βελισάριος τῇ γυναικὶ ἀναπεισθεὶς κτείνει.[2]

> And they say that she first cut out their tongues, and then cut them up bit by bit, threw the pieces into sacks, and then without ado cast them into the sea, being assisted throughout in this impious business by one of the servants named Eugenius, the same one who performed the unholy deed upon Silverius. And not long afterwards Belisarius, persuaded by his wife, killed Constantinus also.[3]

In this short passage, three different punishment acts are presented: the first one, executed by Antonina with Eugenios's help, as stated in the extract, is directed against a slave-girl called Makedonia and two unnamed male servants for revealing to Belisarios their mistress's love affair with the couple's adoptive son Theodosios. The second punishment, which is never described in the text, is imposed upon Pope Silverius, an enemy of the empress Theodora. The last one undertaken by Belisarios, who acts as his wife's instrument, is against his friend Konstantinos, who

[1] Hereafter *SH*. On Prokopios and his work, see, for example, A. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, Transformation of the Classical Heritage 10 (Berkley, 1985), and A. Kaldellis, *Procopius of Caesarea: Tyranny, History and Philosophy at the End of Antiquity* (Philadelphia, 2004).

[2] Prokopios, *Historia Arcana* 1.27–28, ed. J. Haury (Leipzig, 1963), p. 10.

[3] Prokopios, *Historia Arcana*, trans. H. B. Dewing, *The Anecdota or Secret History* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1935), p. 15.

earned Antonina's enmity for advising the cuckolded general not to punish Theodosios, but his unfaithful wife instead.

The mention in a single paragraph of three disparate punishments related to dissimilar events and imposed upon different people at various points in time reveals, in my opinion, a vested interest in punishment on the part of the narrator. In fact, the author of *SH* appears to be obsessed with violence and punishment. At least five chapters (7, 11, 16, 17, 18), constituting the one-sixth of the work in question, are almost entirely devoted to the presentation of various punishments, while, with the exception of chapter 14, the rest of the book's thirty chapters include scenes of or references to violent punishments. These are directed against certain individuals or groups of people and are mostly executed by the imperial couple, Justinian and Theodora, who act either together or separately, on their own or through their officers. In short, the *SH*, whose aim was, according to its prologue, to offer edification to present and future audiences through "set[ting] down everything that came to pass in every part of the Roman Empire" ("ἐνταῦθα γεγράψεται πάντα, ὁπόσα δὴ τετύχηκε γενέσθαι πανταχόθι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς"),[4] is full of murder and human blood.

Punishment, the theme that dominates the *SH*, Prokopios's most famous work also known as the *Anecdota*,[5] is the subject of the present study. "Punishment" is used here in Michel Foucault's definition of the term. In his seminal book *Discipline and Punish*,[6] Foucault describes punishment as a violent act performed by a sovereign that takes the form of a ritual revealing the truth of the crime and demonstrating the workings of power through the body of the condemned. Atrocity, expressed in an excess of violence against the victim's body, demonstrates the sovereign's embodiment of the law. The ritual dimension of punishment is emphasized by Foucault, who is mostly interested in power and its uses in older and modern societies, because it functions as a strategic device for the exercise of power and authority. It is through rituals, which are designed to reestablish the order that has been upset through crime, that a sovereign cements his absolute power over life and death and reaffirms his authority. According to Foucault, these rituals consist of "regulated prac-

[4] *Historia Arcana* 1.1, ed. Haury, p. 2; *Anecdota*, trans. Dewing, p. 3.

[5] The *SH* is called the *Anecdota* in the tenth-century Byzantine encyclopedia known as the *Souda* (*Suidae Lexicon*, IV, "Procopius, Illustrius", ed. A. Adler [Leipzig, 1971], pp. 210–11).

[6] M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. A. Sheridan (London, 1977; repr. Harmondsworth, 1979, 1991); originally published in French as *Surveiller et punir, naissance de la prison* (Paris, 1975).

tice obeying a well-defined procedure; the various stages, their duration, the instruments used, the length of ropes and the heaviness of the weights used, the number of interventions made by the interrogating magistrate".[7] A similar procedure is also followed by the punishing imperial couple in *SH*, as this passage attests:

> καὶ ἢν μέν τις τῶν Θεοδώρᾳ προσκεκρουκότων ἁμαρτάνειν λέγοιτό τι βραχύ τε καὶ λόγου οὐδαμῇ ἄξιον, αἰτίας εὐθὺς ἀναπλάσσουσα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδὲν προσηκούσας, ἐς μέγα τι κακοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἦρεν. ἐγκλημάτων τε ἠκούετο πλῆθος καὶ καταλύσεως περὶ τῶν καθεστώτων δικαστήριον ἦν, καὶ δικασταὶ ξυνελέγοντο πρὸς αὐτῆς ἀγειρόμενοι, οἳ δὴ ἔμελλον διαμαχέσασθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὅστις ἂν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων ἀρέσκειν τῇ ἐς τὴν γνῶσιν ἀπανθρωπίᾳ τῆς βασιλίδος τὸ βούλημα ἱκανὸς γένοιτο. οὕτω τε τοῦ παραπεπτωκότος τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνάγραπτον ἐποίει, πικρότατα δὲ αὐτὸν αἰκισαμένη, καίπερ ἴσως εὐπατρίδην τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντα, ἢ φυγῇ ζημιοῦν ἢ θανάτῳ οὐδαμῆ ἀπηξίου.[8]
>
> If any of those who had offended Theodora was reported to be committing any wrong, even though it were trivial and utterly unworthy of notice, she straightway fabricated accusations which had no application to the man and thus she exaggerated the matter into a terrible crime. And she listened to a great mass of accusations, and there was a court which sat on questions of repealing the established laws, and judges assembled who were brought together by her, whose function it was to contend with each other as to which of them by the inhumanity shewn in the judgment should be able better than the others to satisfy the Empress' purpose. And thus she immediately caused the property of any man who had given offence to be confiscated to the public treasury, and after treating him with most bitter cruelty, though he might perhaps belong to an ancient line of patricians, she felt no hesitation whatever in penalizing him with either banishment or death.[9]

In what follows I will examine Prokopios's uses of punishment in the *SH*. My aim is twofold. Firstly, by adopting Foucault's treatment of punishment as ritual, I will use the terms "ritual" and "ritualization" to describe the following: punishment in the examined work, the discourse employed by the narrator, and lastly the narrative, its sequence and shape. Ritualized narration communicates meanings through an economic, precise, standardized, repetitive, and detail-oriented discourse. Of course, not all of these elements appear in each punishment narration, but there are various combinations. Ritualized narrative, on the other hand, is the story that itself becomes a ritual through its repetitive structure, and in so doing it

7 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 40.
8 *Historia Arcana* 15.20–23, ed. Haury, pp. 180, 182.
9 *Anecdota*, trans. Dewing, pp. 181, 183.

reflects the ritualistic character both of the punishments it depicts, and of the narrator's act. My use of the terms "ritual" and "ritualization" enable me to show that Prokopios employs punishment as a powerful literary device that is an essential element of his aesthetics, and this brings me to the second goal of this study, which is to demonstrate that the *SH* is a work of fiction and not a document that can be used as a mine of historical information as has been suggested by a number of scholars.[10] I would dare to label this text a "historical novel" with satirical overtones, in which irony, humor, and the comic that are strongly related to an aesthetics of punishment play a central role. It should be pointed out that the remark that the *SH* has a comic character is not new. It is at least as old as the tenth-century *Suda* encyclopedia, whose anonymous compiler describes the *SH* as a comedy (κωμῳδία).[11] The comic dimension of the *SH* is not only detected in its various funny episodes and portraits of its heroes and heroines, but it is also underlined by a number of quotations from Aristophanes' comedies.[12]

As is obvious, my approach is deeply literary. In contrast to the large majority of the present volume's contributions, this study does not examine the role that rituals—in this case the ritual of punishment—play in early Byzantine rulership. Of course, Prokopios does represent both Justinian and Theodora as rulers who legitimate themselves and reinforce their power through the ritual of punishment. My interest, however, lies in the way in which the ritual of punishment becomes a literary device.

The passage from the *SH* quoted at the very beginning of this study reflects the usual pattern that the ritualized narration takes. The text's

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[10] Kaldellis, for example, talks about the *SH* in the following way: "[it] remains our most reliable contemporary source" (Prokopios, *The Secret History with Related Texts*, ed. and trans. A. Kaldellis, [Indianapolis and Cambridge, 2010], p. lii). According to another scholar, "[the] *SH* is a serious work by a serious historian" (R. Scott, "Malalas, *The Secret History*, and Justinian's Propaganda," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 [1985], 99–101, at p. 108). See also, K. Adshead, "The Secret History of Prokopios and Its Genesis," *Byzantion* 63 (1993), 5–28, and C. Foss, "The Empress Theodora," *Byzantion* 72 (2002), 141–76.

[11] *Suidae Lexicon*, p. 211. Cf. Guy Halsall's comment that "Prokopios had [...] a cruel streak of humour, as the *Secret History* makes abundantly clear" (G. Halsall, "Funny Foreigners: Laughing with the Barbarians in Late Antiquity," in *Humour, History and Politics in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. G. Halsall [Cambridge, 2002], pp. 89–113, at p. 102).

[12] Kaldellis, who notes Prokopios's frequent use of Aristophanic quotations, remarks that the presence of many quotes from the famous comedian in the *SH* is "surprising, for the contents of *SH* are not really funny" (Prokopios, *The Secret History with Related Texts*, p. xxxvii). On the contrary, as Halsall has also pointed out (see previous footnote) and as the following analysis will demonstrate, the *SH* is a really funny text.

narrator, who appears to be Prokopios himself, employs three distinctive techniques when relating punishment acts: a detailed description of a punishment and its context, a short reference to a punishment which is never described, and a presentation of a punishment, and sometimes of its context, in the form of a summary. These techniques might appear all together, used one after the other, as is the case of the example cited above, or in combinations of two, or individually. They are repeated in these variations in almost all the chapters of the book, enforcing thus the narrative's ritualized structure.

In a detailed presentation of a punishment act, information and events are often narrated in the following sequence: first the narrator introduces the victim into the narrative providing information mostly about his or her social status, character, and relation to the punisher. He then proceeds to describe his or her "crime" which he presents in a highly ironic manner as ridiculous. In fact, none of the persons tortured and executed by the imperial couple or their people ever commits any real crime:

> ἔς τε γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἄδικον φόνον καὶ χρημάτων ἁρπαγὴν ἀλλοτρίων ῥᾷστα ἐχώρει, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν αὐτῷ μυριάδας πολλὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι, καίπερ αὐτῷ αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν παρασχομένων.[13]
>
> For he used to proceed with the lightest of hearts to the unjust murder of men and the seizure of other men's money, and for him it was nothing that countless thousands of men should have been destroyed, though they had given him no grievance.[14]

Serious criminals, on the other hand, go unpunished either because they are the imperial couple's protégées, or because they bribe Justinian. For example, Sergios, the suitor of Antonina's daughter, who destroys Libya through his maladministration, is not punished because Theodora does not want to have difficulties with Antonina (v.28–33). Additionally, Sergios's brother, the general Solomon, who commits murder, remains unpunished for the same reason (v.33–38). Concerning the fact that Justinian accepts bribes from criminals, the narrator makes the following bitter criticism:

> καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν ταύτην τὴν πολιτείαν ἐλεεινοτάτην καλοίη ἐν ᾗ βασιλεὺς μὲν δωροδοκήσας ἀνεξέταστα κατέλειψε τὰ ἐγκλήματα, στασιῶται δὲ βασιλέως ἐν Παλατίῳ ὄντος ἐπαναστῆναι τῶν τινι ἀρχόντων οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει ἐτόλμησαν ἀδίκων τε χειρῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἄρξαι; τίσις μέντοι τούτων δὴ ἕνεκα οὐδεμία οὔτε

13 *Historia Arcana* 6.20, ed. Haury, p. 74.
14 *Anecdota*, trans. Dewing, p. 75.

> εἰς τὸν Μαλθάνην ἐγένετο οὔτε εἰς τοὺς αὐτῷ ἐπαναστάντας. ἐκ τούτων δὲ εἴ τις βούλοιτο τὸ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως τεκμηριούσθω ἦθος.[15]
>
> And yet who would not call that State most pitiable in which an Emperor, having accepted a bribe, left the briber's crimes uninvestigated, and factionists, on the other hand, while the Emperor was there in the Palace, dared without any compunction to set upon one of the magistrates and to commit an unjust attack upon him? As for punishment, however, none was inflicted on account of these misdeeds, either upon Malthanes or upon his assailants. From these things, if anyone should wish, let him estimate the character of the Emperor Justinian.[16]

In most cases the victims' "offences" are related to their integrity and good deeds. Justinian and Theodora punish and kill innocent people out of jealousy, fear, and anger. A case in point is Amalasuntha, the queen of Goths, whom Theodora kills violently:[17]

> λογισαμένη ἡ Θεοδώρα ὡς εὐπατρίδης τε ἡ γυνὴ καὶ βασιλὶς εἴη, καὶ ἰδεῖν μὲν εὐπρεπὴς ἄγαν ἐπινοεῖν δὲ ὅ τι ἂν βούλοιτο γοργὸς μάλιστα, ὕποπτον δὲ αὐτῆς ποιησαμένη τό τε μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ διαφερόντως ἀρρενωπόν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐλαφρὸν δείσασα, οὐκ ἐπὶ μικροῖς τὴν ζηλοτυπίαν ἐξήνεγκεν, ἀλλ' ἐνεδρεύειν τὴν γυναῖκα μέχρις ἐς θάνατον ἐν βουλῇ ἔσχεν.[18]
>
> Theodora, considering that the woman was of noble birth and a queen, and very comely to look upon and exceedingly quick at contriving ways and means for whatever she wanted, but feeling suspicious of her magnificent bearing and exceptionally virile manner, and at the same time fearing the fecklessness of her husband Justinian, expressed her jealousy in no trivial way, but she schemed to lie in wait for the woman even unto her death.[19]

Theodora's cruelty does not only result from her "female" passions; she even goes so far as to condemn to the most horrendous death any individual whose services Justinian uses without asking for her consent. As the narrator states at some point,

> καὶ ἤν τῳ ἐπιστείλειε πρᾶξίν τινα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ αὐτῆς γνώμῃ, ἐς τοῦτο τύχης περιειστήκει τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὰ πράγματα, ὥστε οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τῆς τε τιμῆς παραλυθῆναι ξὺν ὕβρει μεγάλῃ καὶ ἀπολωλέναι θανάτῳ αἰσχίστῳ.[20]

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15 *Historia Arcana* 29.37–38, ed. Haury, pp. 344, 346.

16 *Anecdota*, trans. Dewing, pp. 345, 347.

17 According to recent research, Amalasuntha's murderer was not Theodora, but her cousin Theodahad, see D. Frankforter, "Amalasuntha, Prokopios and a Woman's Place," *Journal of Women's History* 8.2 (1996), 41–57.

18 *Historia Arcana* 16.1, ed. Haury, p. 188.

19 *Anecdota*, trans. Dewing, p. 189.

20 *Historia Arcana* 15.10, ed. Haury, p. 178.

> If the emperor should impose any task upon a man without her consent, that man's affairs would suffer such a turn of fortune that not long thereafter he would be dismissed from his office with the greatest indignities and would die a most shameful death.[21]

After presenting the victim's "crime", the narrator goes on to give an account of his or her punishment, which in most cases consists of property confiscation and bodily suffering followed by death. Of course, in the case of Antonina's victims from the passage cited earlier, there is no deprivation of property, since they are slaves. However, the narrator does not fail to provide a vivid description of their tortures, which reproduce to some extent their "crime": their tongues are severed for talking against their mistress. In an economic and precise language, the narrator narrates the sequence of Antonina's violent actions, which are slow, meticulous, and ceremonial. In so doing, on the one hand, he highlights her enormous cruelty and her inhuman passion for revenge and, on the other, he gives a sense of the victims' slow and brutal death.

In some torture scenes, especially those in which Theodora acts as tormentor, we move from drama to comedy. Such an example is the punishment of the senator Theodosios who helps Belisarios in his unsuccessful attempts to punish his wife for her betrayal:

> ἐν δωματίῳ καταγείῳ τε καὶ ὅλως ζοφώδει ἔστησεν ἐπὶ φάτνης τινὸς βρόχον οἱ τοῦ τραχήλου ἀναψαμένη ἐς τοσόνδε βραχὺν ὥστε αὐτῷ ἀεὶ ἐντετάσθαι καὶ χαλαρὸν μηδαμῆ εἶναι. ἑστηκὼς ἀμέλει διηνεκὲς ἐπὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς φάτνης ὁ τάλας ἤσθιέ τε καὶ ὕπνον ᾑρεῖτο, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἤνυεν ἁπάσας τῆς φύσεως χρείας, ἄλλο τέ οἱ οὐδὲν ἐς τὸ τοῖς ὄνοις εἰκάζεσθαι ὅ τι μὴ βρωμᾶσθαι ἐλέλειπτο. χρόνος δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ οὐχ ἥσσων ἢ μηνῶν τεσσάρων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διαίτῃ ἐτρίβη, ἕως μελαγχολίας νόσῳ ἁλοὺς μανείς τε ἐκτόπως καὶ οὕτω δὴ ταύτης τῆς εἱρκτῆς ἀφεθεὶς εἶτα ἀπέθανε.[22]

> [S]he [Theodora] […] forced him [Theodosios] to stand in an underground chamber which was utterly dark, tying his neck to a sort of manger with a rope so short that it was always stretched taut for the man and never hung slack. So the poor wretch stood there continuously at this manger, both eating and sleeping and fulfilling all the other needs of nature, and nothing except braying was needed to complete his resemblance to the ass. And a time amounting to not less than four months was passed by the man in this existence until he was attacked by the disease of melancholy, became violently insane and so finally was released from this confinement and then died.[23]

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21 *Anecdota*, trans. Dewing, p. 179.
22 *Historia Arcana* 3.10–11, ed. Haury, pp. 34, 36.
23 *Anecdota*, trans. Dewing, pp. 35, 37.

Here again the narrator's voice describes in a direct, economic, and precise language Theodosios's grotesque tortures, which reduce him to abject animality. In this case, the description reveals also a fascination with the details: the condition of Theodosios's prison, the way his body is tied, its exact posture, and his living conditions are graphically presented. The scene provokes both disgust and laughter. Its comic effects are reinforced by the narrator's absurd and unexpected comment that braying is what differentiates Theodosios from an ass. In short, the humour in this and all funny punishment scenes of the *SH* springs from the tension between the hero's grotesque sufferings and the way they are described.

Of course, as already stated, the comic character of the *SH* is not confined to descriptions of torture and to episodes devoted to violent punishments, but constitutes an essential element of both the narrator's discourse and of a number of non-violent episodes. The text in question and its ritualized narration are so often a source of humour that one would conclude that Prokopios was more interested in producing a funny and pleasant text rather than a historical work stating the "real" facts, as the following humorous scene also attests:

> Ἃ μὲν εἰργάσω ἡμᾶς, ὦ βέλτιστε, οἶσθα. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ πολλὰ ὀφείλουσα τῇ σῇ γυναικί, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἐγκλήματά σοι ἀφεῖναι ξύμπαντα ἔγνωκα, ἐκείνῃ τὴν σὴν δωρουμένη ψυχήν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἔνθεν σοι τὸ θαρσεῖν ὑπέρ τε τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν χρημάτων περίεστιν. ὁποῖος δὲ σὺ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔσῃ διὰ τῶν πραχθησομένων εἰσόμεθα." ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Βελισάριος ἀνελέξατο, ἅμα μὲν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἐπὶ μέγα ἀρθείς, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῷ παρόντι ἐπίδειξιν ἐθέλων ποιεῖσθαι τῆς γνώμης, ἀναστὰς εὐθὺς παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ στόμα πίπτει. καὶ χειρὶ μὲν ἑκατέρᾳ περιλαβὼν αὐτῆς ἄμφω τὰς κνήμας, τὴν δὲ γλῶσσαν ἀεὶ [...] τῶν ταρσῶν τῆς γυναικὸς μεταβιβάζων, τοῦ μὲν βίου καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αἰτίαν ἐκάλει, ἀνδράποδον δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ ἐνθένδε πιστὸν ὡμολόγει καὶ οὐκ ἀνὴρ ἔσεσθαι.[24]
>
> "[Y]ou know, noble Sir, how you have treated us. But I, for my part, since I am greatly indebted to your wife, have decided to dismiss all these charges against you, giving to her the gift of your life. For the future, then, you may be confident concerning both your life and your property; and we shall know concerning your attitude towards her from your future behaviour." When Belisarius had read this, being transported with joy and at the same time wishing to give immediate evidence of his feelings, he straightway arose and fell on his face before the feet of his wife. And clasping both her knees with either hand and constantly shifting his tongue from one of the woman's ankles to the other, he kept calling her the cause of his life and

[24] *Historia Arcana* 4.27–30, ed. Haury, pp. 48, 50.

> his salvation, and promising thenceforth to be, not her husband, but her faithful slave.[25]

Here, the cuckolded husband Belisarios, who is a famous and successful general, appears as a timid weakling licking the feet of his debauched wife for sparing him the wrath of the empress. The comic character of this scene results from the inversion of the proper order: in the private sphere, the brave and masculine military commander is depicted as being a submissive and effeminate husband surrendering all authority to his dominant wife, who is the strong force in their relationship. Throughout the first five chapters of the *SH*, Belisarios is presented as being totally enslaved to his much older, unfaithful, and evil wife who destroys him. He is thus ridiculed both by other persons in the narrative and the narrator himself, who does not fail to criticise him for his weak character and for allowing his wife to henpeck him.[26]

Concerning Prokopios's second narrating technique on punishment, as stated before, he often talks about punishing acts he never describes; he even goes so far as to assure his audience that at a later point in the narrative he will present in detail the punishment he just mentions, a promise he never fulfills. For example, Silverius's punishment, to which our narrator refers in the very first passage quoted in this study, is mentioned earlier in the narrative in the following way:

> ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ὑπουργήσασα χειροήθη πεποίηται, πρῶτα μὲν Σιλβέριον διαχρησαμένη τρόπῳ ᾧπερ ἐν τοῖς ὄπισθεν λόγοις εἰρήσεται.[27]
>
> But after she [Antonina] had made her tame and manageable, by rendering services to her [Theodora] in matters of the greatest urgency-having in the first place, disposed of Silverius in the manner which will be described in the following narrative.[28]

However, what the narrator does later is simply to mention for a second and last time Silverius's punishment without giving any further detail. Here the reader is confronted with a narrator who in narratological terms would be described as unreliable.[29] In other words, unreliable is the narrator who fails to perform his very task and appears inconsistent with his

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[25] *Anecdota*, trans. Dewing, pp. 49, 51.
[26] See *Historia Arcana* 5.25–27, ed. Haury, pp. 62, 64.
[27] *Historia Arcana* 1.14, ed. Haury, p. 8.
[28] *Anecdota*, trans. Dewing, p. 9.
[29] The term "unreliable narrator" was introduced into narratological studies by W. C. Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (Chicago, 1961).

own self. In so doing, he deliberately undermines his own narration and, as a result, the reader cannot take him at his word.

In the *SH*, Prokopios behaves often as an unreliable narrator. He gives inconsistent and contradictory information not only when he talks about punishment, but also when he refers to his protagonists' characters and sexual lives.[30] In fact, our narrator appears unreliable from the outset, as attested by his declaration in the prologue that he has no intention of publishing his work in association with the statement that the book aims at the edification of his audience. Furthermore, the comment about the audience's edification, also highlighted in various other places in the text, appears ridiculous when the themes on which the narrative focuses are sex and violence. As the content of the *SH* shows, its goal is to offer entertainment rather than historical knowledge and edification. In general by writing the *SH*, Prokopios shows himself as a wholly unreliable and absurd interpreter of his own work. While he writes two other works, the *Wars* (545) and the *Buildings* (after 554) in which he praises Justinian, in the *SH* he portrays the emperor as the Antichrist.

Of course, Prokopios's move to use the literary device of the "unreliable narrator" is another instance of fiction, because it is a form of deception and concealment too. Through the unreliable narrator, both the status of the *SH* as historical narrative and its seriousness are undermined. Therefore, the presentation of Justinian and Theodora as "ardent devotees of assassination" (viii.26) and as embodiments of the devil (xii.14) cannot be taken seriously. Far from revealing some truth about the imperial couple, our narrator creates a matrix of lies. By behaving as an unreliable narrator, Prokopios asks his audience to recognize his work as fiction whose main characteristic is irony; for unreliability, as Walter Ong points out, "is the essence of irony".[31]

In the punishment narration that takes a summary form, no details are given concerning the victims' tortures or the conditions in which they die. As the example of the report of Konstantinos's punishment executed by Belisarios shows, what is stated is just the form of the victim's punishment, which in most cases is property deprivation in the first place

[30] For example, in the ninth chapter, which is mainly devoted to Theodora's early life as a courtesan, Prokopios says that whenever she became pregnant she performed an abortion (ix.19). In the seventeenth chapter, however, he mentions that while she led the life of the courtesan she gave birth to an illegitimate son (17.16).

[31] W. Ong, "From Mimesis to Irony: The Distancing of Voice," *Midwest Modern Language Association* 9.1/2 (1976), 1–24, at p. 13.

and execution in the second. Sometimes it is also mentioned that the victim's assassination is preceded by tortures. The punishments narrated in a summary form mostly concern groups of people defined according to their class, political stance, occupation, religion, and sexuality. These include patricians, members of the Green Faction, astrologers, officers, merchants, mariners, artisans, physicians, professors, workmen, heretics, pagans, Jews, and homosexuals. In short, the imperial couple is presented as attacking almost all the population of the Roman Empire and even all the inhabitants of the earth. As stated by the narrator,

> ταύτῃ τε αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἡ γῆ ξύμπασα ἔμπλεως αἵματος ἀνθρωπείου ἔκ τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ βαρβάρων σχεδόν τι πάντων διαρκῶς γέγονε.[32]
>
> During his [Justinian's] reign the whole earth was constantly drenched with human blood shed by both the Romans and practically all the barbarians.[33]

In a summary form are given also punishments that are narrated earlier[34] or later in detail.[35] As is the case with the other two aforementioned narrating techniques employed by Prokopios, summary serves certain purposes. Apart from reasons related to variation and the acceleration of narrative tempo, summary is used in the *SH* to provide the reader with the impression of excess, an effect that is lost in a detailed presentation. Through many and repetitive summaries of violence and punishment acts, the imperial couple appears as extremely cruel, evil, and inhuman: their innumerable crimes against humanity seem to be executed with incredible ease and quickness. In other words, summary achieves what the narrator himself claims to be an impossible task:

> τὸ μὲν μέτρον ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς φράσαι τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀνῃρημένων οὐκ ἄν ποτε, μοι δοκεῖ, τῶν πάντων τινὶ ἢ τῷ θεῷ δυνατὰ εἴη. θᾶσσον γὰρ ἄν τις, οἶμαι, τὴν πᾶσαν ψάμμον ἐξαριθμήσειεν ἢ ὅσους ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἀνῄρηκε. τὴν δὲ χώραν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διαριθμούμενος, ἥνπερ ἔρημον τῶν ἐνοικούντων ξυμπέπτωκεν εἶναι, μυριάδας μυριάδων μυρίας φημὶ ἀπολωλέναι.[36]

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32 *Historia Arcana* 18.30, ed. Haury, p. 220.

33 *Anecdota*, trans. Dewing, p. 221.

34 See, for example, the punishment of Bouzes performed by Theodora. A detailed account of Bouzes's punishment is given in 4.7–12, while in 17.1 Prokopios repeats the fact that the empress punished the man.

35 See, for instance, the punishment of John the Cappadocian. In the first chapter (1.14) there is a reference to John's downfall, while a detailed presentation of his sufferings caused by Theodora is given in 17.38–45.

36 *Historia Arcana* 18.3–4, ed. Haury, p. 212.

> Now to state exactly the number of those who were destroyed by him [Justinian] would never be possible, I think, for anyone soever, or for God. For one might more quickly, I think, count all the grains of sand than the vast number whom this Emperor destroyed. But making an approximate estimate of the extent of territory which has come to be destitute of inhabitants, I should say that a myriad myriads of myriads perished.[37]

All three narrating techniques just presented, which are repeated in a ritualistic manner throughout the *SH*, are characterized by their repetitive and equally ritualistic vocabulary. Prokopios employs the same or synonymous words or phrases to narrate the imperial couple's punishments, which, as has been evident so far, are the same for almost all their victims. In individual cases, however, the types of inflicted tortures are different. The words mostly repeated in punishment narrations are the following: "αἰκισμός" (torture), "βάσανος" (torture), "βία" (act of violence), "ταλαιπωρία" (suffering), "φόνος" (murder), "ἀφανίζω" (efface), "ἀναιρῶ" (destroy), "ἀφαιρῶ" (deprive), and "ζημιόω" (punish). In general, Prokopios's vocabulary in the *SH* is, as Kaldellis has remarked, "minimalist" and "repetitive". "One comes across the same abstract verbs many times, while groups of people are typically designated via plural participles".[38] Kaldellis, however, comes to the conclusion that the stylistic conformity of the *SH* is related to the fact that the work in question was written in a brief period of time. My contention is that the repetitive style of the *SH* is a conscious choice on the author's part in his attempt to give his work a ritualistic form.

As previously pointed out, it is not only the act of narration in the *SH* that acquires a ritualized form, but also the narrative as a whole through its well-organized and repetitive structure. The book's chapters, like the narration techniques, may be divided into three categories according to their structure. To the first category belong the chapters that consist of narrative episodes (chapters 16 and 27). The chapters of the second category are those in which the narrator reports "historical" events (chapters 10, 11, 13, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, and 25), while in the chapters of the last category there is an alternation between episodes and events (chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 22, 26, 28, and 30). The structure of each category's first chapter is duplicated and reduplicated, repeated and *re-repeated* in the following chapters.

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37 *Anecdota*, trans. Dewing, p. 213.
38 Prokopios, *The Secret History with Related Texts*, p. xxxvi.

Additionally, Justinian's punishments are duplicated in those of Theodora, which in turn are reduplicated in the punishments that the imperial couple performs together. The couple's punishments are further *re-reduplicated* in the punishments that their officers enact. Furthermore, the repetition of punishment is itself realized through the various victims appearing in the different chapters. For instance, the punishments imposed upon heretics are repeated in the punishments against Jews, which are in turn replicated in those of pagans. Of course, the list could be extended indefinitely. Obviously, such a ritualized structure undermines the act of reading the *SH* seriously.

There is a final point that has to be made which will also lead the present discussion to its conclusion. What are we to make of Prokopios's obsession with punishment, torture, and death? One could argue that in the *SH* there is a pleasure of violence and that it offers pleasure through violence. This is the reason why it is the most popular and the most widely read Byzantine text, which, as pointed out by Leslie Brubaker, "continues to fascinate the modern reader."[39] In its various forms and in association with its comic and ironic effects, the ritual of punishment in the *SH* constitutes arguably an aesthetic that exercises a great power of fascination. As the preceding analysis has hopefully shown, it is through an understanding of Prokopios's uses of punishment that we can better understand his poetics and the function of his work. Otherwise, we will keep on failing to fathom his highly ironic and playful statement in the text's prologue:

> δέδοικα μὴ καὶ μυθολογίας ἀποίσομαι δόξαν κἀν τοῖς τραγῳδοδιδασκάλοις τετάξομαι. [...] οἱ γὰρ νῦν ἄνθρωποι δαημονέστατοι μάρτυρες τῶν πράξεων ὄντες ἀξιοχρέῳ παραπομποὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πίστεως ἔσονται.[40]
>
> I fear lest I shall earn the reputation of being even a narrator of myths and shall be ranked among the tragic poets. [...] For the men of the present day [...] will be competent guarantors to pass on to future ages their belief in my good faith in dealing with the facts.[41]

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39 L. Brubaker, "Sex, Lies and Textuality: The *Secret History* of Prokopios and the Rhetoric of Gender in Sixth-Century Byzantium," in *Gender in the Early Medieval World, East and West, 300–900*, ed. L. Brubaker and J. M. H. Smith (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 83–101, at p. 83.

40 *Historia Arcana* 1.4–5, ed. Haury, p. 4.

41 *Anecdota*, trans. Dewing, p. 5.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE "COURT OF AMOROUS DOMINION" AND THE "GATE OF LOVE": RITUALS OF EMPIRE IN A BYZANTINE ROMANCE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY*

Panagiotis A. Agapitos

Two important studies, published in the early Seventies, discussed the image of rulership in Byzantine erotic fiction. Peter Pieler examined the appearance of kingship and the state in the Palaiologan romances from the perspective of Byzantine legal and institutional practice,[1] while Carolina Cupane undertook an analysis of the image of *Eros basileus* ("Eros the king") in the Comnenian novels and the Palaiologan romances, focusing on a comparison with the figure of the *Dieux d'Amour* and his *chateaux* in Old French romance and fabliau.[2] Pieler's study aimed at measuring the closeness or distance of fictive kingship in the romances to the "reality" of the Palaiologan era, while Cupane intended to demonstrate the strong motivic influence of Old French fiction on Byzantine romance. Since then, no

* I would like to thank Dimiter Angelov for allowing me to use two forthcoming papers of his and for sharing with me his knowledge of Theodore Laskaris' works, Maria Parani for pointing out to me the passages on *prokypsis* from the treatise of Pseudo-Kodinos, Pagona Papadopoulou for drawing my attention to bibliography on the style of imperial portraiture, and to Stavroula Constantinou for her incisive criticism on many aspects of the paper. The Research Committee of the University of Cyprus gave me a grant towards the completion of the paper, for which I am most grateful.

1 P. E. Pieler, "Recht, Gesellschaft und Staat im byzantinischen Roman der Palaiologenzeit," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 20 (1971), 189–221.

2 C. Cupane, "Ἔρως βασιλεύς. La figura di Eros nel romanzo bizantino d'amore," *Atti dell' Academia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo*, ser. IV, 33.2.2 (1974), 243–97. One point of clarification is necessary concerning the terms "novel" and "romance": they are used here in order to distinguish the twelfth-century Comnenian texts, feigning a "bourgeois antique" setting and using a classicizing stylistic idiom (conventionally referred to as "learned"), from the later Palaiologan texts which are placed in an "aristocratic medieval" environment and using a so-called "vernacular" stylistic idiom; see P. A. Agapitos, "From Persia to the Provence: Tales of Love in Byzantium and Beyond," *Acme. Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli Studi di Milano* 63 (2010), 153–69, at pp. 154–55 and 158–60.

detailed analysis of court ceremonies and hegemonic rituals in Byzantine fiction was undertaken.[3]

One possible explanation for the absence of such studies is that these formalized expressions of fictive hegemony were considered to be mere stage contraptions in what was supposedly an undifferentiated core of fairytale material presented in a formulaic narrative form.[4] However, more recent studies have shown that the Palaiologan "tales of love" present highly complex, quite differentiated, and not in the least stereotypical narrative forms. The eight surviving texts belong to quite specific and distinct cultural and socio-political contexts that range from the middle of the thirteenth to the late fifteenth century.[5] The "tales of love" should be read as autonomous literary entities that operate as carriers of specific and intentioned ideological and cultural meanings, and not just as assortments of literary motifs, removed from their historical context.

Therefore, instead of examining ceremonies and rituals of power as a literary motif in all of the Byzantine vernacular romances, I have chosen in the present paper to study ceremonies and rituals in only one text, the anonymous *Tale of Livistros and Rodamne* (*L&R*). The romance was

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[3] R. Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance*, 2nd ed. (London, 1996), pp. 57–59 and 155–58, briefly repeats and expands Cupane's proposals; see P. A. Agapitos and O. L. Smith, *The Study of Medieval Greek Romance: A Reassessment of Recent Work*, Opuscula Graecolatina 33 (Copenhagen, 1992), pp. 37 and 81–85, and C. Cupane, "Metamorphosen des Eros. Liebesdarstellung und Liebesdiskurs in der byzantinischen Literatur der Komnenenzeit," in *Der Roman im Byzanz der Komnenenzeit. Referate des internationalen Symposiums an der Freien Universität Berlin (3. bis 6. April 1998)*, eds. P. A. Agapitos and D. R. Reinsch, Meletemata. Beiträge zur Byzantinistik und Neugriechischen Philologie 8 (Frankfurt, 2000), pp. 25–54, at pp. 39–45. Only P. Magdalino, "Eros the King and the King of *Amours*: Some Observations on *Hysmine and Hysminias*," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992), 197–204, made an attempt at a coherent analysis of the image of Eros the king in the twelfth-century novel of Eumathios Makrembolites, examining it comparatively with ceremonial poetry at the court of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180), while O. L. Smith, *The Byzantine Achilleid: The Naples Version: Introduction, Critical Edition and Commentary*, Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 21 (Vienna, 1999), pp. 92–93 and 98–101, briefly commented on the hegemonic rituals in the fourteenth-century *Tale of Achilles*.

[4] For a critique of this approach see P. A. Agapitos, *Narrative Structure in the Byzantine Vernacular Romances: A Textual and Literary Study of Kallimachos, Belthandros and Libistros*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 34 (Munich, 1991), pp. 11–19.

[5] For a good overview of Byzantine fiction in the learned and the vernacular idioms, see C. Cupane, "Il romanzo," in *La cultura bizantina*, ed. G. Cavallo, Lo Spazio Letterario del Medioevo. 3. Le Culture Circostanti 1 (Rome, 2004), pp. 407–53; for a discussion of the methodological problems involved in studying the vernacular romances, see P. A. Agapitos, "Genre, Structure and Poetics in the Byzantine Vernacular Romances of Love," *Symbolae Osloenses* 79 (2004), 7–101; for a comparison of Byzantine, Persian, and Old French erotic fiction, see Agapitos, "From Persia to the Provence" (as above n. 2), 153–69; all three studies include substantial bibliographies.

written most probably in the middle of the thirteenth century at the Laskarid Empire of Nicaea.[6] There are several reasons for choosing *L&R*. Numbering approximately 4600 verses, it is the longest among the vernacular romances, displaying the most complex narrative structure combined with a unique first-person narrative perspective.[7] One impressive characteristic of the romance's complex structure is its division into four "chapters", a device unique among all surviving vernacular romances;[8] these "chapters" are referred to in the text as *logos* ("discourse"), *aphegema* ("narrative") or *akousma* ("listening").[9] Furthermore, the romance displays very strong intertextual connections with the Comnenian novels, connections that extend from stylistic and rhetorical affinities to motivic and

[6] It survives today in three distinct redactions: "alpha" (= MSS S N P), E, and V. Of these "alpha" is the closest to the thirteenth-century original, though composed around the middle of the fourteenth century, and it is this redaction that will be used for the purposes of the present analysis. For the critical text of "alpha" see P. A. Agapitos, ed., *Ἀφήγησις Λιβίστρου καὶ Ροδάμνης. Κριτικὴ ἔκδοση τῆς διασκευῆς «ἄλφα»*, Βυζαντινὴ καὶ Νεοελληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 9 (Athens, 2006). For the *editio princeps* of redaction V, see T. Lendari, ed., *Ἀφήγησις Λιβίστρου καὶ Ροδάμνης (Livistros and Rodamne): The Vatican Version: Critical Edition with Introduction, Commentary, and Index-Glossary*, Βυζαντινὴ καὶ Νεοελληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 10 (Athens, 2007). Redaction E has not been edited critically; for a "normalized" diplomatic edition, see J. Lambert, ed., *Le roman de Libistros et Rhodamné publié d'après les manuscrits de Leyde et de Madrid avec une introduction, des observations grammaticales et un glossaire*, Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeeling Letterkunde, N.R. 35 (Amsterdam, 1935). The translation of redaction "alpha" is my own and will be published in the series Translated Texts for Byzantinists launched by Liverpool University Press. The translation of *L&R* by G. Betts, *Three Medieval Greek Romances: Velthandros and Chrysandza, Kallimachos and Chrysorroi, Livistros and Rodamni*, Garland Library of Medieval Literature 98B (New York, 1995), pp. 95–192, based on the old and deficient editions, is in many places misleading or even outright erroneous. Previous scholars dated the romance to the end of the fourteenth century, on which see P. A. Agapitos, "Ἡ χρονολογικὴ ἀκολουθία τῶν μυθιστορημάτων *Καλλίμαχος, Βέλθανδρος* καὶ *Λίβιστρος*," in *Origini della letteratura neograeca. Atti del secondo congresso internazionale "Neograeca Medii Aevi"*, ed. N. M. Panagiotakis, Biblioteca dell'Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia 15, 2 vols. (Venice, 1993), 2:97–134; on the romance's new date and place of composition see Agapitos, *Ἀφήγησις Λιβίστρου*, pp. 48–55. Despite initial reservations by other scholars, a date of *L&R* in the second half of the thirteenth century has now been generally accepted; see Cupane, "Romanzo" (as above n. 5), p. 440.

[7] On the romance's narrative structure, see Agapitos, *Narrative Structure* (as above n. 4), pp. 129–222, and Agapitos, "Genre" (as above n. 5), pp. 26–37.

[8] On the romance's chapter division (*L&R* 1–951, 952–2719, 2720–3821, 3822–4601) and four-part structure, see Agapitos, *Narrative Structure* (as above n. 4), pp. 269–71; idem, "Genre" (as above n. 5), pp. 32–33); idem, *Ἀφήγησις Λιβίστρου* (as above n. 6), pp. 110–31.

[9] E.g. *L&R* 952 ("Δεύτερος λόγος ἔρωτος Λιβίστρου καὶ Ροδάμνης," "The second discourse of the love of Livistros and Rodamne") and 2720 ("Τρίτον ἀγάπης ἄκουσμα καὶ ἀφήγησις καὶ λόγος," "Love's third listening and tale and discourse").

structural similarities, including the division into "chapters".[10] It should be pointed out that Nicaea was a major centre in the production of manuscripts preserving the Ancient Greek and Comnenian novels,[11] as well as a substantial number of manuscripts transmitting eleventh- and twelfth-century rhetorical, poetical, historiographical, epistolographical, theological, and philosophical texts.[12] Moreover, *L&R* displays a clear stylistic and metrical affinity to a ceremonial poem on the wedding of John Batatzes and Constance of Hohenstaufen (ca. 1244/5), composed by Nicholas Eirenikos, an affinity related to the particular mixture of erotic and political vocabulary found in both poems and to the interest in "folklore" at the Laskarid court around 1240–1250.[13] But most importantly, *L&R* offers the most extended representation of court ceremonies and hegemonic rituals in all of Palaiologan erotic fiction. I have argued elsewhere that the sequence of Livistros' three dreams, found in the romance's first "chapter", represents a didactic ritual of initiation into love.[14] In the following analysis, I shall try to show that this and other rituals and ceremonies we find in the romance are, in fact, rituals of empire reflecting the image of a specific imperial ideology that firmly anchors the romance in a thirteenth-century political context. I shall start by going through the dreams appearing in the romance's first part and will, then, look at further hegemonic ceremonies as they appear in the remainder of the text.

The action of *L&R* unfolds in a geographically fluid Eastern Mediterranean, without any appearance of Byzantine characters. The plot is very briefly as

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[10] Agapitos, "Χρονολογικὴ ἀκολουθία" (as above n. 6), pp. 101–17; idem, *Narrative Structure* (as above n. 4), pp. 255–71; idem, "Dreams and the Spatial Aesthetics of Narrative Presentation in *Livistros and Rhodamne*," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999), 111–47, at pp. 112–14; idem, "Writing, Reading and Reciting (in) Byzantine Erotic Fiction," in *Lire et écrire à Byzance*, ed. B. Mondrain, Collège de France–CNRS: Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance 19 (Paris, 2006), pp. 125–76, at pp. 126–34.

[11] Agapitos, *Ἀφήγησις Λιβίστρου* (as above n. 6), pp. 52–53.

[12] Agapitos, "Genre" (as above n. 5), pp. 33–34.

[13] See V. Katsaros, "Ἕνα ἀκριτικὸ τραγούδι σὲ χειρόγραφο τοῦ 16ου αἰ. καὶ τὸ πρόβλημα τῆς ἐμφάνισης τοῦ διστίχου στὸ βυζαντινὸ δημοτικὸ τραγούδι," in *Λόγια καὶ δημώδης γραμματεία τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ μεσαίωνα. Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Εὔδοξο Θ. Τσολάκη* (Thessaloniki, 2002), pp. 241–68, at pp. 255–68. It should be pointed out that Eirenikos's poem is preserved in the *Laur. Conv. Soppr.* 627 (ca. 1250–1270), a famous manuscript that transmits (i) the letter collection of Emperor Theodore II Laskaris, (ii) a series of major poetic and rhetorical works of the eleventh and twelfth century, and (iii) four out of the five surviving Ancient Greek novels (Chariton, Achilles, Longos, Xenophon); for the references see above n. 11.

[14] For some of the emotional and social aspects of the dream sequence in *L&R* as a ritual of amorous initiation, see Agapitos, "Dreams" (as above n. 10), pp. 119–26.

follows:[15] at the court of Myrtane, queen of Armenia, a young man called Klitovon, who had once fallen in love, starts to narrate "the tale about the love between Livistros the deeply suffering and the maiden Rodamne" (*L&R* 25–26: "Λοιπὸν καὶ τὴν ἀφήγησιν ἄρξομαι τῆς ἀγάπης |Λιβίστρου τοῦ πολυπαθοῦς καὶ κόρης τῆς Ροδάμνης"). Livistros, the young king of the Latin land Livandros, refuses to fall in love. As a consequence of a sad incident (Livistros shoots a turtle-dove and its mate commits suicide), his Relative instructs him about the power that the "sovereign ruler of amours" ("ἐρωτοκράτωρ") holds over the animate and inanimate world. In a dream, Livistros is arrested by the winged guards of the Amorous Dominion ("Ἐρωτοκρατία") and is taken by a Cupid Guard ("ἐρωτοδήμιος") to the court ("αὐλή") of Eros. The awe-inspiring three-faced ruler is angry at Livistros's rebellion against love. With the mediation of Desire ("Πόθος") and Love ("Ἀγάπη"), the ruler's powerful officials, Eros forgives Livistros but demands of him to swear an oath of vassalage and forces him to fall in love with Rodamne, daughter of the Latin Emperor Gold ("Χρυσός") of Silvercastle ("Ἀργυρόκαστρον"), a huge triangular fortified town.[16] Eros, in a further dream, also forces the princess to fall in love with the young king.

After having wondered for two years with his hundred companions in search of Rodamne, Livistros reaches Silvercastle and camps under the balcony of the princess. Aided by his Friend, who enters the castle dressed as peddlar, and by Rodamne's trusted eunuch servant Vetanos, the king succeeds in an extended exchange of amorous letters, songs, and love tokens to convince the princess of his love. However, Rodamne has been promised by her father as wife to Verderichos, the menacing emperor of Egypt. In a joust demanded by Rodamne from her father, Livistros wins her hand from Verderichos who is forced to leave humiliated. The couple marries, and Livistros is formally proclaimed co-emperor of Gold.

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[15] For extensive presentations of the complex plot, see Lambert (as above n. 6), pp. 2–8, and Lendari (as above n. 6), pp. 72–82; see also Agapitos, *Ἀφήγησις Λιβίστρου* (as above n. 6), pp. 45–48. For briefer summaries, see H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur*, Handbuch der Altertums-wissenschaft XII.2.3 (Munich, 1971), pp. 122–23, and Beaton, *Romance* (as above n. 3), pp. 114–16, both of which, however, contain inaccuracies and minor errors.

[16] The word 'kastron' used to describe Argyrokastron does not signify only a fortress, but is the Byzantine technical term for a fortified town; see Agapitos, *Narrative Structure* (as above n. 4), p. 107 n. 183, C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction* (Pretoria, 1986), pp. 7–13, and A. Dunn, "The Transition from Polis to Kastron in the Balkans (III–VII cc): General and Regional Perspectives," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 18 (1994), 60–80.

However, Verderichos returns two years later to Silvercastle dressed as a merchant from Babylon and succeeds with the help of a Saracen Witch to steal Rodamne. Livistros sets out to find his wife. On the way, he meets a stranger who proves to be Prince Klitovon, nephew of the king of Armenia. Livistros tells his story up to that point and, then, Klitovon tells his own: he had fallen in love with his cousin, the king's daughter, who was already married; Klitovon was forced to flee Armenia because the king had imprisoned him and intended to kill him. After this exchange of stories, Livistros and Klitovon discover the Saracen Witch on a deserted beach where she had been abandoned by Verderichos. By providing the two men with specific advice and with two flying horses, the Witch helps them to cross the sea to Egypt and find Rodamne. They abduct her and, after Livistros has decapitated the Witch, he takes his wife back to Silvercastle where Klitovon marries Rodamne's younger sister Melanthia. After the latter's premature death, however, Klitovon returns to Armenia and to Queen Myrtane. It is thus revealed that Myrtane was in fact Klitovon's first love; both of them are now widowed. The narrator, who proves to be an important character of the romance, turns to the audience to bring his story to a conclusion.

Central to the romance's plot is the domain of the *Erotokratia* and its dreaded ruler. Eros is specifically referred to as "emperor" at 507 ("Ἔρως, αὐθέντα βασιλεῦ," "You, Eros, sovereign emperor") and 688 ("Ἔρως βασιλεύς", "Eros the emperor"). Furthermore, he is often described as "ποθοκράτωρ" (sovereign of desire), "ἐρωτοκράτωρ" (sovereign of amours), "ποθοερωτοκράτωρ" (amorous sovereign of desire), and "δεσπότης" (overlord).[17] All of these attributes are coined after the equivalent attributes for the Byzantine emperor as used in laudatory poems and acclamations of the twelfth century.[18] Eros's imperial domain appears exclusively in four dreams, three seen and narrated by Livistros, and one seen by Rodamne but narrated by Livistros as reported to him by his Friend. As already mentioned, the three dreams of Livistros represent a large-scale ritual of initiation into "the mysteries of love and the bonds of desire" (162: "τοῦ ἔρωτος τὰ μυστήρια καὶ τὰ δεσμὰ τοῦ πόθου"). This ritual is clearly

[17] See *L&R* 297, 398, 418, 453, 507, 512, 893.

[18] See, for example, the following passages from Theodore Prodromos's *Carmina historica* (ed. Hörandner): IV,11–20; IX, passim; XI,71–80, 151–60; XV,91–100; XVIII,1–12; XXX,1–6. See also the prooimion to the Ptochoprodromic Poem III (ed. Eideneier), as edited and commented by D. R. Reinsch, "Zu den Prooimia von (Ptocho-)Prodromos III und IV," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 51 (2001), 215–23, at pp. 219–23.

framed by two exegetical discourses. At the beginning of the ritual we find the admonitory speech of the Relative explaining the power of Eros (154–90), while at the end we are offered the philosophical commentary of Livistros explaining the tripartite nature of the three-faced sovereign (920–41). Let us look at these dreams in more detail.

In the first dream (199–627), Livistros wanders aimlessly through a beautiful meadow. Unexpectedly, he is arrested by a group of flying cupid guards.[19] A rope is bound around his neck,[20] and he is hurriedly led to the Court of Amorous Dominion. Even before arriving there, his Cupid Guard advises him to accept the yoke of Amorous Servitude (257: "ἐρωτοδουλεία") and to petition the emperor's officials to mediate on his behalf at the "ἐρωτοδίκη" (429), the severe Amorous Tribunal (246–81).[21] It becomes clear from the Guard's speech that Livistros is viewed by Eros as a rebel against his power over the whole of nature. For example, the winged *erotodemios* tells the young king (251–55):

Διότι καὶ πέτρα καὶ δενδρὸν καὶ σίδηρον καὶ λίθος
καὶ πᾶσα φύσις ἄψυχος καὶ ἐμψυχωμένη πᾶσα
ἐκτὸς ἐρωτοϋπολήψεως οὐκ ἔνι ὁδὸς νὰ ζήσῃ.
Καὶ σύ, ὁ τοσοῦτος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ ἐξαίρετος καὶ νέος,
ἀναισχυντεῖς τὸν Ἔρωταν καὶ Πόθον οὐ ψηφίζεις;

For every stone and tree, iron and craggy rock,
all nature animate and all inanimate
cannot exist away from Amorous Esteem.
And you—a man of such high standing, excellent and young—
brazenly defy Eros and take no heed of Desire?

Once the company has reached the walled court, Livistros notices a gate guarded by a fierce man holding in his one hand a drawn sword and in

[19] Their appearance resembles the winged Cherubim and Seraphim (*L&R* 218–20); see, for example, the splendid miniature of the Holy Trinity surrounded by the angelic hosts from the twelfth-century MS *Vind. Suppl. gr.* 52, fol. 1v; colour reproduction in *Τὸ Βυζάντιο ὡς οἰκουμένη. Βυζαντινὸ καὶ Χριστιανικὸ Μουσεῖο, Ὀκτώβριος 2001-Ἰανουάριος 2002. Κατάλογος ἔκθεσης* (Athens, 2001), p. 25 (pl. 5).

[20] See Hades represented as a conquered and bound rebel in the Anastasis fresco of Theodore Metochites's funerary chapel in the Chora Monastery (ca. 1315–1320); colour reproductions in P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami. Volume 3: The Frescoes*, The Bollingen Series 70.3 (New York, 1966), pl. 341 (the fresco in full) and 358 (detail: Hades).

[21] R. Macrides, "The Ritual of Petition," in *Greek Ritual Poetics*, eds. D. Yatromanolakis and P. Roilos (Washington, D.C., 2004), pp. 356–70, at p. 365, has shown how this ritual of petition in *L&R* strongly reflects the general practice of petitions in the twelfth and thirteenth century.

his other a paper roll carrying an inscription whose text runs as follows (292–301):

Πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἀδούλωτος εἰς Ἐρωτοκρατίαν,
πᾶς ποθοακατάκριτος νὰ μὴ ἐγνωρίζῃ ἀγάπην,
ἂς ἔν' παρέξω ἐκ τῆς αὐλῆς τῆς Ἐρωτοκρατίας·
ἂν δὲ καὶ θέλῃ νὰ ἐμπῇ νὰ ἰδῇ καὶ τὴν αὐλήν του,
ἂς ὑπογράψῃ δοῦλος του καὶ ἂς γίνεται ἐδικός του,
καὶ τότε νὰ ἰδῇ χάριτας ἃς ἔχει ὁ ποθοκράτωρ·
ἂν δὲ μουρτεύσῃ νὰ ἐμβῇ, μὴ ὑπογράψῃ δοῦλος,
ἂς ἐγνωρίσῃ δήμιός του γίνεται τὸ σπαθίν μου,
καὶ ἐγὼ πικρός του τύραννος, μετὰ ἀδιακρισίας
νὰ κόψω τὸ κεφάλιν του, νὰ λείψῃ ἀπὸ τὸν κόσμον.

Everyone unenslaved to the Amorous Dominion,
everyone not judged by Desire and thus ignorant of Love,
let him remain outside the Court of Amorous Dominion.
Yet should he wish to enter and see the court of Eros,
let him sign as his slave, let him become his companion;
he then shall see what charms the Sovereign of Desire possesses.
But should he rebelliously refuse to enter and not sign as slave,
let him know that my sword shall be his executioner,
and I his bitter tyrant; I shall with cruelty
cut off his head that he might vanish from this world.

A further inscription indicates that the fierce man and the gate are "The Court's handsome Gatekeeper and the Gate of Love" (303: "Αὐλῆς πορτάρης εὔμορφος καὶ πόρτα τῆς Ἀγάπης"). The image Livistros sees and, in particular, the words he reads unmistakably convey the absolute power of the court's sovereign. The Gate of Love and its keeper define in the most clear political terms the boundary separating those inside and those outside the court, in other words, the obedient and the rebellious subjects of the Amorous Dominion respectively. In particular, the verb 'μουρτεύω' ('to create disorder') at 298 is the official Byzantine technical term to describe an apostasy or general uprising.[22] As so often in Byzantine

[22] 'Μουρτεύω' comes from *tumultus* > μοῦλτος > μουλ(ρ)τεύω; see *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, ed. E. Trapp, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik VI.5 (Vienna, 2005), p. 1047 s.v. μουλτεύω (the form 'μουρτεύω' is attested since the eleventh century), and *Λεξικὸ τῆς Μεσαιωνικῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δημώδους Γραμματείας*, ed. E. Kriaras, vol. 14 (Thessalonike, 1990), p. 55 s.v. μουλτεύω (though there the meaning of the word in *L&R* is wrongly given as 'refuse, react negatively').

political and theological discourse, inclusion and exclusion are defined in spatial terms.[23]

After having read the inscriptions, Livistros breaks down and promises to enslave himself to the bow of Eros (305–6).[24] From that point on, he is led through the court that is fashioned as a palace garden.[25] Therein he sees marvelous objects,[26] hears voices accusing him of rebellion (336) and demanding his punishment (337), and meets Desire and Love at whose feet he falls in despair. Livistros asks for their help and suggests that his rebellious behaviour was caused by his ignorance of the emperor (404, 408) and his political authority (409: "τὸ ἐξουσιαστικόν"). The phrase used by Livistros to describe himself as ignorant is "rustic person, villager" (408: "ἄνθρωπος χωρικός"), clearly a negative term with connotations of social class. In Eros's domain Livistros is not an educated feudal lord but an uneducated peasant. Already in the romance's prologue, Klitovon as the main narrating voice had told his audience that "they shall marvel at a man boorish in the ways of the world" (22: "καὶ νὰ θαυμάσουν ἄνθρωπον ἄγροικον εἰς τὸν κόσμον"). At this early point, "boorish, rustic" describes someone uneducated in "amorous concern" (1218: "ἐρωτοασχόλησις") and the "art of love" (1237: "ἐρωτοτέχνη"). However, the use of these particular words at 22 and 408 also suggests an aristocratic perspective on the part of the author and his intended primary audience. Be that as it may, the young king is finally led into the hall of the Amorous Tribunal. There, he sees the three-faced ruler sitting on his throne, flanked by two female figures who prove to be Truth and Justice. Livistros—now specifically referred to as a rebel (500: "ἀντιστάτης")—is called forward to present himself to the supreme judge. The young king falls flat on the ground in front of the throne with

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[23] See, indicatively, P. A. Agapitos, "Zwischen Grauen und Wonne. Das Bad in der byzantinischen Literatur," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 54 (2004), 19–37, at pp. 35–37, with further bibliography. One might see, for example, how the Gate of Paradise is represented in the Chora funerary chapel: the Gate—guarded by a flaming Cherubim—separates Paradise to the viewer's right (brightly accentuated by a white background) from the Path of Trials reaching the Gate to the left (blurred by a darkish blue-grey background); colour reproductions in Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, pl. 404 (the fresco in full) and 405 (detail: the Gate of Paradise).

[24] On the impact of inscriptions and the various functions of reading in *L&R* see Agapitos, "Writing," pp. 126–34.

[25] On Byzantine gardens in general, see A. Littlewood, H. Maguire, and J. Wolschke-Bulmahn, eds., *Byzantine Garden Culture* (Washington, D.C., 2002); on their function in Byzantine romance, see A. Littlewood, "Romantic Paradise: The Role of the Garden in the Byzantine Romance," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 5 (1979), 95–114.

[26] On the narrative and poetological function of these objects (buildings, statues, fountains, and paintings), see Agapitos, "Dreams," pp. 126–28, and idem, "Genre," pp. 37–42.

tears in his eyes.[27] The exchange of words between the ruler and the rebel, as narrated by Livistros, runs as follows (507–26):

> "Ἔρως, αὐθέντα βασιλεῦ, δέσποτα γῆς ἀπάσης,
> τῶν ἀναισθήτων ἀρχηγέ, τῶν αἰσθητῶν κατάρχα,
> πάσης ψυχῆς ἐρευνητά, τοῦ πόθου δικαιοκρίτα,
> καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης συνεργέ, τῆς ὑπολήψεως φίλε·
> ἂν ἀπὸ ἀναισθησίας μου τὴν εἶχα πρὸς ἐσέναν
> κατεφρονίσθης ἀπὸ ἐμέν, δέσποτα ποθοκράτωρ,
> μὴ ἐξεριστῇς τὸ πταῖσμα μου, τόσον μὴ τὸ κακώσῃς,
> γνώρισε, ἤμουν χωρικὸς καὶ συγγνωμόνησέ το·
> ἀρκεῖ τὸ μὲ ἐφοβέρισες, ἐλέησέ με ἀπετώρα,
> νὰ ὀμόσω νὰ εἶμαι δοῦλος σου ὅλος τοῦ ὁρισμοῦ σου,
> λίζιος τοῦ θελήματος καὶ τοῦ προστάγματός σου."
> Καὶ τότε ἀφοῦ τὸ ἐπλήρωσα τὸ τὸν ἐπαρεκάλουν,
> λέγει με: "Ἐγείρου ἀποτουνῦν· διὰ μεσιτείας τοῦ Πόθου,
> διὰ τὴν ἐγγύησιν, γνώριζε, τὴν εἶχα ἐκ τὴν Ἀγάπην,
> σπλαγχνίζομαί σε ἀποτουνῦν, ἐλεῶ καὶ συμπαθῶ σε·
> τὸ ἔπταισες οὐ ψηφίζω το, ἀμνημονῶ εἰς ἐκεῖνον,
> καὶ ἀποτουνῦν παράλαβε ἀγάπην εἰς τὸν νοῦν σου
> καὶ πόθον κόρης ἠθικῆς, ἐρωτοεξηρηγμένης,
> πόθον Ροδάμνης θυγατρὸς Χρυσοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως."
> Ἐπροσηκώθην ἐκ τὴν γῆν, ἐπροσεκύνησά τον.

> "Oh Eros, sovereign emperor, lord over all the earth,
> commander of matter inanimate, ruler of the animate world,
> prober of every soul, righteous judge of desire,
> aider of love, friend of good esteem!
> If on account of the senselessness I showed towards you,
> you were scorned by me, my lord sovereign of desire,
> do not be angered at my offence, do not be insulted by it;
> know, I was a rustic and forgive my boorish manners.
> It is enough that you terrified me, have mercy from now on,
> and I shall vow to be entirely the slave of your orders,
> a vassal to your will and your command."
> When I had finished what I was begging him about,
> he told me: "Arise now! Because of Desire's mediation,
> because of the guarantee—know it!—I had from Love,
> I grant you as of now my mercy, compassion and benevolence.
> The offence you committed I shall disregard and forget it;
> as of now receive love into your mind
> and desire for an outstanding maiden, amorously exquisite—

[27] On the function of tears in Byzantium, especially in cases of public repentance, see M. Hinterberger, "Tränen in der byzantinischen Literatur. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Emotionen," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 56 (2006), 27–51, at pp. 35–38.

desire for Rodamne, daughter of Emperor Gold."
I rose up from the ground and I payed obeisance to him.

We are confronted with a highly formalized exchange of repentance and forgiveness that has been prepared in advance by the mediating officials and that is being consciously performed by both speakers. Livistros, acknowledging his senselessness and rusticity, accepts becoming a vassal of Eros and the latter agrees to pardon the former. Moreover, by offering him the hand of Princess Rodamne, the emperor raises the former rebel and peasant back to his true social status of king. Livistros acknowledges this act of mercy by paying obeisance through the formal gesture of *proskynesis*. Eros, then, orders him to go and vow (562), asking his officials to prepare Livistros's pledge of obligation and to let him swear his firm resolution (564: "τὸ ἐγγυτικόν του ποιήσετε, τὸ βέβαιον ἂς ὀμόσῃ").

At this point, it is necessary to examine more closely the image of Eros as Byzantine emperor. One very important aspect of this image is the relation of the primary audience's present with an authoritative past, since in the romance the symbolic Rhomaian present of ideal kingship is projected a-historically onto the mythological Hellenic past.[28] This type of "anachronistic" depiction of the past is a characteristic trait of all premodern cultures.[29] Beyond this broader conceptual frame of the past as present, there are a number of specific details in the depiction of Eros as emperor that reflect contemporary imperial practice. For example, the hall of the Amorous Tribunal is packed with people, a typical way of framing

[28] See the similar representation of Zeus as a Byzantine emperor from the twelfth-century MS *Athos Panteleemon* 6, fol. 163v; colour reproduction in S. M. Pelekanides, P. K. Chrestou, C. Mauropoulou-Tsioume, and S. N. Kadas, *Οἱ θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους. Σειρὰ Α΄. Εἰκονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα: Παραστάσεις-ἐπίτιτλα-ἀρχικὰ γράμματα. Τόμος Β΄: Μ. Ἰβήρων, Μ. Ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος, Μ. Ἐσφιγμένου, Μ. Χιλανδαρίου* (Athens, 1975), p. 185 (pl. 312). On this particular image ("Zeus giving birth to Dionysos"), see K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination 4 (Princeton, 1984), pp. 46–49.

[29] For example, according to the respective culture, Alexander the Great in the various adaptations of the Hellenistic *Alexander Romance* is represented as a Byzantine, French, or Persian ruler in illuminated manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; see (i) Byzantine: *Τὸ Βυζάντιο ὡς Οἰκουμένη* (as above n. 19), pp. 48–51 (*Ven. Inst. Hell.* 5, 14th century, Trebizond); (ii) French: A. G. Hassal and W. O Hassal, *Treasures from the Bodleian Library* (London, 1976), p. 102 and pl. 23 (*Bodl.* 264, 1338–1344 CE, Flanders); (iii) Persian: J.-C. Bürgel, trans., *Nizami: Das Alexanderbuch–Iskandarname* (Zurich, 1991), p. 64 (*Lond. Bibl. Britan. Add.* 25900, late 15th century, Herat). To my knowledge, this subject has not been studied in Byzantine literature and art; for the Old French romance, see A. Petit, *L'anachronisme dans les romans antiques du XII*e *siècle* (Lille, 1985).

the emperor with his officials and attendants during formal audiences.[30] Furthermore, in the scene of judgement, Eros is seen only frontally and remains immobile throughout.[31] Moreover, Eros is flanked at throne level by two female allegorical figures, Truth and Justice;[32] this type of allegorical entourage is also celebrated in ceremonial poetry of the Comnenian age.[33] Finally, along with Truth and Justice, Eros is also accompanied

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[30] See the depiction of Emperor Theophilos enthroned and surrounded by a massive number of officials in the late twelfth-century *Matrit. Bibl. Nat. vitr.* 26–2, fol. 42v; colour reproduction in A. Grabar and M. Manoussacas, *L'illustration du manuscrit de Skylitzès de la Bibliothèque National de Madrid*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut hellénique d'études byzantines et post-byzantines de Venise 10 (Venice, 1979), pl. IX. Most revealing is Michael Psellos's description of his own embassy to the usurper Isaakios Komnenos in 1057 as narrated in the *Chronographia* 7.15–33 (ed. Impellizzeri). In particular, the fully packed and "theatrically" organized space of Isaakios' tent (7.22–24) closely resembles the spatial organization of the Amorous Tribunal in *L&R*.

[31] Frontal view and immobility are standard features of formal imperial portraiture, symbolizing the emperor's relation to the "divine"; see H. Maguire, "Style and Ideology in Byzantine Imperial Art," *Gesta* 28 (1989), 217–31. Three examples should suffice: (i) Constantine IX Monomachos together with Zoe and Theodora in the eleventh-century *Sinait. gr.* 364, fol. 3r; colour reproduction in G. Galavares, *Ζωγραφική βυζαντινῶν χειρογράφων* (Athens, 1995), p. 79 (pl. 56); (ii) Michael VII Doukas (changed to Nikephoros III Botaneiates in the inscription) from the eleventh-century *Par. Coisl.* 79, fol. 2v (the emperor flanked by John Chrysostom and an archangel); colour reproduction in Galavares, *Ζωγραφική*, p. 101 (pl. 92); (iii) anonymous emperor in full regalia on a marble relief tondo (probably 12th century); colour reproduction in H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixom, eds., *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261* (New York, 1997), p. 200 (pl. 137).

[32] See, for example, Christ flanked by Mercy and Justice, crowning Emperor John II Komnenos and his son Alexios in the twelfth-century *Vat. Urb. gr.* 2, fol. 10v; colour reproductions in Galavares, *Ζωγραφική*, p. 140 (pl. 145), and Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 209 (pl. 144). Another example of a ruler accompanied by allegorical figures is a miniature of David as king of Israel flanked by Wisdom and Prophecy in the late thirteenth-century *Vat. Palat. gr.* 381, fol. 2r; colour reproduction in Galavares, *Ζωγραφική*, p. 173 (pl. 190). This miniature as well as a number of others from the same manuscript closely reflect the equivalent miniatures from the *Par. gr.* 139 (the famous *Paris Psalter*, 2nd half of the 10th century), especially the David miniature on fol. 7v; black-and-white reproduction in H. Belting and G. Cavallo, *Die Bibel des Niketas. Ein Werk der höfischen Buchkunst in Byzanz und sein antikes Vorbild* (Wiesbaden, 1979), fig. 52. A close comparison between the figure of David in the *Parisinus* and the *Palatinus* shows that the thirteenth-century "imitation" has discreetly modernized the tenth-century imperial costume so as to bring it closer to thirteenth-century dressing practice; on the *chlamys*-costume and its adaptations in Byzantine painting from the middle to the late Byzantine period, see. M. G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th-15th Centuries)*, The Medieval Mediterranean 41 (Leiden, 2003), pp. 12–18 and 34–38 (specifically on biblical rulers). On the *Vat. Palat. gr.* 381, see J. Lowden, "Manuscript Illumination in Byzantium, 1261–1557," in H. C. Evans, ed., *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)* (New York, 2004), pp. 259–69, at p. 265 and n. 34 with bibliography (fig. 9.10 on p. 265 shows fols. 1v–2r of this manuscript).

[33] See the poem on Manuel accompanied by the four cardinal virtues from the *Marc. gr.* Z 524, fol. 112v, edited, translated and commented by P. Magdalino and R. Nelson, "The

by his two chief officials, Desire and Love.[34] We are, thus, offered here a most complex fictive reconstruction of eleventh- and twelfth-century imperial imagery. What becomes obvious from this iconographic analysis is that *Eros basileus* in *L&R* is decidedly not a Hellenistic *erotideus* nor a Latinized French *dieux d'amour*.[35]

Let us now return to Livistros's dream. The Cupid Guard, Desire, and Love escort Livistros, who is still bound by the neck, to the Chamber of Oaths (567–68). The double door of the Chamber has a painting on it that depicts Eros as a naked and winged youth holding a drawn sword and a flaming torch (570–75).[36] Livistros sees Eros's wing and strung bow placed on a golden-red lectern; attached to the bow he discovers a paper with the following text written on it (587–99):

Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8 (1982), 123–83, at pp. 142–46.

34 An apparently incomprehensible detail from the description of Eros on his throne can be clarified with the help of manuscript illumination. At *L&R* 540–42 the text states: "καὶ εἰς τὸ πρὸς ἕναν γόνατον τοῦ ἐρωτοκρατοῦντος | τῶν δύο τὰ χέρια κείτουνται ἐπάνω εἰς τὰ δεξιά των, | ὅρκου σημεῖον ἐρωτικὸν εἰς εὐυποληψίαν" ("At the level of the amorous sovereign's knees the hands of both women were placed on the right side of their breast—an amorous sign of the oath towards Good Esteem"). This particular detail of the two women having their hands crossed and placed to the "right side" (in my opinion, "right" here refers to the viewer's point of view, i.e. on the figures' actual left side, which means the place of the heart) on knee level as to the emperor, reflects exactly the hierarchical proportions in the size between emperor and officials in Byzantine minature painting. For example, in the *Par. Coisl. gr.* 79, fol. 2r (ca. 1075) the enthroned Michael VII Doukas (appearing as Nikephoros Botaneiates in the inscription; see above n. 31 no. ii) is, on the one hand, flanked behind his throne by the allegorical figures of Truth and Justice, while, on the other, he is flanked by two and two officials respectively with their hands placed on their chest at the seated emperor's knee level; see the colour reproduction of the whole page in Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 208 (pl. 143). The image in *L&R* conflates the two groups making, within the fictive realm of the Amorous Dominion, Truth and Justice into the ruler's officials, along with Desire and Love, who offer their oath of loyalty to Good Esteem as one of Eros's cardinal virtues (see *L&R* 253 and 510).

35 The latter suggested by Cupane, "*Eros basileus*," pp. 286–91.

36 This painted version of Eros resembles the painted figure of Eros in Makrembolites's *Hysmine and Hysminias* (2.7.2–3, ed. Marcovich): "Τῷδ' ἐπεκάθητο μειράκιον τερατῶδες, γύμνωσιν παντελῆ καθ' ὅλου φέρον τοῦ σώματος [...]. Τόξον καὶ πῦρ περὶ τὼ χεῖρε τοῦ μειρακίου, φαρέτρα περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν καὶ σπάθη ἀμφίκοπος" ("On this throne here sat a wondrous youth being completely naked as to his whole body [...]. A bow and a flame were in the youth's hands, a quiver and a double-edged sword fastened at his thigh"). As was the case with the "imitation" of David flanked by Wisdom and Prophecy in the *Vat. Pal. gr.* 381 (see above n. 32), the thirteenth-century adaptation of Eros the teenager cupid revises the "Hellenic" imagery towards a clearly contemporary practice. Eros's drawn sword and flaming torch in *L&R* are imperial attributes attested in the fourteenth-century *Treatise on Offices and Dignities* by Pseudo-Kodinos for the important ceremony of the *prokypsis*, i.e. the emperor's formal public appearance (191.3–16, ed. Verpeaux).

Ἐγὼ εἶμαι <ὁ> νόμος τοῦ Ἔρωτος, {καὶ} τοῦτο ἔνι τὸ πτερόν μου
καὶ τοῦτο ἔναι τὸ δοξάριν μου, καὶ ὀμνύετε οἱ πάντες
λίζιοι νὰ εἶστε δοῦλοι του, νὰ μὴ τὸν ἀθετῆτε.
Ὅτι πλανᾶσθε ἐξαπορῶ καὶ ὅτι {ἔναι} τὸν ἀθετεῖτε.
Ποῦ νὰ τὸν ἐγλυτώσετε; Φρίττω ὅτι φεύγετέ τον.
Ἂν πετασθῆτε εἰς {τὸν} οὐρανόν, πτερὸν ἔχει καὶ φθάνει·
ἂν καταβῆτε εἰς <θάλασσαν, γυμνὸς ὡς τὸν θεωρεῖτε,
καὶ καταφθάνει εἰς> ἄβυσσον καὶ οὐκ ἐγλυτώνετέ τον·
ἐὰν δὲ ἴσως πάλιν εἰς τὴν γῆν κοσμοπεριπατεῖτε,
θεωρεῖτε <καὶ> τὸ τόξον του, πολλὰ στοχὰ δοξεύει
καὶ οὐκ ἔνι ὁδὸς νὰ φύγετε τὴν ἐρωτοταξίαν.
Λοιπὸν ἐπιφωνοῦμαι σας ὁποὺ εἶστε ἀπὸ τὸν κόσμον,
δουλώνεσθαι <εἰς> τὸν Ἔρωτα, καὶ ὁποὺ τὸν θέλει ὀμόσειν,
ἄς ἔνι βέβαιον τὸ λαλεῖ, μὴ ὁρκοπαραβατήσῃ.

I am the law of Eros! This is my wing
and this is my bow. Vow all of you
to be the vassal slaves of Eros, never to disobey him.
I am astonished that you roam free and that you disobey him.
Where to will you escape? I shudder that you flee before him!
Should you fly to the skies, he has wings and will reach you;
should you again descend into <the sea, naked as you see he is,
he penetrates into> the depths and you cannot escape from him.[37]
If again you walk freely around the world and on this earth,
take heed of his arrow, it aims with great precision,
and there is no way you could escape the Amorous Enlistment.
I therefore proclaim to all of you who are of this world:
enslave yourselves to Eros, and he who wishes to swear,
let his vow be resolutely firm, let him not violate his oath!

"The law of Eros" (587) is a written formal document to be signed by those offering their vow.[38] The text presents the absolute power of Eros over the whole animate and inanimate world, a power that has been already referred to by the Relative and his list of paradox examples (166–84), by the Cupid Guard (247–53), and by Desire (366–71).[39] The law spells out a clear threat to rebels and demands an oath of servitude to the Amorous

[37] At this point, MS P (the only witness of redaction "alpha" for this part of the poem) has a gap; in angular brackets I have indicatively supplied the missing text from the Escorial redaction (α 593a–b=P 283a–b=E 523–24).

[38] In contrast to the Western oral form of vassal oath, the process here reflects a Byzantine version following written legal practices; see Agapitos, "Writing", p. 129 n. 21.

[39] It is an image of power that was also used by Makrembolites (*H&H* 2.9 and 2.11), reflecting an important motif of Ancient Greek literature, paradigmatically expressed in a famous choral song from the Euripidean *Hippolytos* (1268–81).

Enlistment (596: "ἐρωτοταξία"). Livistros formally vows full vassal allegiance to Eros and his two powerful officials (604–6):

> Μὰ τοῦτο τὸ πτερόν, μὰ τὸ εὔστοχόν σου τόξον,
> δουλώνομαι εἰς τὸν Ἔρωτα, λιζιώνομαι εἰς τὸν Πόθον,
> πιστός της νὰ εἶμαι ἀποτουνῦν τῆς Ἐρωτικοαγάπης.
>
> By this very wing, by your well-aiming bow,
> I enslave myself to Eros, I become a vassal to Desire,
> from now on I shall be a loyal follower of Amorous Love.

At that moment, the Seer (607: "ὁ μάντις") enters the Chamber and in an oracular discourse foretells the hero's future. The Prophet's discourse is a condensed summary of the romance's plot (611–26). Desire had already explained to Livistros that he "will see the Seer" (557: "νὰ ἴδῃς καὶ τὸν μάντιν"), who will inform him about his future tribulations. The use of the definite article in both passages ("ὁ μάντις" and "τὸν μάντιν") suggests that the Seer's narrative is an integral part of the oath of allegiance to the Amorous Dominion. With the Seer's prediction Livistros wakes up, haunted by the dream's intense visual and emotional impact.

The second dream (680–753) is acted out within a fenced "wondrous garden" (686: "παράξενον περιβόλιν") that obviously includes everything that an ideal Mediterranean garden should include (686–94).[40] Livistros, however, points to a particular aspect of the garden: it belongs to Eros the Emperor, who is responsible for its decoration along with his two officials Desire and Love (688–89). Moreover, Livistros points to the presence of fountains and pools, connecting the regenerating world of water to the regenerating world of love, here present as "a gathering of Graces and a dance of Cupids" (695–97), mythological figures traditionally representing sexual charm and desire.[41] The garden is characterized as "ἐρωτοπεριβόλιν" (698), an *hapax legomenon* meaning both "amorous garden" and "garden of Eros." At that moment, Eros appears—now in the guise of an infant Cupid—and introduces Livistros to Rodamne, triggering first the young king's amazement and then arousing his erotic excitement. But as Livistros

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[40] On fenced gardens and the developing Byzantine concept of the enclosed/internalized "gardenscape", see H. Maguire, "Paradise Withdrawn," in *Byzantine Garden Culture* (as above n. 25), pp. 23–35.

[41] On gardens, water, and sexuality in the romances, see P. A. Agapitos, "The Erotic Bath in the Byzantine Vernacular Romance *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe*," *Classica et Medievalia* 41 (1990), 257–73, at pp. 264–73; for a different approach see C. Barber, "Reading the Garden in Byzantium: Nature and Sexuality," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 16 (1992), 1–19.

is about to embrace and kiss the beautiful maiden,[42] he suddenly wakes up, feeling the pain and agony caused by unfulfilled sexual desire.

Livistros has his third dream (894–908) about hundred-and-thirty verses after the second. In terms of the narrative process, this is a short distance, but in terms of narrative time the distance is very long. The reason is that, driven by his second dream and the information provided by his Relative (661–73), the young king sets out to find his princess. As we are informed at various points in the first part of the romance, the adventurous search for Rodamne's castle lasted for "a two-year time-span" ("δίχρονον").[43] The young king and his companions finally find Silvercastle and camp at a safe distance from it. Night arrives and Livistros, exhausted, falls asleep in his tent. In his dream he sees Eros, this time as a flying figure. Nowhere in this passage is it made clear in what form exactly Eros appears. Later, when Eros visits Rodamne in her dream (1410–13), he appears as a flying "boy" (1411: "παιδόπουλον") and not as a winged "infant baby" (700: "τὸ μικρὸν τὸ βρέφος"). It is obvious, then, that in the four dreams where Eros appears, the ruler of the Amorous Dominion takes on different forms according to his "amorous" and "political" (*qua* narrative) function.

At any rate, Eros flies into the tent and wakes Livistros up by striking him on the head with his wing (897–900). The ruler then says to his vassal that he should not feel dejection because he intends to go to Rodamne and shoot her with desire for the young king. Eros asks Livistros to bid him farewell (905: "καὶ εὔξου με ἀπάρτι, Λίβιστρε, τίποτε μὴ λυπᾶσαι") and flies off. This is the first and only time Eros addresses Livistros in endearing terms, an obvious signal in the change of their relationship. Livistros as vassal has become a "friend" of the ruler. That such an address of endearment is not coincidental, can be seen from the similar phrase used by the Friend and the Eunuch in addressing Livistros (1470 and 2250 respectively), both of whom stand or are about to stand in a similar social relation to the young king of Livandros. Livistros has woken up in great distress and vainly looks around to find Eros. He then reports his dream to his companions who rejoice at the good omen (909–14). It is

[42] For a depiction of such an erotic embrace within a garden, see a Byzantine glazed ceramic plate (ca. 1180–1230) from Corinth; for colour reproductions, see Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 270 (pl. 192) and D. Papanikola-Mpakirtze, *Βυζαντινὰ ἐφυαλωμένα κεραμικά. Ἡ τέχνη τῶν ἐγχαράκτων* (Athens, 1999), p. 184 (no. 212). The presence of a running hare or rabbit (a symbol of fertility) indicates that the plate probably was a wedding present or part of a dowry.

[43] See *L&R* 620, 869, 968, 978, 984; on time structure in *L&R*, see Agapitos, *Narrative Structure*, pp. 255–71.

at this point that Klitovon interrupts his friend and asks him to provide the explanation of Eros's tripartite nature (915–19). With Livistros' exegesis completed (920–41), the ritual of initiation comes to a conclusion and the young king decisively sets out a plan on how to approach Rodamne (942–44 and 974–97).[44]

The main structural components of the romance's first "chapter" (1–951) can be analyzed on four different levels, each level having a different function.[45] On the level of the narrative process these components are: Livistros's act of killing one of the turtle-doves ($X1^0$), the Relative's admonition on the power of Eros ($Z1^0$), Livistros's three dreams ($A^0/B^0/C^0$), Livistros's explanation of the nature of Eros ($Z2^0$), and Livistros's act of sending a letter to Rodamne ($X2^0$). This series of seven components can be represented as: $X1^0 + Z1^0 + A^0/B^0/C^0 + Z2^0 + X2^0$. Thus, the extended sequence is (i) opened and concluded by two acts of the hero ($X1^0$ and $X2^0$), (ii) framed by two philosophical discourses ($Z1^0$ and $Z2^0$), and (iii) structured in three distinct yet interrelated parts ($A^0/B^0/C^0$).

This clear and symmetrically organized narrative sequence resembles the typical form of a "rite of passage" with its signalling acts, words of instruction, and tripartite structural pattern.[46] This can be seen in the presence of signaling acts and words of instruction, but, most importantly, in Livistros's movements within the three mental spaces: in the first dream Livistros is brought to an enclosed space (the Court of Amorous Dominion) and led through it with the space closing in upon him (the Room of Oaths); in the second dream he moves freely in an open but still enclosed space (the Garden of Eros); in the third dream he is firmly placed in a new space (his tent). In ritual terms, the series looks as follows: the initiate, having moved away from his own space on account of a disruptive act ($X1^1$), is instructed about his error ($Z1^1$), goes where the main ritual action takes place (A^1), remains for some time in a liminal space where he is emotionally and mentally transformed (B^1), goes then to a new space where he receives proof of the initiation's closure (C^1), receives further instruction ($Z2^1$), and exits the ritual by performing a corrective act ($X2^1$).

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44 In *L&R* 945–73, Livistros narrates the passage from the first to the second "chapter".

45 In the following analysis, the four levels are indicated by superscript numerals from 0 to 3, i.e., A^0, A^1 etc.

46 Concerning the rites of passage and their structural components, Arnold van Gennep's classic study *Les rites de passage* (1908; reprinted, Paris 2011) still retains its validity (English translation, London 2010; German translation with postface and additional bibliography, Berlin 2005); for the importance of this pattern in structuring stereotypical narrative sequences in Byzantine literature, see Agapitos, "Grauen," pp. 19–22.

The three interrelated parts of the sequence ($A^1/B^1/C^1$) are also the main ritual stages of passing from one condition (ignorance) to another condition (knowledge) through a transforming liminal space (revelation).

The organization of the extended dream sequence as a rite of passage allows us to read it on the level of "symbolic meaning" as a ritual of initiation into love, where each of its components assumes a specific ritual significance: an inappropriate act of destroying a symbol of love ($X1^2$), words of instruction on the physical manifestation of love ($Z1^2$), acknowledgement of love as emotion and obligation in the first stage (A^2), revelation and acceptance of an appropriate object of desire in the second stage (B^2), verification of the ritual's validating truth in the third stage (C^2), final words of instruction as to the spiritual manifestation of love ($Z2^2$), and an appropriate act of gaining one's amorous mate ($X2^2$). On a further level, the whole sequence can be read as an allegorical ritual of empire: an illegal act against the sovereign of a mighty empire ($X1^3$), words of instruction on the ruler's physical power ($Z1^3$), the acknowledgement of the emperor's supreme ruling power and judicial authority over the whole world in the first stage (A^3), the presentation and acceptance of a present as guarantee of the vassal bond in the second stage (B^3), the verification of the sovereign's executive efficacy in the third part (C^3), final words of instruction as to the ruler's spiritual power ($Z2^3$), and a legal act of vassal obedience ($X2^3$). Thus, the narrative sequence of the three dreams is simultaneously a symbolic ritual of emotional initiation into conjugal love and an allegorical ritual of political conversion into vassal submission (levels 2 and 3). The poet of *L&R* succeeded in presenting simultaneously the two overlapping rituals by giving to the extended dream sequence (level 0) the narrative form of a "rite of passage" (level 1), a form that was well known to his audience through similar stereotypical narratives, such as hagiographical tales.[47] In other words, through the narrative *typos* of a universal rite (that of "passage") the primary recipients of the romance are in a position to decode the symbolic and/or allegorical *topos* as a specific ritual of initiation.[48]

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[47] On the close relation of hagiography and romance as its narrative typology, see Agapitos, "Grauen," pp. 35–36.

[48] On *typos* and *topos* of formulaic narrative structures in hagiography, see P. A. Agapitos, "Mortuary Typology in the Lives of Saints: Michael the Synkellos and Stephen the Younger," in *La vie des saints à Byzance. Genre littéraire ou biographie historique? Actes du deuxiéme colloque international sur la littérature byzantine (Paris, juin 2002)*, eds. P. Odorico and P. A. Agapitos, Dossiers Byzantins 4 (Paris, 2004), pp. 103–35.

As Livistros is about to start writing his amorous letters to Rodamne, he is convinced that Eros has not been false to him and that he will shoot the haughty princess forcing her also into love and submission (993–97, 1326–29). Livistros's conviction is based on his belief that his two-year period of wandering is the guarantee of his vassal allegiance to the sovereign of Amorous Dominion. This he makes clear to Rodamne already in the first letter he addresses to her, wherein he connects his sufferings during his two years of wandering to Eros's promise to make Rodamne fall in love with him (1376–92). Immediately after the letter has been sent, the Friend appears and narrates to Livistros the dream the princess had, as it was reported to him by her trusted eunuch servant Vetanos. In this fourth and last amorous dream (1410–42), a winged boy flies into Rodamne's chambers and speaks to her in the following manner (1415–24):

> "Λίβιστρος γῆς λατινικῆς, ρήγας τῆς γῆς Λιβάνδρου,
> δίχρονον τώρα περιπατεῖ διὰ πόθον ἐδικόν σου,
> κινδύνους εἶδε φοβεροὺς καὶ ἀνάγκας ὑπεστάθην·
> καὶ ἀποτουνῦν παράλαβε τὸν πόθον του εἰς τὸν νοῦ σου,
> ἔπαρον τὴν ἀγάπην του, δουλώθησε εἰς ἐκεῖνον
> καὶ σὸν τράχηλον ἄκλιτον κλίνε εἰς τὸν ἔρωτάν του,
> ρίψε το τὸ κενόδοξον, ἄφες τὸ ἠπηρμένον·
> πολλὰ ἐπικράνθην δι' ἐσέν, μὴ ἀντισταθῇς εἰς πρᾶγμαν".
> Καὶ ἀφότου τὴν ἐσυνέτυχεν, εἰς τὸ ἀπομισσευτίκιν
> τοξεύει τὴν ἀγέρωχον στοχὰ κατὰ καρδίαν.

> "Livistros of a Latin land, king of the land Livandros,
> has been wandering two years now for the love of you:
> he experienced terrible dangers and bore many sufferings;
> as of now receive desire for him into your mind,
> accept his love, enslave yourself to him
> and bow your unbending neck to his passion.
> Cast away your haughtiness, leave aside your arrogance;
> I have been greatly grieved because of you—do not resist in this matter!"
> After he had spoken to her and while he was departing,
> he shot the proud maiden straight in the heart.

Rodamne wakes up in terror and reports her dream to Vetanos, while her father arrives to inquire about the reason for the commotion created in his daughter's chambers (1425–39). Nowhere within or after this dream is any reference made to Eros as being the winged boy.[49] Rodamne falls in love

[49] The only reference—available exclusively to the reader—is the explanatory rubric at 1414: "Τὴν κόρην ἐν ὀνείρου της ὁ Ἔρως τῆς συντυχαίνει" ("Eros speaks to the maiden in her dream"); on these rubrics, that belong to the original composition of the text, and their

because of the shock she suffers from the brutal act of being pierced by the arrow, but she does not go through any ritual of initiation or conversion. On the contrary, she is forced into submitting herself to Livistros as her "lord." One only has to compare the pronouncement of Eros to Livistros (523–25)[50] with the pronouncement to Rodamne in this passage (1418–20). Both statements open with a "formulaic" exhortation ("as of now receive love into your mind" and "as of now receive desire for him into your mind") followed by a differently phrased command: Livistros is to receive the love and desire of Rodamne but he is enslaved to Eros, Rodamne, on the other hand, is to receive love for Livistros but she has to enslave herself to her future lover. This, obviously, reflects the notion that only males as warriors can become factual vassals, and only males are forced to prove through some warrior-like trial their love for their object of desire. In this sense, despite the strong character and prominent role of Rodamne within the romance, the perspective on love and its social dimension is exclusively male and gendered in masculine terms.[51]

Carolina Cupane, in her paper mentioned above, was the first to point out that the dream sequence in *L&R* stands in close relation to the opening sequences of Eumathios Makrembolites's novel *Hysmine and Hysminias* (composed in ca. 1130–1135),[52] especially the dream seen by Hysminias, wherein Eros allows Hysmine to enlist the young hero as a slave of love (*H&H* 3.1–4).[53] I have argued elsewhere that, though the narrative struc-

important narrative function, see Agapitos, *Narrative Structure*, pp. 95–103; P. A. Agapitos and O. L. Smith, "Scribes and Manuscripts of Byzantine Vernacular Romances: Palaeographical Facts and Editorial Implications," *Hellenika* 44 (1994), 61–80, at pp. 66–71; Agapitos, "Genre", pp. 24–26 and 87–88.

50 Quoted above on pp. 398.

51 On this issue in the Old French romance, see R. L. Krueger, *Women Readers and the Ideology of Gender in Old French Verse Romance*, Cambridge Studies in French 43 (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 1–32 and, more recently, S. Gaunt, *Love and Death in Medieval French and Occitan Courtly Literature: Martyrs to Love* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 138–67 (on gendered "death for love").

52 On the date, see P. A. Agapitos, "Poets and Painters: Theodoros Prodromos' Dedicatory Verses of his Novel to an Anonymous Caesar," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 50 (2000), 173–85, at pp. 181–85; objecting to this proposal, Cupane, "Metamorphosen des Eros", pp. 52–54, believes that *H&H* was written in the third quarter of the twelfth century. The earlier or later date within the twelfth century is not relevant for the present analysis.

53 Cupane, "*Eros basileus*", p. 286; see now her further thoughts in C. Cupane, "Jenseits des Schattens des Alten? Zum Umgang mit der Tradition in der volkssprachlichen Erzählliteratur," in *Imitatio-Aemulatio–Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.-25. Oktober 2008)*, eds. A. Rhoby and E. Schiffer, Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 21 (Vienna, 2010), pp. 93–102, at pp. 99–100.

ture of the two scenes develops along broadly parallel lines, the imagery of Eros does not.[54] On the one hand, the Hellenic stage apparatus of Eros as a divinity, his actions in terms of Christian ideology and the performed ritual as an act of conversion in religious belief in *H&H*, have in *L&R* been totally changed into the political imagery of a clearly defined imperial ideology. On the other hand, whereas Eros appears physically both as a painting and as a real person in *H&H*, playing a crucial role in the development of the novel's plot,[55] this is decidedly not the case in *L&R*, where Eros and the Amorous Dominion appear exclusively in the world of dreams. The *Erotokratia* therefore is a *mental* domain, appearing as a causative agent at the beginning of the romance, to disappear completely once Livistros begins to court Rodamne, and he has to rely on both his own devices and the help of his friends. Despite, then, the intertextual affinities with the twelfth-century *H&H*, the socially gendered—male and aristocratic—ritual of emotional initiation and political submission as performed in the thirteenth-century *L&R* is not to be found in any other of the surviving Byzantine learned novels and vernacular romances of love. But whose political ideology does, then, the unique mental domain of the *Erotokratia* reflect?

In order to answer this question, we shall have to examine a scene appearing in the middle of the romance just before the apparently happy end. Once Livistros has thrown Verderichos off his horse (2475–76), the populace of Silvercastle starts shouting cries of victory and praise for the young king. Furthermore, as Livistros remarks (2481–82), "ἀνεκηρύχθην βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ τὸ πλῆθος ὅλον, | ἤρξαντο κράζειν τὸν Χρυσὸν τοῦ κάστρου βασιλέαν" ("I was proclaimed emperor by the gathered multitude, | they all started calling for Gold, the castle's emperor"). Amidst the general rejoicing, Rodamne sends Vetanos to the young king to kiss him on her behalf and to assure him of his good fortune (2483–87); then (2490–96):

πέμπει Χρυσὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τέσσαρες ἄρχοντάς του,
φέρνουν σκουτάριν στρογγυλόν, ἀπάνω μὲ καθίζουν,
εἰς ὕψος ἀναβάζουν με, καὶ πρῶτον εὐφημίζουν
Χρυσὸν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ δεύτερον ἐμένα:
"Πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη", λέγουσιν, "Λιβίστρου βασιλέως".
Ἀνέβη μέχρι νεφελῶν ἡ ταραχὴ τῆς φήμης,
ἐσείσθη τὸ περίγειον τῆς γῆς Ἀργυροκάστρου.

[54] Agapitos, "Dreams," pp. 122–26.
[55] Eros is respresented in a real fresco placed on the garden wall of Hysmine's house (2.1–11); later, in the function of a *deus ex machina*, he personally saves Hysmine from drowning (7.18).

> Gold the emperor (*basileus*) sends out four of his magnates,
> they bring a round shield, on top of it they seat me,
> they raise me up high; first they acclaim (*euphemizo*)
> Gold the monarch (*autokrator*) and then me in second place:
> "Many be the years", they shout, "of Livistros the emperor (*basileus*)".
> Up to the clouds rose the commotion from the acclamation (*pheme*),
> the whole surrounding land of Silvercastle shook and trembled.

The terminology used by the poet here to characterize the senior ruler (*autokrator*) and his co-emperor (*basileus*) clearly reflects Byzantine practice of the eleventh and twelfth century.[56] Livistros is brought into the castle and is met by Gold who orders his magnates to lower the young warrior down to the ground. In an extended speech to his magnates and governors, the sovereign of Silvercastle explains the reasons for having Livistros acclaimed emperor, and announces that the valiant youth shall become his son-in-law (2505–21). There follows a second series of acclamations and, as we are informed much later (3359–60), Livistros was at that point also crowned.[57]

Once the wedding ceremony is concluded, Livistros, as narrator, offers to the audience of the romance a formal description (*ekphrasis*) of the beautiful princess (2539–68).[58] Livistros then narrates how he and Rodamne are jointly acclaimed emperor and empress, while Gold retains the honour of imperial seniority until his death (2569–74). The newly-wed imperial couple is led to the bride's chambers that lie behind the balcony that played an important role during the exchange-of-letters scene. In a second formal description (2577–644), Livistros introduces us to the beauties of the chambers' "inner garden" (2580: "μεσοκήπιν"). The garden is characterized as "a segment of Paradise, an abode of pleasure and a fountain of sweet-

[56] In the miniature depicting the crowning of John II and his son Alexios by Christ (see above n. 32), John is described in the appropriate inscription as "βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων" ("emperor and monarch of the Rhomaioi"), while Alexios in the respective inscription is referred to solely as "βασιλεύς" ("emperor"). In general, see F. Dölger, "Die Entwicklung der byzantinischen Kaisertitulatur und die Datierung von Kaiserdarstellungen in der byzantinischen Kleinkunst," in idem, *Byzantinische Diplomatik. 20 Aufsätze zum Urkundenwesen der Byzantiner* (Ettal, 1956), pp. 130–51 (originally published in 1953).

[57] This detail is revealed by Rodamne when she narrates her story to Klitovon at her inn in Egypt; on this technique, in which the poet of *L&R* does not reveal all the details of a story in their proper chronological sequence, see Agapitos, *Narrative Structure*, pp. 130–40.

[58] On *ekphrasis* in Byzantine literature, see E. Mitsi and P. A. Agapitos, "Εἰκὼν καὶ Λόγος. Ἡ "ἔκφρασις" ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχαία στὴ βυζαντινὴ λογοτεχνία," in E. Mitsi, P. A. Agapitos and M. Hinterberger, *Εἰκὼν καὶ Λόγος. Ἕξι βυζαντινὲς περιγραφὲς ἔργων τέχνης* (Athens, 2006), pp. 15–38 (text) and 165–77 (substantial bibliography); see also R. Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (Aldershot, 2009).

ness" (2581–82: "τοῦ παραδείσου ἀπόκομμαν, τῆς ἡδονῆς κατούναν | καὶ βρύσιν τῆς γλυκύτητος"); it bears strong similarities to the garden-like Court of the Amorous Dominion. Odorous trees, blossoming flowers, different types of musical *automata*, and an artfully constructed glass pool with an astonishing technical device heighten the erotic charms of this inner "female" *sanctum*.[59] Most importantly, in the centre of the garden's pool stands a fountain with a pipe of green marble. This pipe is topped by the statue of a man (made out of ruby-red marble); in his one hand he holds a basin from which water flows back into the fountain, and in his other hand a roll with an inscription (2586–95). The eight-verse inscription (2596–603) identifies "empress Rodamne" (2597: "βασίλισσα Ροδάμνη") as the mistress of the garden and its various parts; it also points to an unnamed "wondrous grand man, a king from his own land" as the "sovereign emperor" of the garden's empress (2598–99: "καὶ τῆς Ροδάμνης βασιλεὺς ἄνθρωπος ξένος μέγας | ρήγας ἀπὸ τὴν χώραν του"). There follow four verses offering an extremely dense outline of the basic plot (2600–03). The statue with the inscription parallels in form and aquatic function a similar fountain statue in Eros's court (438–66). The inscription itself has a two-fold function: on the one hand, it reminds Livistros (2605–06) of the Seer's oracular discourse predicting the young king's fate;[60] on the other, it is a constant reminder to Rodamne of what her future amorous fate shall be. This is a very strong appearance at a critical moment of the romance (the apparently happy end) of the particular combination of a political and an erotic vocabulary linking the mental and the physical domains of imperial and amorous power.[61]

Just as the emotional and political ritual of initiation in the romance's first part is unique in Byzantine erotic fiction, so is the extended representation of the hero's acclamation, coronation, wedding, and inclusion into his wife's imperial world. What is especially noteworthy about the acclamation of Livistros is the fact that the young king is first seated on a shield and then raised up high (2491–92; see the text quoted above). In older ceremonial practice, the candidate is raised standing on the shield, or so, at least, we are led to assume.[62] But this ceremonial detail of sitting on

[59] On romance gardens and femininity, see Smith, *Byzantine Achilleid*, pp. 109–17.

[60] *L&R* 611–26, on which see above p. 403.

[61] It is also another artful instance where the poet reveals to his audience a crucial piece of information at an unexpected point of the narrative (see above n. 57).

[62] See the doubts voiced by C. Walter, "Raising on a Shield in Byzantine Iconography," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 33 (1975), 133–75, concerning the iconography of the shield-raising ceremony. For two miniatures depicting historical shield-raising ceremonies, see *Matrit. Bibl. Nat. vitr.* 26–2, fols. 10v (Grabar and Manoussacas, *L'illustration* [as above

the shield we find documented for the first time by the historian George Akropolites at the acclamation of Theodore II Laskaris as sole ruler in early November of 1254:[63]

> Τὴν νενομισμένη γοῦν ὁσίαν ἀποδιδοὺς τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ καθεσθεὶς ἐπ᾽ ἀσπίδος ὡς ἔθος καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων φημισθεὶς αὐτοκράτωρ, τοῦ Νυμφαίου ἀπάρας ἐπὶ τὴν Φιλαδέλφειαν ἀφίκετο.
>
> When <Theodore> had rendered the emperor his father the prescribed funeral rites and had been seated on the shield, as is the custom, and acclaimed monarch by all, he left Nymphaion and arrived at Philadelphia.

There are two further points of interest in this passage. The first point is that the historian comments that the sitting on the shield was customary ("ὡς ἔθος"); in fact, this detail is not mentioned in any of the surviving sources before the middle of the thirteenth century.[64] The second point concerns the distinction made by Akropolites between the terms *basileus* ("emperor") and *autokrator* ("monarch"). The ten-year-old Theodore was married by his father John III Batatzes (1222–1254) in 1235 to the eight-year-old Elena, daughter of the Bulgarian tsar Ivan II Asen (1218–1241). It is most probable that at that ceremony, officiated by the patriarch Germanos II (1223–1240), the princely couple were proclaimed emperor and empress.[65] The similarity between, on the one hand, the acclamation of Theodore to (co-)emperor, his marriage, and later, his acclamation and coronation to sole ruler and, on the other, the ceremonial sequence in *L&R* (acclamation, marriage, acclamation of the couple, and coronation) is unmistakable. All stages of Theodore's ritual initiation into the imperial office are found in the romance in the same narrative sequence as in Akropolites's *History*, while the titulature and acclamation vocabulary of *L&R* is identical to the one the historian uses in his account as chief

n. 30], pl. I; Leo the Armenian) and 230r (Grabar and Manoussacas, *L'illustration*, fig. 269; Leo Tornikios); for miniatures depicting proclamations of biblical kings as shield-raising ceremonies see Walter, "Raising," pls. 1–5 (Solomon, David, Hezekiah).

63 *Chronike Syngraphe* §53 (ed. Heisenberg/Wirth 105.19–22; trans. R. Macrides, *George Akropolites: The History* [Oxford, 2007], p. 277).

64 A. Christophilopoulou, *Ἐκλογή, ἀναγόρευσις καὶ στέψις τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ αὐτοκράτορος*, Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν 22.2 (Athens, 1956), pp. 176–77, and Walter, "Raising," pp. 157–60.

65 The dates and technical details of the betrothal and marriage are quite problematic; see Macrides, *Acropolites*, pp. 39–40, who opts for 1234 and a betrothal, and D. Angelov, "Theodore II Laskaris, Elena Asenina and Bulgaria," *Srednovekovniyat Bŭlgarian i "Drigite"* (Sofia, forthcoming), who argues convincingly for 1235 and a marriage. In any case, Theodore had been acclaimed *basileus* by 1241.

witness of that specific event. We are informed about another four similar acclamation-coronation ceremonies up to the middle of the fourteenth century, however, in none of these cases do we have a similar sequential congruence with the romance.[66] Given that such a thematic and narrative congruence could not have been maintained at a time and place distant from the Nicaean context (for example, in Constantinople during the civil of wars of 1321–1328), it is highly probable that the acclamation ceremony of Livistros to *basileus* and the marriage/acclamation ceremony of Livistros and Rodamne reflect ceremonial "memory" of Theodore's acclamation and marriage at the Laskarid court around the middle of the thirteenth century.

Thus, in this central legitimation episode of the romance, the Latin empire of Silvercastle as a *physical* domain of imperial rule proves to have close affinities to the Nicaean Empire. At the same time, Silvercastle is strongly connected to the *mental* domain of the Amorous Dominion. The inner gardens of the mental and of the physical monarchies as the central spaces defining in visual and emotional terms Eros's Amorous Tribunal and Rodamne's terraced apartments respectively as the core of power are almost identical: Livistros as observer of the two spaces describes them with identical "erotic" vocabulary,[67] he experiences the same conflicting feelings of sorrow and joy,[68] he reacts to both gardens in the same astonished manner as if he were the viewer of a work of art created by a superior and cunning craftsman.[69] Moreover, there is a strong congruence between the two monarchies on the level of executive and judicial power: Eros and Gold are legitimate rulers who, though listening to their officials and magnates, act as absolute yet just holders of authority. In fact, their

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66 Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259), Michael IX Palaiologos (1294), Andronikos III Palaiologos (1325), and Mathew Kantakouzenos (1353); for the technical details and sources see Christophilopoulou, *Ἐκλογή*, pp. 182–96. There also survives a coronation protocol in the *Treatise on Offices and Dignities* (255.20–256.14, ed. Verpeaux), but this description has been copied from John Kantakouzenos's *History*, wherein the coronation of Andronikos III is described (I, 196.17–197.3, *Historiae*, ed. L. Schopen); see also Agapitos, *Ἀφήγησις Λιβίστρου*, p. 52 n. 35. After the reference in Pseudo-Kodinos this custom is not mentioned again in the sources.

67 *L&R* 204–8, 216–17, 309–16, 351–52 (in the first dream) ≈ 2580–85, 2640–41 (in Rodamne's garden).

68 *L&R* 209–14, 341–47 (in the first dream) ≈ 2575–76, 2607–10 (in Rodamne's garden).

69 Compare *L&R* 484–85 "νὰ εἶπες ἐκπαντὸς χέρια καλοῦ ζωγράφου | τεχνίτου τὸ ἐστόρησαν" ("you would have said a good painter craftsman's hands had wholly depicted it") with 2623 "καὶ εἰς αὐτὰ νὰ εἶδες φοβεροῦ τεχνίτου πονηρίαν" ("and concerning these <musical statues> you might have discerned the cunning of an awe-inspring craftsman"); on this imagery as part of the romance's poetics, see Agapitos, "Genre," pp. 38–46.

authority stems from their very sense of justice. It should be noted that in the respective courts of Eros and of Gold no aristocratic families appear; the two sovereigns either act with the help of a restricted number of faithful officials or absolutely on their own.

Contrastively, the Egyptian empire is represented as a dark tyranny, where only women surround its menacing emperor. Verderichos needs the help of the Saracen Witch to abduct Rodamne (this is in itself a dishonorable act), but as soon as he has succeeded in his plan, he ungratefully abandons the Witch on a deserted beach. In Egypt, it is Verderichos's female relatives and wives of his magnates that attempt to convince Rodamne to bow to their master's will (3435–73), but their attempt fails. Rodamne, in narrating this episode to Klitovon, specifically points out that this was an attempt at flattery (3437), while she adds the gnomic statement that a person flattered, even if his nature is made of stone, will be greatly softened though his soul might be very angry (3439–40). Rodamne, however, remains cold like a "diamond stone" (3443). Thus, she displays one of the three greatest practical virtues of a true ruler, namely resistance to flattery.[70] Verderichos, then, tries himself to persuade Rodamne with amorous flattering and cunning devices (3474–76). When he also fails, he returns to his "robber's ways" (3481: "τὸ ληστρικώτερον") and has Rodamne tortured. At that point, she addresses the following words to her tormentor (3486–88):

> Οὐκ εἶσαι χώρας βασιλεύς, νομίζω δήμιος εἶσαι,
> τοῦτον τὸν κόσμον τὸν κρατεῖς, ληστεύεις καὶ κρατεῖς τον·
> δυνάστης εἶσαι ἀποτουνῦν, οὐκ εἶσαι ἀφέντης χώρας.
>
> You are not a country's emperor—I think you are a henchman,
> this land here you govern, you hold it as a robber and thus govern it;
> as of now you're a tyrant, not the lawful ruler of a country.

In contrast to Eros's just and educative chastisement of Livistros, Verderichos subjects Rodamne to unjust and vindictive torture with the sole aim of satisfying his frustrated sexual desire.[71] Thus, within the fictive world of the romance, the Latin empire of Silvercastle represents the ideal monarchy, whereas the Saracen empire of Egypt represents its complete inversal.

70 On flattery as the greatest danger to the moral fortitude of a ruler, see P. A. Agapitos, "Ἡ εἰκόνα τοῦ αὐτοκράτορα Βασίλειου Α′ στὴ φιλομακεδονικὴ γραμματεία (867–959)," *Hellenika* 40 (1989), 285–322, at pp. 316–17 (with examples from Byzantine *specula principis*).

71 See *L&R* 3524–32, where Verderichos describes his own feelings of sexual frustration with images resembling the torture of Tantalus.

However, what I have briefly described as the main features of the mental imperial domain of the Amorous Dominion and of its two physical counterparts Silvercastle and Egypt, sums up the main features of Theodore II Laskaris's political program of imperial reform. It was a plan that took gradually shape in the last years of his father's long rule, and that the young prince tried to apply to the governance of the state once he became sole ruler. Central aspects of this reform were the exclusion of the old aristocracy from government, the use of a very restricted number of trusted officials, the direct and unmediated relation of the ruler to his subjects, the brutal enforcement of imperial authority, and, finally, the personal and continuous involvement of the ruler in the dispensation of justice.[72] The specific imagery of imperial power and authority in *L&R* appears as a direct reflection of Theodore's preoccupations with these issues between 1248 and 1252.[73]

By way of conclusion it can be said that the rituals of empire in The Tale of Livistros and Rodamne are not a coincidental assortment of literary motifs but a fully coherent representation of specific imperial ceremonies and ritual practices of the late Comnenian and Laskarid eras. The historian of such ceremonies in Byzantium of the twelfth and thirteenth century will profit from studying this "material" as it can open a window into the interpretation of these practices through their political manisfestation in a work of fiction prepared for recitation in a courtly context. From the preceding analysis it has become obvious that the imperial

[72] Most of Theodore's theoretical and practical pronouncements on the above mentioned issues appear in his own writings (e.g. his numerous letters, the encomiastic oration on his father, the treatise on friendship, the invective against a dissembler); some also appear in the writings of his two teachers, Nikephoros Blemmydes (e.g. in his letters and his treatise on the ideal ruler) and George Akropolites (his historiographical work). Unfortunately, so far, there has been no thorough study of Theodore as a political thinker and ruler. However, the chapter on Theodore in D. Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204–1330* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 204–52, offers some very interesting insights into the emperor's approach to aristocracy and executive power. On the acceptance of petitions and the dispensation of justice, one might read with profit Theodore's letter to Blemmydes (*epistula* 44: 58.67–71, ed. Festa), dated by Angelov to 1257, wherein the emperor describes his judicial court sessions inside and outside the imperial palace, a scene that closely resembles Livistros's petition to Eros; on the letter see Macrides, "Ritual," p. 362.

[73] That is, from the time when, due to Blemmydes, the scandal of Vatatzes's adulterous affair with the (probably Italian) lady-in-waiting of his German wife broke out up to the time of the death of Theodore's wife Elena Asenina; on the former date, see J. Munitiz, *Nikephoros Blemmydes: A Partial Account. Introduction, Translation and Notes*, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense. Études et Documents 48 (Leuven, 1988), p. 25, on the later date, see Angelov, "Theodore II Laskaris."

apparatus of the Amorous Dominion and its earthly manifestations in Silvercastle and Egypt directly connect *L&R* to the specific ideological context of late Laskarid Nicaea. On the one hand, the romance's art and artifice fits into the efforts of the Nicaean rulers to recreate in a post-1204 setting the courtly culture of Constantinople during the reign of the Comnenian emperors; on the other hand, the poem's ideology is attuned to the specific plans of Theodore II for a radical political reform. Thus, *L&R* added a further argument in the effort of the Laskarids to promote their rule as the legitimate continuation of the ecumenical Roman Empire in opposition to the rival Greek monarchies of Trebizond and Epirus, and to present the Nicaean emperors as cultured and just, even if by necessity harsh, monarchs.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

PARODIES OF IMPERIAL CEREMONIAL AND THEIR REFLECTIONS IN BYZANTINE ART

Henry Maguire

Just as there existed in Byzantine rhetoric the genre of *psogos*, which was the opposite of encomium, so too there were ritualized performances that parodied the ceremonials of the imperial court. These exercises in derision were acted out by the ruler's enemies both inside and outside the empire—by Byzantines as well as by westerners. From evidence scattered in a wide variety of sources, both Greek and Latin, we can put together a relatively detailed picture of the rituals of mockery, which were just as stereotyped as the ceremonials that they inverted. In this paper, I shall survey some of the more conspicuous instances of the parodying of imperial ceremonies, from the ninth to the twelfth centuries. I shall also consider a few parodies of church ceremonials, because these parodic liturgies shared some features in common with the imperial parodies, and help to reconstruct their character. Then, at the end, I shall attempt to show how the ritualized derision of imperial ceremony also left its mark on works of art, particularly on portrayals of the Mocking of Christ, which provide our best illustrations of the parodies of Byzantine court ceremonial.

I begin with a performance that is described in the tenth-century *Life* of Basil I, and later in the eleventh-century history of Skylitzes.[1] Although this burlesque was staged to mock ecclesiastical rather than imperial ceremony, we shall see that it had much in common with parodies of imperial processions. The ringleader was the emperor Michael III, whom the author of Basil's biography is at pains to vilify in order to justify his murder by his usurper, Basil. Michael, we are told, co-opted one of his cronies, a kind of jester named Groullos, and named him "Patriarch". The companions of Groullos were designated "Metropolitans", among whom was the emperor himself, who assumed the scatological title of "The Bishop of

[1] *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), pp. 244–46; John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. H. Thurn, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 5 (Berlin, 1973), p. 110.

Colonville." These mock clergy staged bogus rituals for their amusement. For example, one day the pious patriarch Ignatios was conducting a public procession toward a church outside of the city, accompanied by the appropriate sacred chants. Meanwhile, Groullos, wearing priestly robes, approached the procession from the opposite direction, riding on an ass. He was surrounded by a band of pseudo-clergy, wearing *phelonia*. As they approached Ignatios, the fake patriarch and his so-called metropolitans threw their *phelonia* over their shoulders and gave vent to obscene and insulting songs to the melodies of sacred chant. At the same time they were leaping about like satyrs to the sound of cymbals and other musical instruments.[2] Although this event, like much in the *Vita Basilii*, may be fictitious, we find in it elements that will be repeated in later accounts of mock imperial rituals, namely the verbal insults, the use of an ass as a mount for the focal figure, the dancing, and the musical instruments.

An illustration of Groullos and his retinue can be found in the mid-twelfth-century manuscript of the chronicle of Skylitzes, now in Madrid.[3] This manuscript was produced in Norman Sicily, so its depictions of the events are distant from Constantinople, and consequently somewhat confused. On the left of the miniature we see a domed building with marble walls, beneath which two men are standing. The figure on the right is dressed in a strange combination of imperial and ecclesiastical dress; he has a crown, red shoes, and perhaps a *loros*, over which he wears a white ecclesiastical vestment—a *phelonion*. The inscription above identifies him as "Ignatios the Patriarch meeting Groullos." In spite of this identification, however, it is more likely that this image was originally conceived as an illustration of an earlier passage in Skylitzes, which describes how the emperor Michael III impersonated a pontiff, giving himself the title of Bishop of Colonville.[4] The building under which he stands would thus be the imperial palace. On Michael's right side, at the far left of the miniature, we see one of the emperor's high officials standing beside him. This individual wears a white domed hat. Such hats are worn by officials in several other representations of the Byzantine court.[5] For example, in the famous throne scene in the eleventh-century manuscript *Coislin* 79 in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, the *proedros* and *protoproedros*

[2] *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bekker, p. 245.

[3] Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vitr. 26–2, fol. 78v; V. Tsamakda, *The Illustrated Chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid* (Leiden, 2002), p. 121, fig. 192.

[4] Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Thurn, p. 110.

[5] On the white hats, see M. G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th–15th Centuries)* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 67–68.

who flank the emperor on the left wear similar headgear.[6] In the *Skylitzes* miniature, we can see that the official in the white hat is also wearing a *phelonion*-like garment over his red tunic; so this must be another of the fake metropolitans of Groullos.

On the right of the miniature we see Groullos with his band of musicians, playing a flute, a psaltery, a pair of cymbals, and a stringed instrument with a long neck. Two of these performers wear the pointed hats that in Byzantium were associated with the mimes.[7] The inscription above this group reads "Groullos, meeting the patriarch with his clergy and liturgy, reviled and abused them as they approached." Thus the miniature in the *Madrid Skylitzes* manuscript essentially conflates two different scenes, the assumption of fake clerical titles by the emperor and his associates, and the fake liturgical procession conducted by Groullos.[8]

We do not know the content of the mocking songs that were sung in front of the patriarch by Groullos and his band, except that the *Vita Basilii* terms them "worthy of a brothel."[9] However, two sources preserve a sampling of the kind of insults that were appropriate for the mocking of imperial ceremonies. The first is the well-known invective that Liudprand of Cremona directed against Nikephoros Phokas in his description of his second, unsuccessful, embassy to Constantinople. Liudprand explicitly inverts the acclamations that greeted Nikephoros Phokas as he processed from the Great Palace to Hagia Sophia. As the emperor walked, the singers chanted "Behold the morning star approaches: the day star rises: in his eyes the sun's rays are reflected. . . ." But Liudprand comments that they should have sung: "Come you miserable burnt-out coal," because Nikephoros was, he said, "in color an Ethiopian." The chanters at the imperial procession addressed Nikephoros as "our Prince, the pale death of the Saracens," but in fact, says Liudprand, they should have described him as an infirm old woman.[10]

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6 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS *Coislin* 79, fol. 2r; H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixom, eds., *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*, exh. cat. (New York, 1997), no. 143, pp. 207–8.

7 E. D. Maguire and H. Maguire, *Other Icons: Art and Power in Byzantine Secular Culture* (Princeton, 2007), pp. 109–13.

8 This conflation supports Tsamakda's conclusion that the painters of the *Madrid Skylitzes* were "copyists, who did not illustrate the Skylitzes text for the first time"; *The Illustrated Chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid*, p. 395.

9 *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bekker, p. 245.

10 *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona*, ed. J. Becker, MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 41 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1915), pp. 177, 181; trans. F. A. Wright, *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona* (New York, 1930), pp. 236, 241.

Our second account of the insults associated with parodic ceremonies comes in the *Chronographia* of Michael Psellos. Psellos gives a detailed description of an event that took place during the reign of Constantine IX, during the revolt of Leo Tornikios, who besieged Constantinople with his troops in 1047.[11] During the siege, Constantine was suddenly afflicted by gout and by a variety of other ills, which Psellos recounts graphically. As a consequence of his maladies, a rumour was put abroad that the emperor was dead. To prove to that he was still living, Constantine dressed in his imperial robes, and sat together with his empress Zoe and her sister Theodora on a projecting balcony of one of the imperial apartments, which faced the rebel troops assembled outside the walls. There he sat between the two empresses, in the words of Psellos, "breathing faintly and groaning in a feeble manner." It is probable that this balcony was attached to the Blachernai palace; it must have resembled the ruined balcony that still projects from the so-called Tower of Isaac Angelos.[12] The emperor's aim must have been to make an impression similar to that created by the frontispiece of the copy of John Chrysostom's sermons on Matthew, preserved at Mount Sinai (Fig. 15.1).[13] Here Constantine, Zoe, and Theodora stand silhouetted against a pure gold ground as they receive the blessing of Christ above. The intention must have been that the emperor and the empresses would have appeared enthroned in the splendour of their regalia, suspended high up on the walls, well above the troops milling below. In the event, this was a ritual that failed in its intent, because, so far from being impressed by this imperial elevation, Constantine's opponents staged a mock ceremony in response.

First, the rebels started to hurl insults at the emperor. Echoing Liudprand, they began by reviling the emperor for his bodily weakness, before calling him such epithets as "accursed", a "degenerate seeker after unholy pleasures," "the ruin of the city," and "corrupter of the people." After this opening salvo, the rebels dismounted from their horses and started to improvise comic choral dances in front of the emperor and his retinue. In the words of Psellos, they could be seen "stamping on the

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[11] Michael Psellos, *Chronographia* 6.106–11, ed. E. Renauld, 2 (Paris, 1928), pp. 19–23; trans. E. R. A. Sewter, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: The Chronographia of Michael Psellos* (Harmondsworth, 1966), pp. 210–13.

[12] H. Maguire, "Gardens and Parks in Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000), 251–64, esp. pp. 253–54, fig. 2.

[13] Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, MS gr. 364, fol. 3r; K. Weitzmann and G. Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts* (Princeton, 1990), p. 66, fig. 185.

ground with their feet in time to their music and dancing in triumph." As for the emperor, he was "put to shame, not only by their actions, but also by their insults." As in the case of the verbal insults, we can see the derisory music and dancing as a kind of inversion of the rituals of the imperial court. For example, the chronicle of Theophanes Continuatus describes the ceremonies put on by Theophilos in the peristyle of the Sigma, in the Great Palace. During imperial receptions, Theophilos would sit there on a golden throne and watch performers making leaps and dances.[14] Presumably the dances performed by the rebels in front of Constantine Monomachos parodied the official performances in some way.

Just over a hundred years later we find another parody of imperial ceremony, which is described by the historian Niketas Choniates. In 1149, after street fighting between the Byzantines and the Venetians in Constantinople, the Venetians stole the imperial barge of Manuel I, and adorned its cabins with golden curtains and rugs dyed with purple. Then, according to Choniates, they placed on board a black-skinned Ethiopian, and acclaimed him emperor of the Romans. In the words of the historian, the Venetians "led him about in procession with a splendid crown on his head, ridiculing the sacred imperial ceremonies, and mocking Emperor Manuel as not having yellow hair, the color of summer, but instead being blackish in complexion like the bride of the song [of Solomon] who says 'I am black and beautiful, because the sun has looked askance at me'."[15] Thus here, as in the case of Liudprand's invectives, the *topos* of the emperor shining like the sun was turned into its opposite.

Choniates also describes another mock imperial ceremony, namely the cruel parading of Andronikos through the city after his fall from power, a procession that the author calls a "mock triumph." Choniates says that first one of the deposed emperor's eyes was gouged out. Then Andronikos was seated on the hump of a mangy camel. His head was uncovered, his hair was completely shaved, and his body was clothed only in a short rag-like garment. As he passed through the streets, the inhabitants pelted him with stones and with animal and human excrement, while they reviled his mother and all his forebears with foul language.[16]

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[14] *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bekker, pp. 140–42.

[15] Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. A. Van Dieten, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 11/1 (Berlin, 1975), p. 86; trans. H. J. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates* (Detroit, 1984), pp. 50–51.

[16] Choniates, ed. van Dieten, pp. 349–50; trans. Magoulias, pp. 192–93.

A second account of the disgrace of Andronikos can be found in the Old French *Continuation* of the *History* of William of Tyre, which matches the description of Choniates in several particulars. According to the *Continuation*, Andronikos was deprived of one of his eyes, but he was left with the other one, so that he could see the shame and punishment that he was about to receive. Then he was stripped naked, and made to ride backwards on an ass, holding its tail instead in the place of reins. His hair was cropped and shaved in the shape of a cross, and he wore a crown made of stalks of garlic. As he rode through the city, the women threw urine and excrement in his face and over his head.[17]

As Choniates says, the whole procession of Andronikos was an obvious reversal of the imperial *adventus* ceremony. Thus, according to the description of the triumph of Basil I in 878, Basil and his son Constantine approached the Golden Gate mounted on resplendent "white horses equipped with gem-encrusted caparisons"; the emperor wore an imperial diadem and a "gold-embroidered breastplate-tunic," while his heir sported golden greaves and held a gilded spear. Their route was garlanded and strewn with fragrant myrtle, roses, and other flowers.[18] The shaving of Andronikos's head reversed one of the familiar *topoi* of Comnenian imperial panegyrics, namely the eulogizing of the emperor's hair. An anonymous *ekphrasis* of the jousts of Manuel I, for example, describes the emperor's locks as appropriately long and waving in the wind.[19]

In these accounts of mock imperial ceremonials there are certain recurring elements. These repeated themes include verbal insults inverting imperial acclamations, the playing of musical instruments, doubtless in a loud and cacophonous manner, and the performance of derisory songs and dances. In the case of processions, an inappropriate mount, such as an ass or a camel, substitutes for the magnificent steed.[20] Excrement,

[17] *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)*, ed. M. R. Morgan (Paris, 1982), p. 28; trans. P. W. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation* (Aldershot, 1988), p. 22.

[18] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, ed. and trans. J. F. Haldon, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 28 (Vienna, 1990), pp. 140–44.

[19] Edited by P. Schreiner, "Ritterspiele in Byzanz," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 46 (1996), 227–41, at p. 236; English translation in L. Jones and H. Maguire, "A Description of the Jousts of Manuel I Komnenos," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 26 (2002), 104–48, at p. 106.

[20] Compare the description by Niketas Choniates of the mock procession of the *protosebastos* Alexios seated "on the back of a very small horse" before his blinding; Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, p. 249; trans. Magoulias, p. 140. See also the paper by Alexander Beihammer in this volume.

instead of flowers, is cast upon the victim, and he is naked, or semi-naked, rather than attired in imperial finery. As for the person of the denigrated emperor, he is black, rather than radiant, and his head is shaved rather than covered with the luxuriant locks.

It is now time to consider the impact that these inverted, anti-ceremonials may have had on Byzantine art. There was one episode from the Gospels that had an obvious affinity to the derisory rituals that I have described, namely the mocking of Christ before his Crucifixion. From the eleventh century onwards, Byzantine artists who illustrated this episode started to incorporate motifs that were not in the biblical text. We may take as an example the damaged eleventh-century miniature in the Gospel Book, MS gr. 74 in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris.[21] Here we see Christ standing in the centre, clad in a long sleeved tunic, representing his purple robe, with a mantle draped over it. On his left and right sides his tormentors strike him with reeds, according to the accounts in Matthew and Mark.[22] Meanwhile, two of the soldiers bow down at Christ's feet, as they cry: "Hail, King of the Jews!" All of these details can be accounted for by the narrative of the Gospels. In the miniature, however, one of the men holding reeds, at the far left of the group, adopts a curious pose, balancing on the point of one foot and raising the other behind him, as if he were dancing.[23] Another dancer appears in a miniature of the early twelfth-century Gospel Book in the Biblioteca Laurenziana at Florence (Fig. 15.2).[24] In this case, the dancer has long floppy sleeves covering his hands, which he waves about him as he turns his back on Christ.

At the end of the thirteenth and in the early fourteenth century we find a series of scenes of the Mocking of Christ that depart even further from the biblical account. In these late Byzantine portrayals of the scene, we see in addition to dancers an intrusion of subsidiary musicians, who also have no mention in the Gospels. Ann Derbes, who has written extensively on the Mocking of Christ in Byzantine and Italian medieval art, has proposed that the dancers and musicians were inspired by Old Testament references to music, song, and dance, especially with reference to the

21 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS gr. 74, fol. 55v; A. Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 97–99, fig. 57.

22 Matt. 27:30; Mark 15:19.

23 I am grateful to Maria Parani for this observation.

24 Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS VI.23, fol. 58r; G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile aux XIV^e^, XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles* (Paris, 1960), p. 640, fig. 636.

taunting of Job.[25] But in addition to these biblical resonances, the introduction of the derisive musicians and dancers into the Mocking of Christ can be seen as referring to the rituals of imperial mockery that we know of through the Byzantine historians.[26] Thus we have here one of those rare instances in which Byzantine religious art reflects contemporary realities of behaviour.

The earliest surviving Byzantine image of the Mocking of Christ that incorporates musicians is a fresco in the church of St. Nicholas at Prilep, dated to 1299, where a group of them has been added to the crowd of tormenters around Christ.[27] In the foreground two men blare on horns, while in the background a man clashes a pair of cymbals, while another blows on a fife, or a pipe. Another group of players occurs in the fresco of the Mocking in the church of St. Nicholas Orphanos at Thessalonike, dated between 1310 and 1320.[28] Here again we find two horn-blowers, accompanied by a cymbalist and a drummer. According to the fourteenth-century *Treatise on Offices* of Pseudo-Kodinos, the same selection of instruments accompanied the *prokypsis*. In this ceremony, whose origins probably went back to the twelfth century,[29] the emperor appeared on an illuminated dais or stage to the accompaniment of blasts of sound from trumpets, horns, drums, and fifes.[30] In addition, at St. Nicholas Orphanos, Christ is no longer clad in a long-sleeved robe, as in earlier portrayals of the scene, but his garment is short and skimpy, leaving his arms and lower legs exposed. Thus, as in the mock triumphs of Constantinople, the victim has been stripped partially naked.

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[25] Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, pp. 99–102, 105–6.

[26] André Grabar suggested that the dancers and musicians in the Mocking of Christ had their source in the iconography of imperial acclamations, as seen on the obelisk base in the Hippodrome. However, the more direct source was the ritualized mockery of such imperial ceremonies. A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), pp. 66–67, n. 2.

[27] Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, p. 99, fig. 61.

[28] C. Bakirtzis, ed., *Ayios Nikolaos Orphanos: The Wall Paintings* (Nea Smirni, 2003), p. 116, fig. 46.

[29] On the evidence for the *prokypsis* in the twelfth century, see M. Jeffreys, "The Comnenian Prokypsis," *Parergon*, n.s., 5 (1987), 38–53; W. Hörandner, "Court Poetry: Questions of Motifs, Structure and Function," in *Rhetoric in Byzantium*, ed. E. Jeffreys (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 75–85, esp. p. 78.

[30] *Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité des offices*, ed. and trans. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1976), p. 197. On this passage, see N. Maliaras, *Die Orgel im byzantinischen Hofzeremoniell des 9. und des 10. Jahrhunderts, eine Quellenuntersuchung*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 33 (Munich, 1991), p. 273, n. 30. On the *anakaristai*, rendered as "cymbaliers" by Verpeaux, see E. Trapp, ed., *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, 1 (Vienna, 2001), p. 80 ("Paukenschläger, Paukenist"). I thank Christine Angelidi and Ruth Macrides for these references.

The most remarkable of the late Byzantine portrayals of the Mocking is the fresco in the church of St. George at Staro Nagoričino, which was painted between 1316 and 1318 (Fig. 15.3).[31] In this case the artist has departed even further from the account in the Gospels in his inclusion of motifs that are clearly evocative of secular culture. As in the fresco of St. Nicholas Orphanos, Christ's arms are bare. In the crowd that flanks him, not one of his tormenters carries a reed with which to strike their victim, as would be dictated by the biblical text, but instead the musicians are given prominence: two horn blowers at the top of the scene, a drummer and a fife-blower in the middle ground, and a cymbalist at the lower left. Most remarkable are the figures in the foreground. In most of the earlier depictions of the scene, such as the miniature in the Gospel Book in Paris and the frescoes of St. Nicholas at Prilep and St. Nicholas Orphanos, Christ was flanked by the soldiers kneeling before him in mock reverence, as described in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. At Staro Nagoričino, however, Christ is not between bowing soldiers, but between two boys cavorting in dance-like postures, who flap their long sleeves in the air. Similar male dancers with dangling sleeves covering their hands appear on Byzantine secular vessels, where they form part of a courtly feasting cycle that includes diners, servers, acrobats, and musicians. We see such dancers on a twelfth-century silver bowl from Beryozovo, now in the Hermitage, together with an assortment of instrumentalists, playing pipes and stringed instruments (Fig. 15.4).[32] On a twelfth-century shard from a sgraffito bowl found near Amphipolis, a woman waves her long sleeve beside a musician playing a harp.[33]

The fresco at Staro Nagoričino gives us a hint as to the character of the derisory dances that were performed in front of Constantine Monomachos. As we have seen, in other Byzantine versions of Christ's mocking, two soldiers kneel in symmetrical positions on either side of Christ, creating a somewhat ambivalent effect, in which it is hard to distinguish feigned from genuine reverence. But in the painting at Staro Nagoričino, the dancer on the left turns his back to Christ, forming an asymmetrical composition with the figure immediately to Christ's right. The dancer portrayed

31 Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, p. 99, fig. 62.

32 V. P. Darkevich, *Svetskoe iskusstvo Vizantii* (Moscow, 1975), pp. 78–99, figs. 104–62; Maguire and Maguire, *Other Icons*, pp. 47–48, figs. 34–42.

33 Maguire and Maguire, *Other Icons*, p. 52, fig. 47. On the long sleeves, see Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, p. 222. On dancers in Byzantine art in general, see T. Steppan, "Tanzdarstellungen der mittel- und spätbyzantinischen Kunst: Ursache, Entwicklung und Aussage eines Bildmotivs," *Cahiers archéologiques* 45 (1997), 141–68.

in the Gospel Book in Florence also turns away from Christ (Fig. 15.2). In Byzantine culture, to turn one's back, and in particular one's behind, on someone was a joke that was also an insult. For example, this posture features in a description of a dance at a feast, which is contained in an invective written by John Argyropoulos in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, during the last years of Byzantium. Addressing the object of his literary attack, who was named Demetrios Katablattas, John Argyropoulos wrote: "You lead the dance of the servant girls, while singing to them the airs to which they dance.... In the convolutions of the dances, and in the other flexings and contortions, you also have Stenimiros, who leaps before you with his back side completely naked, and who breaks wind in your beard. And what bursts of laughter does he let loose from every quarter at your expense."[34] A twelfth-century ceramic bowl found in Rhodes illustrates a jester posturing in such a manner. He dances with long dangling sleeves, while pointing his behind at a musician in the centre, who is playing a harp.[35]

As we have seen, music making and dancing appeared in Byzantine parodies of both ecclesiastical and imperial ceremonies. It was natural, then, that Byzantine artists would incorporate dancers and instrumentalists into the Mocking of Christ. As we know from the miniature in the Gospel Book in Paris, the dancers appear to have been introduced into the Mocking by the eleventh century, but we do not know when the musicians were first introduced into the Byzantine iconography of the scene. It may, however, have been somewhat earlier than the late thirteenth century, when the first surviving Byzantine example was painted at Prilep. The evidence for this assumption is a painted cross now in the Uffizi, a Florentine work which dates to the middle of the thirteenth century. Here one of the small scenes flanking the Crucified Christ portrays the Mocking, with, at the extreme left of the composition, a man blowing a horn. As Anne Derbes has shown, this musician echoes the horn blower at the left of the frescoes at Prilep and Staro Nagoričino, and may well have been derived from a Byzantine model.[36] If this deduction is correct, the iconography of the musicians already existed in Byzantine art by the mid-thirteenth century. Nevertheless, the images of the Mocking that show

[34] P. Canivet and N. Oikonomidès, "La comédie de Katablattas: invective byzantine du XV^e s.," *Diptycha* 3 (1982–1983), 49.

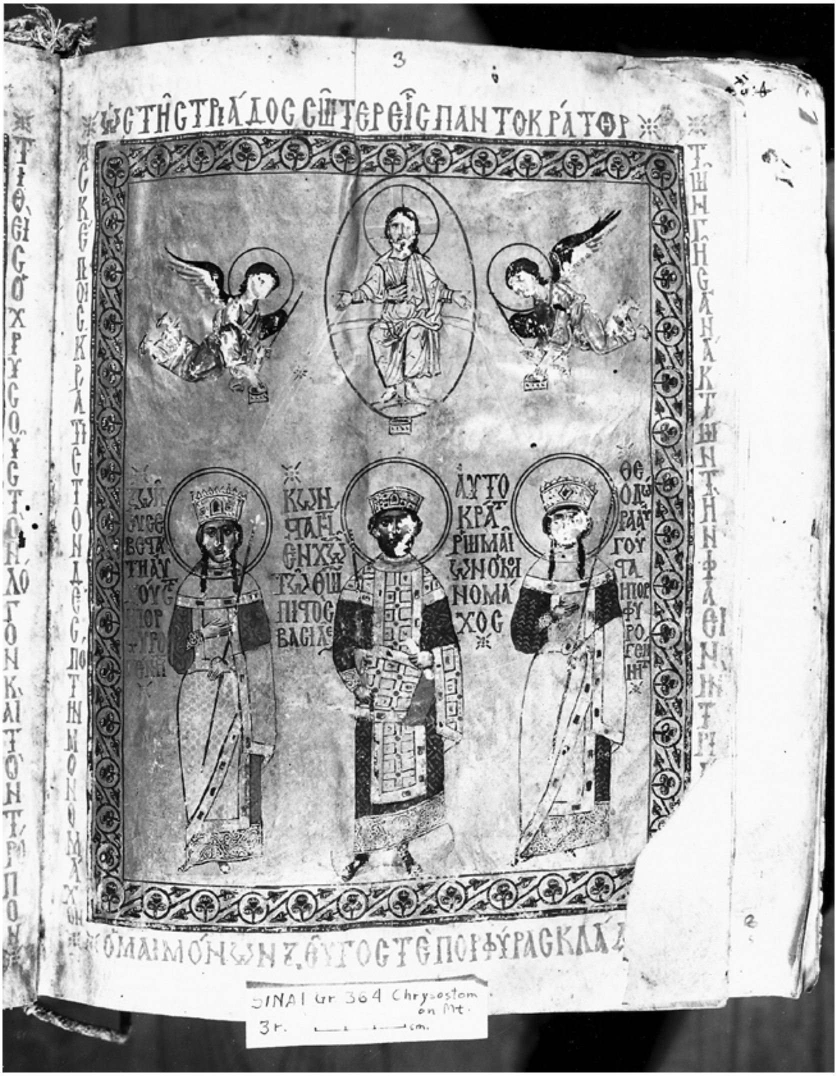
[35] D. Papanikola-Mpakirtze, ed., *Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο*, exh. cat. (Thessalonike, 2001), no. 223, pp. 200–1; Maguire and Maguire, *Other Icons*, pp. 113–15, fig. 106.

[36] Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, pp. 104–5, fig. 10.

the closest connection with Byzantine parodies of imperial ceremonial cluster in the early fourteenth century. This is precisely one of the periods that Maria Parani has characterized as a time of "realism" in the depiction of costume and paraphernalia in Byzantine religious art.[37] Therefore, we might propose that this realistic tendency extended to the depiction of the rituals of daily life also.

In conclusion, we can observe that the mock ceremonials themselves had a ritualized character—they tended to follow, in an inverse way, the imperial ceremonies that they derided. Thus, like many parodies, they served to reinforce the official structures that they aped, even while they denigrated the individuals who were the target of their invective.

[37] Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, p. 275.



Source: Library of Congress.

Fig. 15.1. Mount Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, MS gr. 364 (Homilies of John Chrysostom on Matthew), fol. 3r. Constantine Monomachos, Zoe, and Theodora.



Source: G. B. Pineider.

Fig. 15.2. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS VI.23 (Gospels), fol. 58r. The Mocking of Christ.



Source: Photo Documentation of National Institution—Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Republic of Macedonia.

Fig. 15.3. Staro Nagoričino, Church of St. George, fresco. The Mocking of Christ.



Source: after V. P. Darkevich, *Svetskoe iskusstvo Vizantii* (Moscow, 1975), fig. 134.

Fig. 15.4. St. Petersburg, Hermitage, silver bowl from Beryozovo, detail. Dancer.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

LOOK LIKE AN ANGEL: THE ATTIRE OF EUNUCHS AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF MIDDLE BYZANTINE COURT CEREMONIAL

Maria Parani

"If you have a eunuch, kill him; if you have not, buy one and kill him," went a Byzantine dictum.[1] The negative portrayal of the eunuch appears to have been a common enough theme in Byzantine literature already since the fourth century, when no less an authority than St. Basil of Caesarea compiled a graphic—to put it mildly—list of their perceived vices.[2] Lack of self-control, servility, wickedness, unbridled ambition, treachery, lewdness, gluttony, avarice, as well as physical feebleness, cowardice, and effeminacy were all criticisms directed at one point or another by male Byzantine authors against eunuch targets. We have no way of knowing how wide the resonance of such derogatory views was or to what degree they echo more widespread popular perceptions of eunuchs in Byzantium. In fact, throughout the early and middle Byzantine periods disparaging portrayals of Byzantine eunuchs were counterbalanced by positive ones, also written exclusively by male authors, sometimes the same ones. Thus, we hear of eunuchs as being highly intelligent, good advisors, energetic, brave, loyal, kind, generous, temperate, chaste, and pure.[3] A small number of eunuch martyrs and saintly eunuch prelates

[1] This dictum is recorded in the twelfth-century chronicle of Kedrenos apropos of the activities of the court eunuchs Leo and Staurakios, which ultimately led to the downfall of Empress Eirene in 802. George Kedrenos, *Compendium historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1838–1839), 2:29.

[2] Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae* 115, ed. Y. Courtonne, 2 (Paris, 1961), p. 20.

[3] For discussions of positive and negative views of Byzantine eunuchs in the early and middle Byzantine periods, see, among others, K. M. Ringrose, "Living in the Shadows: Eunuchs and Gender in Byzantium," in *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*, ed. G. Herdt (New York, 1996), pp. 85–109; S. Tougher, "Images of Effeminate Men: The Case of Byzantine Eunuchs," in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. D. M. Hadley (London and New York, 1999), pp. 89–100; idem, "Two Views on the Gender and Identity of Byzantine Eunuchs," in *Changing Sex and Bending Gender*, ed. A. Shaw and S. Ardener (New York and Oxford, 2005), pp. 60–73; idem, *The Eunuch in Byzantine History and Society* (London and New York, 2008), pp. 96–118; G. Sidéris, " 'Eunuchs of Light':

were included in the *Synaxarium* of the Church of Constantinople.[4] More stunningly and with increasing frequency from the sixth century onwards, in accounts of dreams and visions in historiographical and hagiographical narratives, the Archangel Michael, anonymous angelic messengers, and the angelic escort of God and His saints were cast in the guise of eunuchs and, on occasion, of court eunuchs.[5] Indeed, a tenth-century Byzantine dreambook advises its readers to interpret an unknown beautiful eunuch seen in a dream as an angel, because of the eunuch's purity (καθαρόν), his being angel-like (ἀγγελοπρεπές), and the fact that he was not susceptible to carnal desires (ἀνεπίδεκτον τῆς σαρκικῆς ἐπιθυμίας). The same text goes on to assert that a dream featuring a well-known and powerful eunuch is subject to the same interpretation as a dream in which an angel appears: the eunuch/angel was a harbinger of good news and positive outcomes.[6]

Power, Imperial Ceremonial and Positive Representations of Eunuchs in Byzantium (4th–12th Centuries AD)," in *Eunuchs in Antiquity and Beyond*, ed. S. Tougher (London, 2002), pp. 161–75; S. Cosentino, "Donne, uomini ed eunuchi nella cultura militare bizantina," in *Comportamenti e immaginario della sessualità nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio della Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo 53 (Spoleto, 2006), pp. 573–607. For methodological considerations involved in the extrapolation of current attitudes on eunuchs from literary texts, see G. Sidéris, "La comédie des castrats. Ammien Marcellin et les eunuques, entre eunucophobie et admiration," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 78 (2000), 681–717; M. Mullett, "Theophylact of Ochrid's *In Defence of Eunuchs*," in *Eunuchs in Antiquity and Beyond*, pp. 177–98.

4 On saintly eunuchs and questions regarding how a eunuch could achieve sanctity, see P. Boulhol and I. Cochelin, "La rehabilitation de l'eunuque dans l'hagiographie antique (IV^e^–VI^e^ siècles)," in *Memoriam Sanctorum Venerantes. Miscellanea in onore di Monsignor Victor Saxer*, Studi di Antichità Cristiana 48 (Vatican City, 1992), pp. 49–76; K. M. Ringrose, "Passing the Test of Sanctity: Denial of Sexuality and Involuntary Castration," in *Desire and Denial in Byzantium*, ed. L. James (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 123–37; eadem, *The Perfect Servant: Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium* (Chicago and London, 2003), pp. 111–27; Sidéris, "Eunuchs of Light," pp. 163–65; S. Tougher, "Holy Eunuchs! Masculinity and Eunuch Saints in Byzantium," in *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. Cullum and K. Lewis (Cardiff, 2004), pp. 93–108. Cf. G. Sidéris, "Le sexe des anges. La byzantinologie et les questions de genre," in *Byzance en Europe*, ed. M.-F. Auzépy (Saint-Denis, 2003), pp. 217–33.

5 On the association between eunuchs and angels, see, for instance, C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980; repr. 1998), pp. 154–55; E. V. Maltese, "Gli angeli in terra: sull'immaginario dell'angelo bizantino," *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 24 (1990), 111–32, at pp. 122–26; Ringrose, *Perfect Servant*, pp. 142–62; Sidéris, "Eunuchs of Light," pp. 166–68; B. V. Pentcheva, "Containers of Power: Eunuchs and Reliquaries in Byzantium," *Res* 51 (2007), 109–20, at pp. 117–19; Tougher, *Eunuch*, pp. 106–7; M. Hatzaki, *Beauty and the Male Body in Byzantium: Perceptions and Representations in Art and Text* (London, 2009), pp. 86–115.

6 Achmet, *Oneirocriticon* 10, ed. F. Drexl (Leipzig, 1925), p. 6; for an English translation of the relevant passage and comparable ideas in Arab dreambooks, see M. Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation: The* Oneirocriticon of Achmet *and Its Arabic Sources* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 268–69. This passage is discussed also by Tougher, *Eunuch*,

Though cursory, this overview of Byzantine literary images of eunuchs intimates that these figures could provoke quite strong and often opposing responses within the cultural milieu in which they moved and functioned. Lacking the physical external markers of adult masculinity, namely facial hair and a deep voice, and incapable of fulfilling the primary social function of the Byzantine male, i.e., the fathering of children, they were considered neither fully men nor, of course, women. They were artificially created human beings, in a sense outside nature and not subject to the limitations that were imposed on men and women by the Byzantine social construction of the male and female gender.[7] Thus, Byzantine eunuchs could move freely between spaces and spheres of activity, between the male and the female, the private and the public, the sacred and the secular.[8] Their very nature and existence was defined by ambiguity, an ambiguity that, as Ringrose astutely observed, both empowered them and left them—and through them, those they served, one might add—open to vituperative attack.[9]

It is these ambiguous and potentially controversial figures that Byzantine emperors of the ninth and tenth centuries chose to surround themselves with when they sat on their throne for receptions and audiences or at the table for formal banquets, when they walked or rode in procession in their palace or through their capital, when they worshipped in church, even when they celebrated a military triumph.[10] The great proximity of eunuchs, who were particularly vulnerable to accusations of effeminacy,

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p. 107. For a complete English translation, see S. M. Oberhelman, *The Oneirocriticon of Achmet: A Medieval Greek and Arabic Treatise on the Interpretation of Dreams* (Lubbock, 1991).

[7] On the various methods of castration and the resulting physiology of eunuchs, see S. F. Tougher, "Byzantine Eunuchs: An Overview, with Special Reference to Their Creation and Origin," in *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, ed. L. James (London and New York, 1997), pp. 168–84; idem, "Images of Effeminate Men"; idem, *Eunuch*, pp. 26–35; Ringrose, *Perfect Servant*, pp. 13–18, 51–66.

[8] Cf. K. M. Ringrose, "Eunuchs as Cultural Mediators," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 23 (1996), 75–93.

[9] Ringrose, *Perfect Servant*, p. 66. Cf. M. Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch: Masculinity, Gender Ambiguity, and Christian Ideology in Late Antiquity* (Chicago and London, 2001), pp. 31–36.

[10] This, of course, was not a middle Byzantine development. On the importance and the role of court eunuchs in Late Antiquity, see, among others, G. Sidéris, "Eunuques, chambre imperiale et palais à Byzance (IV^{e}–VI^{e} siècles)," in *Palais et pouvoir. De Constantinople à Versailles*, ed. M.-F. Auzépy and J. Cornette (Saint-Denis, 2003), pp. 163–81; idem, "Les eunuques de Byzance (IV^{e}–XII^{e} siècle). De la société de cour à la société urbaine," in *Dynamiques sociales au Moyen Âge en occident et en orient*, ed. É. Malamut (Aix-en-Provence, 2010), pp. 89–116; Tougher, *Eunuch*, pp. 36–53.

to the Byzantine emperor, whose power and authority were defined in clearly masculine terms,[11] presents somewhat of a paradox and various scholars over the years have attempted to offer plausible explanations.[12] Most recently, Ringrose and Tougher, in their respective examinations of the role of eunuchs in the Byzantine Empire in general and at the imperial court in particular, have underlined the stunning external appearance of eunuchs and their consequent importance as "status markers".[13] Physical beauty seems to have been one of the criteria that determined the selection of a prepubescent boy for castration,[14] while the literary *topos* of the eunuch-revealed-to-be-an-angel revolves around the figure's comeliness, his youthfulness, his luminosity, but also his brilliant attire, often described as white or shot with gold.[15] In some accounts, the viewer of the vision is actually able to identify the rank of the eunuch/angel, that of a *praipositos* (grand chamberlain) or a *koubikoularios* (a servant of the Imperial Chamber), presumably by means of his dress.[16] This, then, would imply that court eunuchs wore distinctive clothes that made them easily identifiable both in the waking world and in the world of dreams. But what were the components of the attire of Byzantine eunuchs and wherein lay their distinctiveness? In specific designs, not shared by bearded men or women at court, or in their material, colour, and decoration? More importantly, what was this attire distinctive of? Of middle Byzantine eunuchs as a physically and socially distinct third gender, as Ringrose claims, or of status and rank within the hierarchical world of the Byzantine imperial

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11 Cf. Ch. Barber, "*Homo Byzantinus?*," in *Women, Men and Eunuchs*, pp. 185–99.

12 For a summary of the discussion on the origins of the phenomenon of the court eunuch not only in Byzantium but also in other ancient and medieval cultures, see S. Tougher, "In or Out? Origins of Court Eunuchs," in *Eunuchs in Antiquity and Beyond* (see above, n. 3), pp. 143–59; see, also, idem, "Byzantine Eunuchs," pp. 169–70.

13 Ringrose, *Perfect Servant*; Tougher, *Eunuch*, esp. pp. 52–53.

14 Tougher, "Images of Effeminate Men," p. 93. Cf. Sidéris, "Eunuchs of Light," pp. 165–66, and Hatzaki, *Beauty*, pp. 100–6, on the beauty of eunuchs.

15 See, selectively, *Life of Symeon the Stylite the Younger* 135, ed. P. van den Ven (Brussels, 1962), p. 127; Leontios of Neapolis, *Life of John the Almsgiver* 52, ed. A. J. Festugière with L. Rydén (Paris, 1974), p. 403; Nikephoros, *Life of Andrew the Fool*, ed. L. Rydén (Uppsala, 1995), 2:290; *Vision of the Monk Kosmas*, ed. C. Angelidi, *Analecta Bollandiana* 101 (1983), 86–87; *Narratio de Sancta Sophia* 10, 11, ed. T. Preger (Leipzig, 1901; repr. 1975), 1:86, 88; Pseudo-Lucian, *Timarion* 33, ed. R. Romano (Naples, 1974), p. 79.

16 See, for example, Symeon Metaphrastes, *Life of Sampson the Xenodochos*, Patrologia Graeca 115, col. 284; Niketas Paphlagon, *Life of Ignatios the Younger*, Patrologia Graeca 105, col. 536, and Genesios, *Regum libri quattuor* 4.21, ed. A. Lesmüller-Werner and J. Thurn (Berlin, 1978), p. 74; Pantoleon diaconus, *Miracula sancti Michaelis*, ed. F. Halkin, *Inédits byzantins d'Ochrida, Candie et Moscou* (Brussels, 1963), p. 150.

court, as James and Tougher have argued?[17] These are the kind of questions that the present paper will strive to elucidate to the degree that the available evidence allows.

Within the context of middle Byzantine court ceremonial, eunuchs controlled and ritualized visual and physical access to the sacred person of the Byzantine emperor. They shielded him from unwanted eyes when he was at his most vulnerable and human, i.e. when he was being invested with or divested of his insignia of power, and they revealed and framed him when he was ready to be seen in all his glory. They acted as servants, guardians, and messengers, whose beauty and "unnaturalness" enhanced the mystic aura of the Byzantine ruler, but also made a statement on the nature of his power, a power so awe-inspiring and fearsome that it could not be directly approached by ordinary human beings, but needed to be mediated by the eunuchs, angel-like and pure.[18] Not least, their striking looks, highlighted by their gorgeous garments, must have added to the impression of opulence and the sensation of spectacle much sought-after in the staging of Byzantine imperial ceremonies. Indeed, given the semiotic potential of ceremonial dress, in what follows an attempt will be made to explore how the attire of the court eunuchs may have served to display their peculiar and close relation to the person of the Byzantine emperor.

The textual evidence on the dress of court eunuchs consists primarily of two middle Byzantine works that concern the ceremonial life of the imperial court and in which eunuchs feature quite prominently, namely the *Kletorologion* or *Banquet Book* of Philotheos, dated to 899, and the *De cerimoniis* or *Book of Ceremonies*, initially compiled during the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (945–959) but known to us in the form it was given during the reign of Nikephoros II Phokas (963–969).[19]

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17 Ringrose, *Perfect Servant*, pp. 80–81; L. James and S. Tougher, "Get Your Kit On! Some Issues in the Depiction of Clothing in Byzantium," in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. L. Cleland, M. Harlow, and L. Llewellyn-Jones (Oxford, 2005), pp. 154–61, at p. 156; Tougher, *Eunuch*, pp. 109–11.

18 Cf. Ringrose, *Perfect Servant*, pp. 163–83.

19 Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, ed. N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris, 1972), pp. 65–235 (hereafter, Philotheos, *Kletorologion*); *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J. J. Reiske, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1829–1830); ed. A. Vogt, 4 vols. (Paris, 1935–1940); *De cerimoniis* I.77–I.82, ed. G. Dagron, "L'organisation et le déroulement des courses d'après le *Livre des cérémonies*," *Travaux et Mémoires* 13 (2000), 10–101. The accounts of the triumphs of Theophilos (831) and Basil I (878) appended to the *De cerimoniis* were edited by J. Haldon, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus: Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 28 (Vienna, 1990), pp. 140–51. On the possibility that the pow-

The written sources are supplemented by a small number of surviving portrayals of middle Byzantine eunuch office- and dignity-holders, the best-known and most-frequently discussed among which is that of the *patrikios* (patrician), *praipositos*, and *sakellarios* (financial official) Leo in the famous *Bible* that he himself had commissioned in the 940s (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS reg. gr. 1.B, fol. 2v) (Fig. 16.1).[20] A second well-known representation is that of the anonymous *protoproedros* and *protovestiarios* shown standing at the right hand of the enthroned emperor in an eleventh-century manuscript of the Homilies of John Chrysostom, today in Paris, a manuscript which, it has been argued, had also been commissioned by a eunuch (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Coislin 79, fol. 2r) (Fig. 16.3).[21] Yet another probable representation is encountered on an actual item of dress and more specifically on a neck-pendant, which would most likely have been worn by the person who had commissioned it. The reference is to the portrayal of the *proedros* Constantine on an exquisite gold-and-enamel pendant adorned with a depiction of the Great Deesis and dated by Buckton and Hetherington to the twelfth century on stylistic grounds (Fig. 16.2).[22] Constantine is

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erful eunuch Basil Lakapenos (ca. 925–after 985) was responsible for the reduction of the *De cerimoniis* during the reign of Nikephoros II, see J. M. Featherstone, "Δι' ἔνδειξιν: Display in Court Ceremonial (*De Cerimoniis* II,15)," in *The Material and the Ideal: Essays in Medieval Art and Archaeology in Honour of Jean-Michel Spieser*, ed. A. Cutler and A. Papaconstantinou (Leiden and Boston, 2007), pp. 77–79 (hereafter, Featherstone, "Display"); idem, "Theophanes Continuatus VI and De Cerimoniis I,96," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 104 (2011), 109–16, with further references. At the time of writing the new English translation of the *Book of Ceremonies* by A. Moffatt and M. Tall (Canberra, 2012) was not available to me.

[20] C. Mango, "The Date of Cod. Regin. Gr. 1 and the 'Macedonian Renaissance'," *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 4 (1969), 121–26; I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1976), pp. 7–14; T. F. Mathews, "The Epigrams of Leo Sacellarios and an Exegetical Approach to the Miniatures of Vat. Reg. Gr. 1," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 43 (1977), 94–133; H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixom, eds., *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*, exh. cat. (New York, 1997), no. 42; Sidéris, "Eunuchs of Light," pp. 168–69; M. G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography* (*11th-15th centuries*) (Leiden and Boston, 2003), appendix 3, no. 1; Tougher, *Eunuch*, pp. 112–13. The attire of Leo is discussed in detail by James and Tougher, "Get Your Kit On," p. 156.

[21] Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 107–18; C.-L. Dumitrescu, "Remarques en marge du *Coislin 79*. Les trois eunuques et le problème du donateur," *Byzantion* 57 (1987), 32–45; Evans and Wixom, *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 143; Parani, *Reconstructing*, appendix 3, no. 17; Tougher, *Eunuch*, pp. 113–14. The attire of the *protovestiarios* is discussed by P. Kalamara, "Νέα στοιχεία στο βυζαντινό βεστιάριο του ενδεκάτου αιώνα," in *Byzantium matures: Choices, Sensitivities, and Modes of Expression* (*Eleventh to Fifteenth Centuries*), ed. C. Angelidi (Athens, 2004), pp. 269–86, at p. 279.

[22] D. Buckton and P. Hetherington, " 'O Saviour, save me, your servant': An Unknown Masterpiece of Byzantine Enamel and Gold," *Apollo* August 2006, 28–33; repr. as "The Gold

beardless. In Byzantine artistic contexts, however, a smooth face was not exclusive to eunuchs, since it was also used to convey male youthfulness.[23] Notwithstanding, as argued by Buckton and Hetherington, Constantine's beardlessness, if taken in conjunction with the assumption that, having attained the rank of *proedros*, he was no longer a youth, makes it likely that he was indeed a eunuch.[24] On the other hand, no inscription with helpful titles accompanies the courtly-dressed, youthful, beardless male figure portrayed in the eleventh-century codex Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, MS 61, fol. 1v, and, as a result, Spatharakis appears reticent to identify him as a eunuch, though the possibility that he was one cannot be excluded.[25]

Eunuch officials and courtiers who had lived in biblical or Roman times and who can be identified as such on the basis of the narrative illustrated were also occasionally represented in middle Byzantine religious artistic contexts. One has in mind, for example, the eunuch of Queen Candace of Ethiopia, whose meeting with Apostle Philip (Acts 8:27–39) is illustrated in middle Byzantine manuscripts,[26] or St. Romylos, who according to the

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and Enamel Triptych of Constantine *proedros*," in P. Hetherington, *Enamels, Crowns, Relics and Icons: Studies on Luxury Arts in Byzantium* (Farnham and Burlington, 2008), no. XIII; Tougher, *Eunuch*, pp. 114–15. Regarding the dating of the triptych, Constantine's title and the typology of his mantle and headdress appear to me as equally, if not more, compatible with an eleventh-century date. The nearest parallels in terms of dress are to be found in BnF Coislin 79, fol. 2r, dated to 1071–1081 (see previous note), while Buckton and Hetherington themselves have pointed out the fact that "lay *proedroi* did not exist after c. 1150" (Hetherington, *Enamels*, no. XIII, p. 10).

23 Conversely, not all eunuchs were necessarily represented beardless, as demonstrated by B. K. Bjørnolt and L. James, "The Man in the Street: Some Problems of Gender and Identity in Byzantine Material Culture," in *Material Culture and Well-Being in Byzantium (400–1453)*, ed. M. Grünbart et al. (Vienna, 2007), pp. 51–56. However, the examples they cite are derived from the notoriously problematic twelfth-century *Madrid Skylitzes* (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS gr. Vitr. 26–2) produced in Norman Sicily. As Bjørnolt and James themselves acknowledge, it is near impossible to say to what degree the *Skylitzes* miniatures reflect Byzantine realities as opposed to Sicilian perceptions of Byzantine practices and attitudes.

24 Hetherington, *Enamels*, no. XIII, p. 8.

25 S. M. Pelekanides, P. K Chrestou, Ch. Mauropoulou-Tsioume, and S. N. Kada, *Οἱ θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους. Σειρὰ Α΄. Εἰκονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα: Παραστάσεις-ἐπίτιτλα-ἀρχικὰ γράμματα. Τόμος Α': Πρωτᾶτον, Μ. Διονυσίου, Μ. Κουτλουμουσίου, Μ. Ξηροποτάμου, Μ. Γρηγορίου* (Athens, 1973), pp. 415–16, fig. 104; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 118–21; Parani, *Reconstructing*, appendix 3, no. 20.

26 See, for example, Moscow, Historical Museum, MS gr. 129 (*Chludov Psalter*), fol. 65r (*Salterio Chludov*, facsimile edition [Madrid, 2006)]); Mount Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, MS 61 (*Pantokrator Psalter*), fol. 85v (S. M. Pelekanides et al., *Οἱ θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους. Σειρὰ Α΄. Εἰκονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα: Παραστάσεις-ἐπίτιτλα-ἀρχικὰ γράμματα. Τόμος Γ': Μ. Μεγίστης Λαύρας, Μ. Παντοκράτορος, Μ. Δοχειαρίου, Μ. Καρακάλου, Μ. Φιλοθέου, Μ. Ἁγίου*

Constantinopolitan *Synaxarium* had been a *praipositos* under Trajan and whose martyrdom is depicted in the *Menologium of Basil II* at the beginning of the eleventh century.[27] It may be argued that the depicted dress of such figures would be of limited use to the present enquiry, because of the possibility that it is deliberately archaizing or simply conventional. A detailed survey of the portrayal of eunuch courtiers in middle Byzantine religious art to prove or disprove this goes beyond the scope of the present study. Nonetheless, it may be of interest to note that, at first glance, the dress in which these eunuchs are depicted, whether conventional or not, does not appear to differ in any significant way from the dress of whole men in the same pictorial contexts. Furthermore, going through, for instance, the numerous miniatures of the *Menologium of Basil II* one encounters a number of portrayals of martyrs that had been whole men, both bearded and beardless youths, dressed in white tunics with gold ornaments.[28] This seems to me to warn against admitting the descriptions of eunuchs/angels mentioned above as evidence that white garments with gold ornaments were exclusively associated with Byzantine court eunuchs or were in some way distinctive of them. Rather, as Ringrose already suspected, the light-infused image of the white-clad eunuch in hagiographic narratives was more likely a literary device to alert the reader as to the true identity of the figure, white and gold being signifiers of the pure and

Παύλου [Athens, 1979], fig. 203); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS gr. 1613 (*Menologium of Basil II*), fol. 107 (*El «Menologio» de Basilio II Emperador de Bizancio [Vat. gr. 1613]*, facsimile edition [Madrid, 2005]). In the ninth-century *Chludov Psalter*, the eunuch wears a plain, light blue long-sleeved tunic, while in the *Pantokrator Psalter*, also dated to the ninth century, he wears a long blue tunic and a red *himation*. In both cases, he is beardless and fair-skinned and the only thing that distinguishes him from the youthful and equally beardless St. Philip is his long hair flowing down his shoulders. In the *Menologium of Basil II*, at the beginning of the eleventh century, the beardless eunuch is dark skinned and his hair is short and curly. Here, however, in contrast to the apostle, who is dressed in customary antique garb, the Ethiopian is dressed in the attire of a Byzantine official, namely, a pinkish tunic, with golden collar and cuffs, and a dark blue mantle fastened at the right shoulder with a bejewelled fibula.

[27] *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, synaxarium mensis Septembris* 6.3, ed. H. Delehaye, *Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum Novembris* (Brussels, 1902; repr. Wetteren, 1985). On fol. 18 of the *Menologium*, St. Romylos is portrayed as a beardless youth, with brown hair coming down to his nape. He wears a long, long-sleeved white tunic, with a broad golden collar and golden attachments at the shoulder and hem. For the portrayal of other male martyrs in similar attire in the *Menologium*, see the following note.

[28] E.g., fols. 18 (September 6: St. Eudoxios, commemorated with St. Romylos mentioned above), 33 (September 13: Sts. Makrobios, Gordianos, Elei, Zotikos, Loukianos, Oualerianos), 109 (October 12: Sts. Probos, Tarachos, and Andronikos), 234 (December 10: Sts. Menas, Hermogenes, and Eugraphos), 255 (December 19: Sts. Elias, Promos, and Ares).

luminous nature of the angel.[29] To document whether Byzantine eunuch dignitaries and office-holders actually wore white garments adorned with gold, facilitating thus their "confusion" with angels, it is necessary to look to our other available sources and it is to these that we now turn.

Though most of the dignities and offices at the middle Byzantine imperial court were open to "bearded" men, as whole men were called, and to eunuchs alike, Philotheos lists eight dignities and ten offices that, at his time, were meant specifically for the latter. The eight dignities were, from the lowest up, those of the *nipsistarios* (an attendant in charge of ablutions, especially the washing of the hands of the emperor), the *koubikoularios*, the *spatharokoubikoularios* (an armed servant of the Imperial Chamber, a body-guard), the *ostiarios* (a door-keeper), the *primikerios* (the first of any group of functionaries, e.g., an *ostiaroprimikerios*, the head of door-keepers), the *protospatharios* (first sword-bearer, a chief guard), the *praipositos*, and the *patrikios*.[30] It should be noted that the titles of the *protospatharios* and the *patrikios* had their equivalents among the dignities of bearded men. As for the offices destined for eunuchs, these comprised, from the highest down, those of the *parakoimomenos* (the 'one who sleeps at the side [of the emperor]', the guardian of the emperor's bedchamber), the *protovestiarios* (the keeper of the Imperial Wardrobe), the *epi tes trapezes* of the emperor (the master of the emperor's table), the *epi tes trapezes* of the empress (the master of the empress's table), the *papias* of the Great Palace (the key-keeper of the imperial palace, also in charge of its maintenance), the *deuteros* of the Great Palace (the deputy of the *papias*), the *epinkernes* of the emperor (the cup-bearer or waiter at the emperor's table), the *pinkernes* of the empress (the cup-bearer or waiter at the empress's table), the *papias* of the Magnaura (the key-keeper of the reception hall of the Magnaura), and the *papias* of the Daphne (the key-keeper of the palace of Daphne, within the complex of the Great Palace).[31] In addition to the offices and dignities listed in the *Kletorologion*, mention

29 Ringrose, "Eunuchs as Cultural Mediators," p. 78. Cf. Sidéris, "Eunuchs of Light," p. 167.

30 Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, pp. 125, 127, 129, 131, 133, and commentary, pp. 299–301. For a discussion of the nature of the service of these dignitaries, see the studies of R. Guilland, collected in his *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines* 1, Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten 35 (Berlin and Amsterdam, 1967), pp. 266–380. See, also, summaries in Ringrose, *Perfect Servant*, pp. 166–68, and Tougher, *Eunuch*, pp. 57–58.

31 Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, pp. 133, 135, and commentary, pp. 305–7. For a discussion of these offices and the functions associated with them, see Guilland, *Recherches*, pp. 198–265. See, also, Ringrose, *Perfect Servant*, pp. 168–69; Tougher, *Eunuch*, pp. 58–60.

should also be made of the title of the *proedros* (the president of the Senate), which was created by Nikephoros II Phokas around 963 for one of the most influential eunuchs of the tenth century, Basil Lakapenos, and whose holders, down to the middle of the eleventh century, appear to have been exclusively eunuchs.[32]

A number of these eunuch dignitaries and office-holders received items of dress as part of their insignia of office, while both Philotheos and the *Book of Ceremonies* sometimes provide specific information on the garments, accessories, and arms of the palace eunuchs taking part in various ceremonies throughout the year. Though we quite often ignore the precise meaning of Byzantine terms related to dress, textiles, and colours and, consequently, have great difficulties in visualizing the items described, we can still discern certain patterns that may help us answer the questions we set out to explore. The relevant information may be summarized as follows.

The *nipsistarioi* received as their insignia of office a linen *kamision*, a type of tunic, adorned with a silken attachment, a *blattion*, in the shape of a *phialion*. It has been suggested that this was an attachment shaped like a basin, alluding to the function of the *nipsistarios*, though the possibility that it was in fact a type of collar cannot be excluded.[33] The insignia of

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32 On Basil, who was the illegitimate son of Romanos I Lakapenos and who was also known as Basil the *parakoimomenos* or as Basil the *nothos* ("the bastard"), see Guilland, *Recherches*, pp. 182–83; *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. Kazhdan, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1991) (hereafter, ODB), 1:270 (s.v. Basil the Nothos). On Basil as a patron of the arts, see L. Mpoura, "Ο Βασίλειος Λεκαπηνός παραγγελιοδότης έργων τέχνης," in *Κωνσταντίνος Ζ' ο Πορφυρογέννητος και η εποχή του. Β' Βυζαντινολογική Συνάντηση, Δελφοί, 22–26 Ιουλίου 1987* (Athens, 1989), pp. 397–434; Pentcheva, "Containers of Power." On the dignity of the *proedros*, see N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972), p. 299; ODB, 3:1727 (s.v. Proedros).

33 Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, p. 125. Cf. Guilland, *Recherches*, p. 267. For an instance where the term 'φιάλιον' appears to have the meaning of collar, see *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 528; for the various interpretations of the term, see O. Kresten, *"Staatsempfänge" im Kaiserpalast von Konstantinopel um die Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts. Beobachtungen zu Kapitel II 15 des sogenannten "Zeremonienbuches"* (Vienna, 2000), p. 54 n. 177. On the *kamision*, see G. K. Spyridakes, "Παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ ἐνδυμάτων τινῶν κατὰ τὴν πρώτην βυζαντινὴν περίοδον," *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Λαογραφικοῦ Ἀρχείου* 9–10 (1955–1957), 12–16; G. Fauro, "Le vesti nel 'De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae' di Costantino VII Porfirogenito," in *Arte profana e arte sacra a Bisanzio*, ed. A. Iacobini and E. Zanini (Rome, 1995), pp. 485–524, at pp. 492–93; E. Piltz, "Middle Byzantine Court Costume," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1997), pp. 39–51, at pp. 44–45. On the meaning of the term 'βλαττίον', which in the middle Byzantine period referred to any silk textile irrespective of colour, see D. Jacoby, "Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84/85 (1991–1992), 452–500, at p. 458 n. 29; repr. in D. Jacoby, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 1997), no. VII.

the *koubikoularioi* also included a *kamision*, this time adorned with silk attachments “all around” (περιβλαττωμένον), one assumes at the collar, cuffs, and hem, and another garment called *paragaudion*, which was put on in the presence of the *praipositoi* during the promotion ceremony of the *koubikoularios*. The *paragaudion* appears to have been an outer tunic, which was worn over the *kamision* and is described as “golden”.[34] The *koubikoularioi*, like most eunuch and bearded members of the Byzantine court, including the emperor, would also wear the *skaramangion*, which was yet another type of tunic or, possibly, a caftan,[35] the *sagion*, a type of mantle,[36] and the *chlamys*, a state mantle apparently longer than the *sagion* and usually adorned at the breast with a pair of rectangular panels, the *tablia*.[37] For the reception of the Arab ambassadors in 946, over their *kamisia*, some of the *koubikoularioi* wore the festive *chlamydes* of the *patrikioi*, which are described as tufted(?) and having golden *tablia* (“τῶν ἑορτῶν τὰ χρυσόταβλα χλανίδια τὰ φουνδάτα, ἤγουν τῶν πατρικίων”).[38]

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[34] Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, p. 127; *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, pp. 625, 626. Cf. Guilland, *Recherches*, p. 274. On the *paragaudion*, see discussion below. According to the *De cerimoniis*, the *koubikoularioi* were supposed to wear their *kamisia* on the Wednesday of Mid-Pentecost during the imperial procession from the palace to the church of St. Mokios (ed. Vogt, 1:92), on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14; ed. Vogt, 1:116), and on the feast of the Hypapante (February 2; ed. Vogt, 1:137). The *koubikoularioi* also wore their *kamisia* for the reception of the Arab emissaries from Tarsus on May 31, 946 (ed. Reiske, p. 575; trans. Featherstone, “Display,” p. 89).

[35] *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 1:172: at the banquet on the evening of Holy Saturday; cf. Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, p. 199. On the *skaramangion* and various hypotheses on its actual design, see N. Kondakov, “Les costumes orientaux à la cour byzantine,” *Byzantion* 1 (1924), 7–49; Haldon, *Three Treatises*, p. 216; Fauro, “Vesti,” p. 491; Piltz, “Court Costume,” p. 45; P. Kalamara, *Le système vestimentaire à Byzance du IVe jusqu’à la fin du XIe siècle* (Lille, 1997), pp. 98–100; T. Dawson, “Oriental Costumes at the Byzantine Court. A Reassessment,” *Byzantion* 76 (2006), 97–114; P. Ł. Grotowski, *Arms and Armour of the Warrior Saints. Traditions and Innovation in Byzantine Iconography (843–1261)* (Leiden and Boston, 2010), p. 167 n. 160.

[36] *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 2:75: a red *sagion* (σαγίον ῥοῆς), on the promotion of a *demarchos* (leader of a circus faction). On the *sagion*, see Haldon, *Three Treatises*, p. 260; Fauro, “Vesti,” p. 490; Piltz, “Court Costume,” p. 45; Kalamara, *Système vestimentaire*, pp. 102–3; Grotowski, *Arms and Armour*, pp. 265–69. On the meaning of the term ‘ῥοῆς’, see Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, 6 vols. (Athens, 1948–1957), 2/2:37.

[37] *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 2:65: white *chlamydes*, on the promotion of a *zoste patrikia*. For the *chlamys*, see Spyridakes, “Παρατηρήσεις,” pp. 24–26; Fauro, “Vesti,” pp. 489–90; Piltz, “Court Costume,” p. 44; Kalamara, *Système vestimentaire*, pp. 101–2; Parani, *Reconstructing*, p. 53; eadem, “Cultural Identity and Dress: The Case of Late Byzantine Ceremonial Costume,” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 57 (2007), 99–105; Grotowski, *Arms and Armour*, pp. 255–65.

[38] *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 575; trans. Featherstone, “Display,” p. 89. According to a list of festive ceremonial garments kept in the palace included in the *De cerimoniis* (ed. Reiske, p. 641), these mantles were worn by the *magistroi*, the *anthypatoi*, as well as the

Always over their *kamisia*, other *koubikoularioi*, wore silver-embroidered *chlamydes* (ἐξαργυροκέντητα χλανίδια), while yet others wore short-sleeved outer garments also embroidered in silver (ἀργυροκέντητα κοντομάνικα) or coloured a red hue of purple (ὀξέα κοντομάνικα).[39] Lastly, the *koubikoularioi* appear to have also worn some kind of headdress, though this is not specifically described in the *De cerimoniis*. The text, however, seems to imply that they would not have had their heads covered in the presence of the emperor.[40]

Upon their promotion, the *spatharokoubikoularioi* received a sword in a golden scabbard (σπαθίον χρυσόκανον) which was similar to that of the *spatharioi*, the bearded sword-bearers.[41] In terms of dress, the *spatharokoubikoularioi* wore the *kamision* and the *paragaudion*, or a *skaramangion*, while during processions they would also carry the *distralia*, identified as axes.[42] The *ostiarioi* had as their insignia a golden baton, the top of which was adorned with precious stones.[43] Four "batons of the *ostiarioi*" adorned

patrikioi and were twenty-five in number. For potential interpretations of the term 'φουνδάτος', see Haldon, *Three Treatises*, pp. 204–5 ('tufted or tussled'); Ph. Ditchfield, *La culture matérielle médiévale. L'Italie méridionale byzantine et normande* (Rome, 2007), pp. 417–20 ('gold embroidery on silk').

39 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 575; trans. Featherstone, "Display," p. 89; cf. Kresten, "*Staatsempfänge*", pp. 52–53. Six silver-embroidered *chlamydes*, fifteen silver-embroidered purple short-sleeved garments, and twenty-nine red purple ones are included in the list of ceremonial garments mentioned in the previous note (*De Cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 641). On short-sleeved garments, which were also worn by bearded members of the court, see Haldon, *Three Treatises*, p. 221; E. Trapp, ed., *Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität*, multiple vols. (Vienna, 1994–) (hereafter, LBG), s.v. κοντομάνικον, κοντομανίκιον. On the meaning of the term 'ὀξύς', see LBG, s.v. ὀξύς; M. Parani, B. Pitarakis, and J.-M. Spieser, "Un exemple d'inventaire d'objets liturgiques. Le Testament d'Eustathios Boïlas (Avril 1059)," *Revue des Études byzantines* 61 (2003), p. 156, with further references.

40 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, pp. 625.18, 626.23. Cf. Liudprand of Cremona, *Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana* 37, ed. and trans. B. Scott (London, 1993), p. 42, on the tenth-century practice of appearing before the emperor without a hat.

41 Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, p. 127. Cf. Guilland, *Recherches*, p. 282. Note, also, the reference to "σπαθία σπαθαράτα ὁλόκανα διάχρυσα", which were kept in the chapel of St. Theodore of the Chrysotriklinos at the palace, *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 640.

42 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 1:73 (*kamision*, with sword and *distralion*, on the mounted procession from the Holy Apostles back to the palace on Easter Monday), 92 (*kamision*, with *distralion*, on the procession of Mid-Pentecost to St. Mokios), 137 (*kamision*, on the feast of the Hypapante), 172 (*skaramangion*, at the banquet on the evening of Holy Saturday). For the reception of the Tarsiote emissaries of 946, the *spatharokoubikoularioi* wore golden *paragaudia* over their *kamisia* and carried the golden swords of office; those who did not have golden *paragaudia*, wore only their *kamisia* and swords, see *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 574; trans. Featherstone, "Display," p. 89. Cf. Guilland, *Recherches*, p. 284. On precious swords at the Byzantine court, see T. Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen* (Vienna, 1988), pp. 157–58; on the *distralia*, see ibid., pp. 165–66, 168.

43 Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, p. 127. Cf. Guilland, *Recherches*, p. 286.

with precious stones and pearls were kept in the St. Theodore Chapel of the Chrysotriklinos, the grand throne room of the imperial palace.[44] Bejewelled staffs in the hands of the *ostiarioi* are specifically mentioned only on certain ceremonial occasions;[45] in most instances in the *Book of Ceremonies*, the *ostiarioi* are described as simply holding a baton, which is sometimes said to be golden.[46] Like the *koubikoularioi* and the *spatharokoubikoularioi*, the *ostiarioi* wore the *kamision* and the golden *paragaudion*, as well as the *skaramangion*, the *sagion*, and the *chlamys*.[47]

Next in line were the eunuch *primikerioi*, who had as their insignia of office a white tunic (χιτών) with gold-woven ornaments at the shoulders and elsewhere.[48] This could probably be identified with the *sticharion*, a long tunic with sleeves, mentioned as worn on its own, without a *chlamys*, by the eunuch *primikerioi* during the grand reception of the Arab emissaries from Tarsus in 946. Interestingly, on that occasion the eunuch *primikerioi* who did not own such *sticharia* borrowed those of the bearded *magistroi*, which apparently were also white and shot with gold.[49] Other garments worn by the *primikerioi* included the *skaramangion* and the *sagion*,[50] while the *ostiaroprimikerioi* are once mentioned as wearing *chlamydes* with golden *tablia*.[51]

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44 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 640: "ῥαβδία ὀστιαρίκια ἀπὸ λίθων καὶ μαργάρων ὁλόχρυσα."

45 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 1:7 (imperial procession from the palace to the church of Hagia Sophia on great feast days), 85 (reception of the patriarch and the city clergy in the Chrysotriklinos on Thursday after Easter), 160 (reception of the heads of the capital's charitable institutions and of representatives of the Factions in the Chrysotriklinos on Palm Sunday). Some of the *ostiarioi*, dressed in *kamisia* and golden *paragaudia*, held bejewelled batons during the oft-cited diplomatic reception of 946 (*De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 574).

46 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 1:18, 61, 128, 129, 132; 2:11, 18, 37, 52, 53, 64, 68, 94, 105; ed. Reiske, pp. 568, 634.

47 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 1:92 (purple *sagion*, on the procession of Mid-Pentecost to St. Mokios), 132 (*paragaudion* and baton, on the feast of Epiphany); ed. Reiske, pp. 523 (*kamision* and *paragaudion*, on the regular Sunday reception at the palace). For the reception of the Arab ambassadors in 946, those of the *ostiarioi* who did not have golden *paragaudia*, donned their own *chlamydes* over their *kamisia*, *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 574; trans. Featherstone, "Display," p. 89.

48 Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, p. 127. Cf. Guilland, *Recherches*, p. 301.

49 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 574; trans. Featherstone, "Display," p. 89. On the white tunics of the *magistroi*, see Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, p. 95. On the sticharion, see ODB, 3:1956 (s.v. Sticharion).

50 Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, pp. 183, 185 (*skaramangion*, banquet on the Eleventh Day of Christmas), 199 (*skaramangion*, banquets on Holy Thursday and Holy Saturday); *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 1:92 (purple *sagion*, on the procession of Mid-Pentecost to St. Mokios).

51 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 1:65 (procession to the Holy Apostles on Easter Monday).

The eunuch *protospatharioi* received by the hand of the emperor a golden torque (μανιάκιον) studded with precious stones and pearls, as opposed to the bearded *protospatharioi*, whose golden *maniakion* was adorned only with precious stones. Their official attire also comprised a white, ankle-length tunic, in the manner of a *dibitesion* (χιτὼν διβιτησοειδής), adorned with gold, and a red mantle with golden *tablia*.[52] From the *Book of Ceremonies* we learn that their white tunic, also called a *sticharion*, did not have golden ornaments at the knees (γονάτεια), a feature it apparently shared with the white tunics of the bearded *magistroi* and the *rhaiktor*, who could be either bearded or a eunuch.[53] This white tunic was sometimes worn in combination with a linen item called the *sabanion*, the character of which remains elusive.[54] When not wearing their white tunic, the eunuch *protospatharioi* could don the *spekion*, apparently another type of tunic, which is described as being purple with golden ornaments.[55] This was a garment that was also worn by the bearded *protospatharioi*, as well as by a number of other bearded and eunuch officials, including the *parakoimomenos*.[56] Like the majority of the officials and dignitaries in the palace, the eunuch *protospatharioi* also wore the

52 Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, p. 127; cf. *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 1:94, 132, for two instances when the eunuch *protospatharioi* are described as wearing a *dibitesion*, namely the procession of Mid-Pentecost to St. Mokios (the garment is said to be white) and while escorting the emperor when he exits the palace on the eve of Epiphany. For the *maniakion* of the bearded *protospatharioi*, see Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, p. 93. On the *maniakion* in general, see Piltz, "Court Costume," p. 47; C. Walter, "The Maniakion or Torc in Byzantine Tradition," *Revue des Études byzantines* 59 (2001), 179–92, while on the *dibitesion*, see Fauro, "Vesti," p. 493; Piltz, "Court Costume," p. 45; ODB, 1:639 (s.v. Divetesion).

53 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, pp. 528–29. On the *rhaiktor*, see Oikonomidès, *Listes*, p. 308.

54 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 1:94 (with a white *dibitesion*, a sword and a *spathobaklion*, for the Mid-Pentecost procession), 2:61 (with a *spathobaklion*, on the promotion of an *anthypatos*), 95 (with a *sticharion* and a *spathobaklion*, for the reception of the emperor by the Factions on the eve of the Golden Hippodrome), 110 (with a *sticharion*, a *maniakion*, and a *spathobaklion*, for the reception of the emperor by the Factions at their respective fountains in the imperial palace, up to the fountains' dismantlement by Basil I in the ninth century). For the reception of the Arab ambassadors of 946, some of the eunuch *protospatharioi* wore *sabania* with their *sticharia*, *maniakia*, and *spathobaklia*, while the rest wore only *sticharia* and *maniakia*, see *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 574; trans. Featherstone, "Display," pp. 88–89. On the *sabanion*, see Piltz, "Court Costume," p. 44; cf. Haldon, *Three Treatises*, pp. 214–15. On the *spathobaklion*, see below.

55 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 1:73 (with a sword and a *spathobaklion*, on horseback, on the procession from the Holy Apostles on Easter Monday), 92 (on the procession of Mid-Pentecost). On the *spekion*, see R. Guilland, "Sur quelques termes du Livre de Cérémonies de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète," *Revue des Études grecques* 58 (1945), 196–201; Piltz, "Court Costume," p. 45.

56 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 584; trans. Featherstone, "Display," p. 97.

skaramangion.[57] Having the rank of chief sword-bearer, they, naturally, sported swords,[58] but when they stood behind the throne of the emperor during receptions or accompanied him on processions they also carried the *spathobaklia* resting on their shoulders.[59] The *spathobaklia* are usually interpreted as batons terminating in a double-edged metal blade and were also carried by the bearded *protospatharioi*.[60] Lastly, during the triumphal procession of Theophilos in 831, the eunuch *protospatharioi* and the *praipositoi* escorted the emperor in golden lamellar cuirasses.[61]

No item of dress was included among the insignia of the *praipositos* upon his promotion, though he too would wear the *kamision*, the *skaramangion*, the *sagion*—sometimes purple, sometimes red—and the *chlamys*—sometimes white or, on the occasion of the procession to Hagia Sophia on Holy Saturday, adorned with a pattern of lions and golden *tablia*.[62] The lion was a symbol of power, majesty, but also of continuous vigilance, given that the animal was believed to sleep with its eyes

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57 Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, pp. 183, 185 (banquet on the Eleventh Day of Christmas), 199 (banquets on Holy Thursday and Holy Saturday).

58 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 1:132 (with a *dibitesion*, on the eve of Epiphany); see, also, nn. 54 and 55 above.

59 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 1:137 (with full ceremonial attire [τὰ ἀλλάξιμα αὐτῶν πλήρη], on the feast of the Hypapante); ed. Reiske, p. 541 (with full ceremonial attire, on the feast of the Dormition); see, also, nn. 54 and 55 above. The *spathobaklia* held by four eunuch *protospatharioi* during the grand reception of the Arab ambassadors in 946 are described as golden and encrusted with gems, see *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 574; trans. Featherstone, "Display," pp. 88–89.

60 Kolias, *Waffen*, pp. 178–79; Haldon, *Three Treatises*, pp. 290–91. For possible depictions of bejewelled *spathobaklia* resting on the shoulders of beardless attendants to imperial figures in the ninth-century Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS gr. 510, fols. 239r, 440r, see L. Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium. Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Cambridge, 1999), figs. 27, 45. These depictions are discussed in M. G. Parani, "Dressed to Kill: Middle Byzantine Military Ceremonial Attire," in *The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture. Papers from the Second International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, Istanbul 21–23 June 2010*, ed. A. Ödekan, N. Necipoğlu, and E. Akyürek (Istanbul 2013), p. 154.

61 Haldon, *Three Treatises*, C.856–58 (p. 148).

62 *Kamision*: Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, p. 167 (Christmas banquet).

Skaramangion: Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, pp. 183, 193, 195, 197, 199 (banquets on the Eleventh Day of Christmas, Cheesefare Tuesday, the feast of the Annunciation, Holy Thursday, and Holy Saturday).

Sagion: *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 1:92 (purple, on Mid-Pentecost), 2:75 (red, on the promotion of a *demarchos*); ed. Reiske, p. 558 (on ordinary Sundays, when the emperor goes to one of the capital's churches to worship).

Chlamys: Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, pp. 211, 217 (banquets on Monday, eight days after Easter, and on July 21); *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 1: 6–7, 18 (procession to Hagia Sophia on great feast days), 65 (with golden *tablia*, on Monday after Easter), 160 (white, on Palm Sunday), 169 (λεοντάρια χρυσόταβλα, on Holy Saturday), 2:41 (on the promotion of a *magistros*, during the procession to Hagia Sophia).

open.[63] One could argue that, being granted the right to wear such a garment on this great feast, the elevated status of the *praipositoi*, ever present and watchful at the side of the emperor, was both acknowledged and displayed for all members of the court to see.[64] The lion, however, also had specific associations with Christ and the Resurrection, since, according to the Christian *Physiologus*, its cubs were born dead and came to life only three days later by the breath of their sire.[65] Its appearance on the garment worn by the *praipositoi* on Holy Saturday seems, thus, quite appropriate.

As mentioned above, at the highest rank of the echelon of eunuch dignitaries were the *patrikioi*. According to Philotheos, they wore the same white tunic shot with gold and the same red mantle with the golden *tablia* as the eunuch *protospatharioi*.[66] As already pointed out by James and Tougher, the description of the dress of the eunuch *patrikios* "broadly coincides with the visual evidence" provided by the portrait of the *patrikios* and *praipositos* Leo in his famous *Bible* (Fig. 16.1).[67] Indeed, Leo is represented dressed in an ankle-length, long-sleeved tunic, with golden bands at the cuffs and hem, and a red mantle, with a golden border along its hem and vertical edges. Nonetheless, instead of the *tablia*, Leo's mantle is adorned with a pair of golden clasps fastened at the front in a manner that appears to have become current at the Byzantine court for both bearded and eunuch courtiers in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[68] In addition to the tunic and the mantle, however, the eunuch *patrikioi* were also entitled to the *loros*, a very long scarf worn wound around the body, but only, it would seem, on Easter Sunday, when the *magistroi* and the *anthypatoi* would also wear it. According both to Philotheos and the *Book of Ceremonies*, the garment's convolutions alluded to the winding sheet of

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[63] P. and L. Murray, *The Oxford Companion to Christian Art and Architecture* (Oxford and New York, 1998), pp. 276–77 (s.v. Lion).

[64] In his translation of the relevant passage of the *Book of Ceremonies*, Vogt implies that it was the *tablia* of the *chlamydes* that were adorned with images of lions, see above, n. 62. However, the possibility that the actual mantles were made of a fabric with an overall woven pattern of lions cannot be excluded, cf. the famous lion silk, today in the Museo Nazionale of Ravenna, dated to the ninth or tenth century, M. Euangelatou, E. Papastaurou, and T.-P. Skotte, eds., *Το Βυζάντιο ως Οικουμένη*, exh. cat. (Athens, 2001), no. 68.

[65] *Physiologus*, *redactio secunda* 1, ed. F. Sbordone (Rome, 1936; repr. Hildesheim, 1976).

[66] Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, p. 129.

[67] See above, n. 20.

[68] Parani, *Reconstructing*, p. 53; to the examples cited here, one could also add the portrait of the *proedros* Constantine (Fig. 16.2).

Christ, while its gold adornment to the brilliance of His resurrection. The dignitaries wearing it stood for the apostles flanking the emperor, who in his own *loros*, was thought to be the image, as far as that was possible, of God.[69] It is of interest to note that, when discussing the symbolism of the *loros* or when recording the attire of the *patrikioi* on various other ceremonial occasions, the *Book of Ceremonies* does not specify whether the reference is to bearded dignitaries or eunuchs, and extrapolating from context is far from straightforward.[70] This could be taken to imply that the two groups wore the same ceremonial vestments, but as things stand at present this assertion must remain conjectural.

Our survey concludes with the attire of the *proedros*, who, upon his promotion received a two-tone(?) rose-coloured tunic shot with gold, a purple belt adorned with precious stones, and a white *chlamys* with golden borders and golden *tablia*.[71] This chlamys, as well as an outer garment that the *proedros* would wear on ordinary days when he appeared in the palace, had a pattern of small ivy leaves, such as can be seen, one assumes, on the *chlamys* of the *proedros* Constantine on the gold enamelled enkolpion

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69 Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, pp. 129, 201. On the symbolism of the *loros*, see *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, pp. 637–38; cf. Parani, *Reconstructing*, pp. 23–24.

70 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 1:65, 92, 116, 119, 132, 149, 151, 155, 158, 160, 169; 2:48–50, 59 (promotion of a *patrikios*), 86, 94, 160. Cf. *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 641, which refers to twenty-five tufted(?) coloured *chlamydes* with golden *tablia* of the *magistroi*, the *anthypatoi*, and the *patrikioi*, without specifying whether the latter were bearded or eunuchs. In one instance in the *Book of Ceremonies* (ed. Vogt, 1:116), a group of *patrikioi*, wearing plain *chlamydes*, seem to be included among the *archontes tou kouboukleiou*. According to Guilland and Oikonomides, the term 'κουβούκλ(ε)ι(ο)ν' probably refers to the eunuch dignitaries and servants of the Imperial Chamber, see Guilland, *Recherches*, pp. 271, 273; Oikonomidès, *Listes*, p. 99 n. 57. In the *Book of Ceremonies* these *archontes tou kouboukleiou* are often mentioned as a group taking part in various ceremonies, dressed in *skaramangia*, purple *sagia*, and *chlamydes* (ed. Vogt, 1:72, 93, 97, 101, 116, 119, 145, 155, 157, 158, 160; ed. Dagron, p. 89). Furthermore, in a list of ceremonial vestments in the same text (ed. Reiske, p. 641) are included thirty-three tussled(?) *chlamydes* with red *tablia* "of the kouboukleion," known as "Tyrea" (of Tyre). As a colour designation, the term 'τύρεον' is thought to refer to a scarlet shade of purple, rather than violet, see Dagron, "Organisation," p. 89 n. 295; see also, D. Jacoby, "Silk crosses the Mediterranean," in *Le vie del Mediterraneo. Idee, uomini, oggetti (secoli XI–XVI)*, ed. G. Airaldi (Genoa, 1997), pp. 55–79, at p. 56 n. 5; repr. in D. Jacoby, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2001), no. X.

71 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 440. The proposed translation of the term 'διρόδινος' as 'two-tone rose' is based on the interpretation of the comparable term 'δίασπρος' as a 'two-tone white cloth', see A. Muthesius, "The Byzantine Silk Industry: Lopez and Beyond," *Journal of Medieval History* 19 (1993), 1–67, at p. 55; repr. in A. Muthesius, *Studies in Byzantine and Islamic Silk Weaving* (London, 1995), pp. 255–314, at p. 296; Jacoby, "Silk crosses the Mediterranean," p. 60.

bearing his portrait (Fig. 16.2).[72] Interestingly, in the ninth and tenth centuries the ivy leaf appears to have been a motif associated with figures of power, both male and female, earthly as well as heavenly.[73] On ordinary days, beneath his outer garment, the *proedros* would wear a *skaramangion* made of red and thrice-dipped(?) green-shade-of-purple silk and another item called the *katakoilion*, perhaps a kind of waist-sash or a type of vest or plastron,[74] while on feast days he would don the vestments of his office, complemented by purple leggings and black shoes.[75] Lastly, when he participated in mounted processions he was decked out in a *sticharion* and a *sagion*, both two-tone rose in colour and shot with gold.[76] The attire of the *proedros* is nothing if not striking and the liberal use of purple, silk, gold, and precious stones, as well as the motif of the ivy leaf is, at first glance, quite remarkable. However, considering what we know of the personality and career of Basil Lakapenos, the first holder of this particular dignity, the appropriation of such visual symbols of authority for the dress of the *proedros*, which perhaps Basil had devised himself,[77] is not that surprising. On the contrary, it advertises both his imperial associations and his high-standing and influence in the tenth-century Byzantine court. The fact that as a eunuch he could never claim the throne for himself may have given him impunity in adopting certain emblems of power, which in the dress of a bearded man could have raised suspicions for harbouring dangerous political aspirations.

[72] *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, pp. 440, 442. Cf. the fragment of a silk textile adorned with this motif, today in the Benaki Museum, Athens, which is ascribed a date between the ninth and the eleventh century, Euangelatou, Papastaurou, and Skotte, *Βυζάντιο*, no. 51. The term 'ῥοήσιον' employed to describe the outer garment worn by the *proedros* on ordinary days constitutes a *unicum* and its meaning remains unclear.

[73] Ivy leaves, for example, adorn the *tablion* of the *chlamys* of Empress Eudokia on the Romanos ivory (945–949), the tunic of the triumphant emperor on the Bamberg tapestry (second half of tenth century), and the white cushion of the throne of the Virgin with Child in the apse of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (867). A. Cutler, "The Date and Significance of the Romanos Ivory," in *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. D. Mouriki et al. (Princeton, 1995), pp. 607, 609–10, fig. 5; R. Baumstark, ed., *Rom und Byzanz. Schatzkammerstücke aus bayerischen Sammlungen*, exh. cat. (Munich, 1998), no. 64; J. Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London, 1997), fig. 99.

[74] *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 442. Regarding the "σκαραμάγγιον ὀξὺν πρασινοτρίβλαττον", Muthesius ("Byzantine Silk Industry," p. 47; repr. in Muthesius, *Studies*, p. 292) has suggested that the term 'τριβλάττιον' refers to silk dipped three times in the dye to obtain the desired colour. Alternatively, Jacoby ("Silk in Western Byzantium," p. 458) believes that the term refers to silks "displaying threads or stripes of … three colors." As for the *katakoilion*, according to LBG, s.v., this was an "auf der Brust getragene Insignie, 'Orden'."

[75] *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, pp. 442–43.

[76] *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 443.

[77] I owe this insight to Dr. Michael Featherstone, whom I here thank.

As observed by others, it is notoriously difficult to untangle the annual rhythm of the changing ceremonial outfits of the Byzantine court as recorded in the *Kletorologion* and the *Book of Ceremonies*. Nonetheless, it seems to me that the garments of the dignitaries, including the eunuch dignitaries, depended on what the emperor would actually wear in each case, which was in its turn determined by the occasion and the nature of the ceremony. On Easter Monday, for example, the emperor—one assumes in honour of the brilliance of the joyous feast—would wear white garments shining with gold, while all his dignitaries, including the eunuchs, donned white *chlamydes*; those of the *praipositoi* and the *ostiaroprimikerioi* displayed golden *tablia*.[78] White and gold were the prevailing colours on other occasions as well, such as the eve of Epiphany, when the dominant symbolism of the feast was light and divine illumination.[79] At other times, however, the search for dramatic effect and enhanced visibility appears to have come more prominently into play. Thus, during the mounted procession on the day of Mid-Pentecost to the church of St. Mokios, in the south-western part of Constantinople, while the emperor wore a two-tone white *skaramangion* embroidered with gold, the eunuch dignitaries surrounding him wore purple *sagia* or purple *spekia*, so that the sovereign would stand out in magnificence while he traversed his capital in state.[80] As in the case of the images of the beautiful angels flanking Christ or the Virgin studied by Hatzaki, so in the case of the court eunuchs in imperial ceremonies, their striking and strange smooth faces and the play of textures and colours of their gorgeous dress would capture the eyes of the beholders and guide them inexorably to the focal point of the ceremonial performance, the emperor.[81]

The overwhelming impression one derives from the foregoing is that, on the whole, what made the attire of Byzantine court eunuchs distinctive was that eunuchs were wearing it. This proposition is supported by what limited relevant artistic evidence we have at our disposal. James and Tougher have already pointed out the similarity between the attire of Leo and his bearded brother, the *protospatharios* Constantine, both portrayed in Leo's *Bible* (Vat. reg. gr. 1, fols. 2v and 3r) (Fig. 16.1); Constantine's sword marks his rank of first sword-bearer and is unrelated to the fact that he

[78] *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 1:65, 175.
[79] Ibid., 1:132.
[80] Ibid., 1:92–93.
[81] Hatzaki, *Beauty*, pp. 106–11.

is bearded.[82] Another case in point is the striking attire of the eunuch *protoproedros* and *protovestiarios* in the eleventh-century BnF Coislin 79 (Fig. 16.3). The anonymous dignitary wears an ankle-length white tunic, with long ample sleeves but, it would seem, without a belt. The tunic is patterned with four large medallions enclosing quadrupeds, joint by smaller ones, all executed in red and gold. Over it, the dignitary seems to be wearing a kind of plastron with a tall collar, black in colour and adorned with vermiculated ornament. His attire is complemented by a white hat and a pair of black boots. The white hat appears to have been an eleventh-century addition to male court attire and it was worn by both bearded dignitaries and eunuchs.[83] As suggested by Kalamara, the presence of the "plastron", which appears to be secured by cords at the waist, might explain the absence of a belt, which was a standard feature of Byzantine male attire at the time.[84] Alternatively, the fact that there are other known depictions of tunics adorned with a pattern of great medallions worn ungirt, and by bearded men this time, seems to imply that such tunics were meant to be worn without a belt in any case.[85] The magnificent tunic of the eunuch *protoproedros* finds a very close parallel, down to the details of a rectangular panel over the breast and the lack of a belt, in the attire of the principal male figure of the donor panel at Selime Kalesi in Cappadocia, dated to the late tenth or the early eleventh century (Fig. 16.4).[86] It is unfortunate that the area of the rectangular panel over the breast of the donor at Selime is not well preserved in order to allow a detailed comparison with the "plastron" of the *protoproedros*.[87] Dumitrescu has suggested that this item is an indication that the *protoproedros* also held an ecclesiastical position, while Kalamara

[82] James and Tougher, "Get Your Kit On," p. 156.

[83] Parani, *Reconstructing*, pp. 67–68; Kalamara, "Νέα στοιχεία," pp. 273–74.

[84] Kalamara, "Νέα στοιχεία," p. 279. On the belt, see also, M. G. Parani, "Optional Extras or Necessary Elements? Middle and Late Byzantine Male Dress Accessories," in *Studies in Honour of Prof. Maria Panagiotide*, ed. P. Petrides, A. Drandake, and V. Foskolou (forthcoming).

[85] Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 155–57, fig. 99: portrait of Alexios V. Mourtzouphlos (1204) in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS hist. gr. 53, fol. 291v.

[86] This similarity has already been pointed out by L. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 73. I am grateful to Dr. Veronica Kalas for allowing me to consult her photographs of the Selime Kalesi donor panel and for granting me permission to publish one here.

[87] Dark-coloured rectangular panels with vermiculation adorn the front of the tunics of a number of boys, youths, and bearded men in the *Menologium of Basil II*, e.g. on fols. 166, 176, and esp. 204. However, in these examples the panel appears to be sewn onto the tunic, rather than being a separate item worn over it.

raises the question whether it may be associated to the wearer's position or his being a eunuch.[88] Both ignore the vermiculated ornament on the "plastron", as well as the comparable attire of the male donor at Selime, who was neither a eunuch nor an ecclesiastic. To my mind, the great similarities between the outfits of the two figures argue against interpreting this particular attire as being distinctive of court eunuchs as a "third gender". Rather, it too is better understood as expressive of high status and rank, including the puzzling "plastron", which, if not a fashionable item, may perhaps be a descendant of the tenth-century *katakoilion*, worn by the *proedros* both prior and following his promotion.[89]

Be this as it may, most of the items of dress referred to above were being worn by bearded and eunuch members of the court alike, while the colour white, which was so often attributed to eunuchs/angels in visions, was not exclusive to eunuch dignitaries in the waking world. Still, having said this, there does seem to be one item of dress that appears to have been particularly associated with eunuch courtiers and especially the *koubikoularioi*. This was the *paragaudion*, a tunic distinguished by a special type of decorative borders.[90] Indeed, the term 'παραγώδης' ('paragauda' in Latin) originally designated these borders, which, according to the sixth-century author John Lydos, were shaped like the Greek letter *gamma* (Γ). As an item of court dress, the *paragaudion* is already attested in the late antique period, when it was worn by the emperor as well as by his dignitaries. However, at that time, while the borders of the imperial tunic were golden, those of the dignitaries were purple.[91] The first attestation of a court eunuch wearing a "brilliant" *paragaudion*, albeit in

88 Dumitrescu, "Remarques," p. 39; Kalamara, "Νέα στοιχεία," pp. 279, 283, 285.

89 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, pp. 441, 442. Kalamara, "Νέα στοιχεία," pp. 280–86, discussed the possibility that in the eleventh century there was an attempt to identify eunuchs outside a court setting as a "third gender" by means of specific dress items and accessories. However, as she herself concedes, the evidence is equivocal and admits to various interpretations.

90 Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος*, 2/2:49.

91 John Lydos, *De magistratibus populi Romani*, ed. A. C. Bandy, *Ioannes Lydus: On Powers or the Magistracies of the Roman State* (Philadelphia, 1983), pp. 30, 88; John Malalas, *Chronographia* 17.9, ed. I. Thurn, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 35 (Berlin and New York, 2000), p. 340; *Chronicon paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1832), p. 614. Cf. the prohibition of 382, included in the *Codex Justinianus* (11.9.2), against anyone owning garments with golden borders (*auratas paragaudas*), since their use was an imperial prerogative. On the *paragaudion* in Late Antiquity, see also, M. Harlow, "Dress in the *Historia Augusta*: The Role of Dress in Historical Narrative," in *The Clothed Body* (see above, n. 17), p. 150.

a vision, also dates to this period (sixth century).[92] By the tenth century, the *paragaudion* was worn predominantly by eunuchs at court; the only official wearing it who was not necessarily a eunuch was the *epi tes katastaseos* (chief of presentations or master of ceremonies).[93] Furthermore, the *paragaudia* of the middle Byzantine dignitaries, as mentioned above, are now described as adorned with gold.

During the ceremony of the promotion of a *koubikoularios*, which took place in the oratory of St. Theodore at the Chrysotriklinos, a golden *paragaudion*, initially hung on the doors of the sanctuary, was presented to the newly promoted dignitary as if by the hand of God.[94] In a similar ceremony, the female counterpart of the *koubikoularios*, the *koubikoularaia*, would receive a golden tunic in the manner of a *paragaudion* (δίκην παραγαυδίου), also as if by the hand of God.[95] Incidentally, this intimates that the *paragaudion* was regarded as a gendered garment that could not be worn by women. Both ceremonies were meant to impress upon the recipients of this honour the magnitude and the sacred nature of their duty as servants of the Imperial Chamber, not least by making them directly answerable to God if they ever failed in the service of His appointed representatives on Earth. Golden garments were only appropriate for those entrusted with the care of the sacrosanct person of the emperor and empress. Indeed, in the ninth-century collection of laws known as the *Basilica* (6.25.7), in the section containing regulations regarding the *praipositoi* of the Imperial Chamber and the *koubikoularioi*, it is stated that no-one is allowed garments with golden borders (παραγαύδας) with the exception of those that are in the immediate entourage of the emperor (εἰ μὴ οἱ ἐγγὺς βασιλέως εὑρισκόμενοι).[96] With this in mind and though I

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92 Theodore Lector, *Historia ecclesiastica*, fragment 52a, ed. G. C. Hansen, *Theodoros Anagnostes. Kirchengeschichte*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1995), p. 133 (preserved in John of Damascus, *Orationes de imaginibus tres* 3.90, ed. P. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos* 3 [Berlin, 1975], p. 184).

93 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 523 (with a *kamision*, for the reception taking place every Sunday). On the *epi tes katastaseos*, see Oikonomidès, *Listes*, p. 309; ODB, 1:722 (s.v. Epi tes katastaseos).

94 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, pp. 624–27. For a discussion of the ceremony and its symbolic ramifications, see Ringrose, *Perfect Servant*, pp. 179–81.

95 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, pp. 622–24.

96 This echoes the earlier legislation quoted above (n. 91), with two interesting differences: first, this law is now included in the section on the *praipositoi* and the *koubikoularioi*, instead of the section dedicated to restricted garments, and, second, it now contained the exception for those enjoying proximity to the emperor. In the *Codex Justinianus* the section on the eunuch dignitaries (12.5) contained no reference to garments adorned with gold, since the restriction for their use admitted to no exceptions.

run the risk of being accused of sophistry, I am more inclined to think that certain eunuch officials of the Imperial Chamber were granted the right to wear the golden *paragaudion* not because of their nature *per se*, but because of their proximity to the emperor. In other words, the golden *paragaudion* defined them primarily as privileged beings close to the emperor, rather than anything else.

Was there, then, no element in the attire of court eunuchs to which it was their nature that entitled them as well as their status and proximity to the centre and source of all power that was the Byzantine emperor? As a matter of fact I believe there was: the pearl. As mentioned above, pearls adorned the tip of the four batons of the *ostiarioi* and the torques of the eunuch *protospatharioi*. These are the only two instances in the *Kletorologion* and the *Book of Ceremonies* in which pearls are mentioned as part of the insignia or dress of Byzantine dignitaries or officials.[97] All other references to pearls in these texts refer to the garments, the weapons, and the horse-harness of the emperor, the co-emperor, and the empress.[98] Pearls were valued for their rarity, preciousness, and luminous beauty, while in Christian writings they became symbols of Christ, of divine teachings, and the knowledge of God.[99] Whereas in Roman times they were primarily associated with female adornment, late antique emperors, beginning with Constantine I, deemed them suitable for the aggrandizement of the imperial dignity and displayed them on imperial diadems,

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[97] The association of the pearl with eunuch dignitaries was also noted by Ringrose, *Perfect Servant*, p. 177.

[98] See, for example, *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 1:20, 72, 72–73, 92, 97, 155, 175; ed. Reiske, pp. 522, 580, 582, 634, 640; Haldon, *Three Treatises*, C.749–54 (p. 142), C.846–49 (p. 148). The surviving ceremonial garments and insignia of the Norman kings of Sicily, which are thought to have been patterned after Byzantine prototypes, help us imagine the beauty, rich texture, and brilliance of the imperial vestments adorned with gold and pearls, see M. Andaloro, ed., *Nobiles officinae. Perle, filigrane e trame di seta dal Palazzo Reale di Palermo*, exh. cat., 2 vols. (Catania, 2006), nos. I.1–I.3, I.5, I.7–I.8, I.10.

[99] The history of the pearl in the late antique and Byzantine worlds remains to be written. In the meantime, for the symbolism of the pearl, see R. Delbrueck, "Notes on the Wooden Doors of Santa Sabina," *The Art Bulletin* 34 (1952), 141–45; F. Ohly, "Die Geburt der Perle aus dem Blitz," *Schriften zur mittelalterlichen Bedeutungsforschung* 1977, 293–311; Z. Kádár, "Über die Symbolik der Edelsteine der ungarischen Krone," in *Insignia regni Hungariae I. Studien zur Machtsymbolik des mittelalterlichen Ungarn* (Budapest, 1983), pp. 150–51; A. Arnulf, "Eine Perle für das Haupt Leons VI," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 32 (1990), 83; P. Hetherington, "The Byzantine Enamels on the Staurothèque from the Treasury of the Prieuré d'Oignies, now in Namur (With excursus: Pearls and Their Association with Byzantine Enamels)," *Cahiers archéologiques* 48 (2000), 11–13; repr. in his, *Enamels* (see above, n. 22), no. XV; F. B. Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies on the Makings of Umayyad Visual Culture* (Leiden, Boston, Cologne, 2001), pp. 25–56; Mavroudi, *Byzantine Book* (see above, n. 6), pp. 371–72, 432–33.

crowns, vestments, and footwear.[100] Indeed, according to a law included in the *Codex Justinianus* (11.12.1), pearls, along with emeralds and *hyacinths* (sapphires?), were restricted to imperial usage, with two exceptions: male and female rings, and female jewellery in general. One assumes that the imperial government did not regard the use of pearls on feminine ornaments as an infringement of its prerogatives that could be concealing dangerous political ambitions, since women, by their nature, were excluded from the imperial dignity; but then, so were eunuchs. To my knowledge, the late antique restriction on the use of pearls is not repeated in middle Byzantine law collections. Nevertheless, the testimony of Philotheos and the *Book of Ceremonies* implies that it was maintained, at least within the context of court ceremonial, as another exclusive signifier of the emperor's magnificence and, possibly, also of his faith, his wisdom, and his religious knowledge. In this respect it is of relevance to note that in one version of the tenth-century *Oneirokritikon* of Achmet, preserved in a fifteenth-century manuscript, it is claimed that pearls and precious stones seen in a dream by a commoner signify fear of authority and even death, because "such things are appropriate for the emperor alone."[101]

In medieval thought, pearls were considered as sources of light, because of their lustrous white colour and because of certain nature myths claiming that they were created when lightning penetrated the oyster shell.[102] The concept of light, however, was also associated with the beauty of court eunuchs, especially in those narratives in which they were confounded with angels, luminous and pure.[103] Perhaps the granting of the privilege to display pearls on the insignia of certain eunuch dignitaries at the Byzantine court was informed by and played on such concepts. However, the fact that it was confined to the eunuch *protospatharioi*, who were the dignitaries in immediate proximity to the emperor, standing behind his throne and walking or riding before or behind him in processions,[104] and to the *ostiarioi*, who were charged with introducing

[100] F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, eds., *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 14/1 (Paris, 1939), cols. 379–80 (s.v. Perle).

[101] Mavroudi, *Byzantine Book*, p. 433.

[102] Flood, *Great Mosque*, pp. 35–38, with further references; see, also, above, n. 99. Cf. the description of the throne of Manuel I Komnenos for the grand reception of the Seljuk sultan Kılıç Arslan II in 1162 by Kinnamos, who speaks of the red and blue gems and the countless pearls adorning it as "lights": John Kinnamos, *Epitome rerum ab Joanne et Manuele Comnenis gestarum* 5.3, ed. A. Meineke (Bonn, 1836), p. 205.

[103] Sidéris, "Eunuchs of Light," esp. pp. 166–68.

[104] *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 1:93–94, 132, 138; 2: 61, 95, 110; ed. Reiske, p. 543.

dignitaries and visitors to the imperial presence, suggests that the pearl is better understood primarily as a symbol of imperial majesty which the emperor's eunuch *protospatharioi* and his *ostiarioi*, being what they were, reflected and amplified without fear of abuse or subversion.[105]

The attire of eunuch dignitaries and officials, its design, colour, and adornment was, above all, indicative of function and rank. It attested to their full integration into the hierarchical universe of the ninth and tenth century Byzantine court. Furthermore, and mainly through the use of certain decorative devices, like the golden ornaments of the *paragaudion*, the lions on the *chlamydes* that the *praipositoi* wore on Easter, and the pearls of the *protospatharioi*, it served to advertise their proximity to the emperor, a proximity they enjoyed on account of being what they were: eunuchs. The garments they wore and the insignia they carried were male-gendered, as was the language used to describe them. Still, it seems to me that these same garments highlighted, rather than obscured the ambiguity of the figures that wore them.

Middle Byzantine texts construct eunuchs as suitable vehicles of communication between the spiritual and the physical worlds. Within the context of court ceremonial, the dress of eunuch courtiers may have contributed—whether intentionally or unintentionally one cannot say—to strengthening the impression of what Henry Maguire has insightfully described as the intermingling of the two courts, God's in Heaven and the Byzantine emperor's on Earth.[106] One last example will, hopefully, suffice to illustrate this point. According to the *Book of Ceremonies*, in the weeks prior to the feast of the Dormition a series of ceremonies took place involving the veneration of one of the relics of the True Cross kept in the Great Palace.[107] On the morning of the Sunday prior to August 1 the precious relic was taken out of the palace treasury where it was kept and was displayed in one of the palace churches, possibly the Virgin of the Pharos or the Nea Ekklesia, for the veneration of all. Following the end of the matins, the relic of the cross was taken from the church to the Lausiakos, a reception hall in the lower palace, to be venerated by the members of the senate. After that, it was carried to the church of

[105] On the famous exception, when the two bearded officials who escorted the Arab ambassadors into the imperial presence in 946 were granted permission to wear pearled *maniakia* "for the sake of display," see *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, 584; trans. Featherstone, "Display," p. 96. Cf. Kresten, "*Staatsempfänge*", pp. 55–56.

[106] H. Maguire, "The Heavenly Court," in *Byzantine Court Culture* (see above, n. 33), pp. 245–58, esp. p. 258.

[107] *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, pp. 538–41.

St. Stephen of the Daphne in the upper palace, where it remained until July 29, when it was taken out of the palace and carried around every location and every house in Constantinople, even up and around the city walls, so that the entire city "would become filled with its grace and sanctity." The relic of the True Cross returned to the palace on the morning of August 13, when it was placed on the imperial throne in the apse of the Chrysotriklinos. It was then taken around the imperial(?) chambers and the "whole palace" (the lower palace?) in order to sanctify it,[108] ending up in the chapel of St. Theodore of the Chrysotriklinos. In the evening of the same day it was delivered to the sacristan of the Pharos Church, who placed it in the sacred treasury on the morning of the following day.[109] Interestingly, the person who actually carried the relic of the Holy Cross from the church where it was originally displayed to the Lausiakos and then to the church of St. Stephen was not a member of the palace clergy but a court eunuch, the *papias* or key-keeper of the Great Palace, an apt choice if ever there was one. The *papias* was also the one who took the relic from the Chrysotriklinos and carried it around the palace on August 13, finally to return it to the church of the Pharos in the evening. Interestingly, this same eunuch official was also responsible for carrying the relic of the Holy Cross from the palace to Hagia Sophia and back again during the ceremonies for its veneration that marked the fourth week of Lent as described in the *Book of Ceremonies*.[110] On Sunday before August 1,

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108 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 540: "περιέρχεται (ὁ σταυρὸς) ἁγιάζων τούς τε κοιτῶνας καὶ ἅπαν τὸ παλάτιον".

109 On the various buildings and the topography of the Great Palace in the ninth and tenth centuries, as well as the division between the lower palace, which was the actual imperial residence at the time, and the upper or old palace, the buildings of which were now used only on specific ceremonial occasions, see J. Bardill, "Visualizing the Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors at Constantinople: Archaeology, Text, and Topography," in *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft. Frühmittelalterliche Residenzen—Gestalt und Zeremoniell*, ed. F. A. Bauer, Byzas 5 (Istanbul, 2006), pp. 5–45; J. M. Featherstone, "The Great Palace as Reflected in the *De Cerimoniis*," in ibid., pp. 47–61; idem, "Emperor and Court," in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. E. Jeffreys, with J. Haldon, and R. Cormack (Oxford, 2008), pp. 505–17.

110 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, pp. 549–50. According to the *typikon* of the Great Church preserved in the eleventh-century Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek MS A 104, the *papias* was also the one to carry the relic of the cross from the Great Palace to Hagia Sophia on September 9 and to return it to the palace on September 14, see *Tipikon velikoï tserkvi. Cod. Dresde A 104. Rekonstruktsija teksta po materialam arhiva A. A. Dmitrievskogo*, ed. K. K. Akentev (Saint Petersburg, 2008), pp. 97, 101; available online at http://byzantinorossica.org.ru/opendjvu.html?sources+dmitrievskii+dresden104.djvu. As far as the *papias*'s dress is concerned, the *Dresden Typikon* mentions only that on September 14 he arrived at the church in his official attire in order to receive the Cross (p. 101: "τοῦ παππίου ἐρχομένου ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἁγίων θυρῶν ἠλαγμένου"). All three ceremonies, but especially

while carrying the Cross "on his head," and moving from ecclesiastical to secular spaces in the palace and back again, the *papias* wore a purple *skaramangion* and a purple *sagion*.[111] In Byzantium, purple was the imperial colour *par excellence* but it was also the colour that was employed to render the majesty of Christ and the dignity of the Mother of God in word and image. Carrying the victorious sign of Christ through the palace of the Byzantine emperor, the beardless, angel-like eunuch in his shimmering purple garments would have appeared as the ideal channel for the authority of both, traversing and transcending physical and conceptual boundaries between private and public, sacred and profane.

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the one set down in the Dresden manuscript, are discussed by B. Flusin, "Les ceremonies de l'exaltation de la croix à Constantinople au XI^e siècle d'après le *Dresdensis* A 104," in *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, ed. J. Durand and B. Flusin (Paris, 2004), pp. 61–89, esp. pp. 61–73. Flusin (pp. 61, 69) claims that the *papias* was also the one who carried the relic around the city of Constantinople during the ceremonies of early August, though the relevant passage in the *Book of Ceremonies* speaks only of the cross as "going around" (περιπολεύειν) the capital without specifying who actually carried it. I am grateful to Dr. Michael Featherstone for bringing the *Dresden Typikon* to my attention and for relevant references, but also for discussing the role of the *papias* in the ceremonies of the veneration of the relic of the Cross both in the *Dresden Typikon* and in the *Book of Ceremonies*.

111 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 539: "αἴρων ὁ παπίας τὸν τίμιον σταυρὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, δηλονότι φοροῦντος αὐτοῦ σκαραμάγγιον καὶ σαγίον ἀληθινόν." The *papias* wore the same purple garments also when he carried the relic during the Lenten ceremonies, ibid., p. 549.



Fig. 16.1. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS reg. gr. 1.B (940s), fol. 2v. The *patrikios, praipositos*, and *sakellarios* Leo. Photo: © 2013 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana



Fig. 16.2. Private Collection. Gold and enamel pendant of the *proedros* Constantine, 11th or 12th century, detail of centre panel. Photo: courtesy of the collector



Fig. 16.3. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Coislin 79 (1071–1081), fol. 2r. Michael VII Doukas (renamed Nikephoros III Botaneiates) flanked by four officials. The *protoproedros* and *protovestiarios* is second from the left. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France



Fig. 16.4. Cappadocia, Selime Kalesi (late 10th–early 11th century). Donor panel, detail. Christ blessing a pair of donors, with the man to the left and the woman to the right. Photo: courtesy of Veronica Kalas

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

DESIGNING RECEPTIONS IN THE PALACE (*DE CERIMONIIS* 2.15)*

Christine Angelidi

For Constantine VII the year 946 was a time of fulfilled aspirations. He had spent long years confined to a background role until 945, when he assumed imperial duties as sole emperor. Political stability was re-established and the revival of the dynastic lineage ensured by the coronation of Constantine Porphyrogennetos's son, Romanos, celebrated on the symbolic date of Easter Sunday, which fell on the 22nd of March of that year. Two separate chapters in the *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae* record the instructions to be followed for the feast of Easter and the coronation of an emperor.[1] On the 22nd of March 946, however, the double occasion undoubtedly necessitated variants in the existing protocols. Such variants are noted in the case of celebrations of the moveable Easter cycle which happened to coincide with fixed feasts,[2] but no details on this specific occurrence have survived, although a chapter on the coronation of Romanos is announced in the *pinax* of the second book of the *De cerimoniis*.[3] It can only be assumed that the standard Easter ritual was prolonged to include actions to be observed for the coronation, e.g. variations in the itinerary within the palace, extra imperial garments, salute by

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[1] Constantine Porpyrogennetos, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, Book 1, ed. and French trans. A. Vogt, *Constantin Porphyrogénète. Le livre des cérémonies*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1935–1940) [hereafter *De Cerimoniis* 1] and Book 2, ed. I. Reiske, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1829–1830) [hereafter *De cerimoniis* 2]: *De cerimoniis* 1.1, ed. Vogt, 1, pp. 17–26, and *De cerimoniis* 1.47(38), ed. Vogt, 2, pp. 1–5.

[2] The Annunciation (25 March) is the fixed feast most likely to fall during Lent and the Easter cycle. Variations in the celebration are mentioned if it fell (a) on a Saturday or a Sunday during Lent (*De cerimoniis* 1.1, ed. Vogt, 1, p. 26), (b) on Holy Saturday (*De cerimoniis* 1.44[35], ed. Vogt, 1, p. 172), (c) on Easter Sunday (*De cerimoniis* 1.9, ed. Vogt, 1, p. 64), and (d) on Easter Monday (*De cerimoniis* 1.<10>, ed. Vogt, 1, p. 76).

[3] *De cerimoniis* 2, ed. Reiske, p. 511; cf. ibid., p. 599. On the the *pinax* of *De cerimoniis* 2 and the contents of the missing folio 203, see M. Featherstone, "Preliminary Remarks on the Leipzig Manuscript of the *De Cerimoniis*," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 95 (2002), pp. 464, 472.

the dignitaries, and the set of coronation acclamations by the Factions in addition to the Easter ones.

Easter Sunday marked the passage from the distress of repentance to the light of redemption and this shift was expressed in visual terms by replacing the dark clothes worn on Holy Saturday with white and gold ones.[4] It also initiated a week of daily celebrations, followed by a period that combined worship related to the Easter cycle with ceremonies of an imperial nature on fixed dates. Constantine's intensive ceremonial program ran as follows:

Easter Monday, 23 March:	imperial procession from the palace to the Holy Apostles where the emperor worshipped at the tombs of Gregory of Nazianzos, John Chrysostom, and of the patriarchs Nikephoros and Methodios; banquet with the patriarch (*De cerimoniis* 1.<10>).
Wednesday, 25 March:	feast of the Annunciation; reception of the orphans at the Chrysotriklinos; banquet with guests (*De cerimoniis* 1.21[12]).
Thursday, 26 March:	formal invitation and reception of the Patriarch and clergy at the Chrysotriklinos ("the kiss ceremony"); office at the Theotokos of the Pharos (*De cerimoniis* 1.22[13], and *De cerimoniis* 1.23[14]).
Friday, 27 March:	reception of dignitaries in the hall of Justinian and dinner with guests (*De cerimoniis* 1.24[15]).
Saturday, 28 March:	reception of dignitaries in the hall of Justinian and dinner with guests (ibid.).
Sunday, 29 March:	*Antipascha*; ceremony at Hagia Sophia (*De cerimoniis* 1.25[16]).
Monday, 30 March:	Grand reception on the eve of the "golden hippodrome" (*De cerimoniis* 1.73[64]).

[4] Although the exact meaning remains obscure, the description of outfits worn on Holy Saturday as "ἀτραβατικά", "τύρεα (χλανίδια)", and "ὀψίμαρον (l. ὀψίμορον?)" (*De cerimoniis* 1.44[35], ed. Vogt, 1, p. 169) implies dark colours. On the symbolism of the white and gold clothes of the emperor and the court dignitaries on Easter Sunday, see *De cerimoniis* 2.40, ed. Reiske, pp. 637–38. On Easter Monday, the high-ranking dignitaries changed into χλανίδια χρυσόταβλα (*De cerimoniis* 1.<10>, ed. Vogt, 1, p. 65). During the whole week after Easter, the dignitaries arrived at the palace dressed in white χλανίδια: *De cerimoniis* 1.<10>, 20(11), 21(12), 22(14), 23(14), 24(15), ed. Vogt, 1, pp. 65, 78, 82, 84, 89.

Tuesday, 31 March:	the emperor opened the new season of hippodrome games (*De cerimoniis* 1.77[68]).[5]
Wednesday 15 April:	Mesopentecost; procession through the city and celebration at Saint Mokios (*De cerimoniis* 1.26[17]).
Thursday, 30 April:	Ascension, celebrated at the church of Theotokos of the Pege, reached from the palace by boat and on horseback (*De cerimoniis* 1.27[18]).
Friday, 1st May:	the anniversary of the consecration of the Nea Ekklesia; worship at the church of the Theotokos of the Pharos, office celebrated at the Nea Ekklesia and reception at the Chrysotriklinos (*De cerimoniis* 1.29[20]).[6]
[Friday, 8 May:	commemoration of John the Evangelist celebrated at the church in Hebdomon.][7]
Monday, 10 May:	Pentecost, celebrated at Hagia Sophia (*De cerimoniis* 1.9).
Tuesday, 11 May:	anniversary of founding of Constantinople. Ceremonial liturgical celebration at Hagia Sophia and procession;[8] hippodrome games and banquet in the palace (*De cerimoniis* 1.79[70]).
Friday, 21 May:	feast of Saints Constantine and Helena, after whom Constantine VII and his wife, Helena Lakapene, were named; liturgy at Hagia Sophia and procession to the Holy Apostles; veneration at Constantine I's mausoleum and of the crosses deposited in the

[5] The ritualistic character of the tenth-century hippodrome games and the calendar of the games is discussed by G. Dagron, *L'hippodrome de Constantinople. Jeux, peuple et politique* (Paris, 2011), pp. 119–31.

[6] Conceived to compete with Hagia Sophia, and to stress the renewal of the empire by Basil I; on its dynastic character and the date of its inauguration, see P. Magdalino, "Observations on the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 37 (1987), 55, 61–63, and G. Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le "césaropapisme" byzantin* (Paris, 1996), pp. 214–18.

[7] The protocol is conserved only in Philotheos's *Treatise* (dated to 899), ed. N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972), p. 215, ll. 13–16. One wonders whether the absence of the relevant protocol from the *De cerimoniis* implies that it was not observed after Leo VI and, therefore, intentionally omitted from the mid-tenth-century "Constantinian" revision of the protocols.

[8] A ritual also preserved in the *Typikon* of Hagia Sophia, ed. J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1962), 1:286–90.

> sanctuary of Saint Constantine near the Bonus cistern (*De cerimoniis* 2.6, ed. Reiske, pp. 532–35).[9]

With the exception of the ritual on 8 May, dating back to the time of Leo VI, which was not included in the *De cerimoniis* and probably not followed by Constantine VII, the prescriptions of the ceremonial order concern recurrent events celebrated year after year. As in the major part of the *De cerimoniis*, the relevant protocols focus on the emperor's movements within the palace or the churches in which each celebration took place, and on his route when processing through the city. The protocols are conceived as separate units that follow a pre-established template, which aims at rendering a reflection of the "divine harmony and movement" in the rhythm and order of the courtly world.[10] Therefore, the presentation of each ceremony stresses the harmonious movement evolving in a succession of scenes, and it relies on the interrelation of a number of elements: the location, the arrangement of the participants and their costumes, their postures and gestures, the lines they pronounce, and the acclamations that the Factions addressed to the emperor. Only when required to clarify the action do the "stage directions" contain details on furniture, ornamental accessories, and other items. The standard pattern applies to all the recurrent rituals; it also pertains to reports of ceremonies that had occurred only once, such as specific imperial triumphs, patriarchal enthronements, and funerals. Chapter 15 of the second book of the *De cerimoniis* relates to this same group of "historical ceremonies"; yet, it approaches the subject from a different perspective.

Divided into five sections, each with its own heading, chapter 2.15 records the series of audiences and receptions at the imperial palace granted to the ambassadors of the emirs of Tarsus and Amida, the "Spaniard" Arabs of Cordoba, and the Russian princess Olga, between the 31st of May and the 24th of October 946.[11]

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9 Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre*, pp. 207–10, ascribes the sequence of places of worship and veneration and the specific visitation to Saint Constantine "near the palace of Bonus" to a programme of legitimization through sanctification promoted by the Macedonian dynasty. On the procession, cf. *Typikon*, ed. *Mateos*, 1:296. For a new edition and translation with commentary on the chapter, see J. M. Featherstone, "All Saints and the Holy Apostles: *De cerimoniis* II.6–7," *Nea Rhome* 6 (2009), 236–39, 241–45.

10 The expression used in the Preface of the *De cerimoniis* 1, ed. Vogt, 1, p. 5, authored(?) by Constantine VII.

11 *De cerimoniis* 2, ed. Reiske, pp. 566, l. 12–598, l. 12. English trans. and commentary by M. Featherstone, "Δι' ἔνδειξιν. Display in Court Ceremonial (*De Cerimoniis* II, 15)," in *The Material and the Ideal: Essays in Mediaeval Art and Archaeology in Honour of Jean-*

The *De cerimoniis* 2.15 is not interested in the evolution of diplomatic debates, but rather in presenting the magnificence of the "orderly rhythm" conceived for impressing foreign delegates. In order to achieve this, it adopts a compositional plan that makes aesthetics the principal component for the organization of each ceremony. In this new approach to "historical ceremonies," the description of the staged performance comprises all the participants, records in detail the variety and the colours of their garments, and describes their gestures. It also refers to the locations and their ornamentation, the sounds, and the smells. The beauty of ceremony is achieved by a skilful coordination of all the components.

The first section of the chapter on the reception of foreign delegates in the Magnaura relates to the arrangement of the great *triklinos* (reception hall) prior to the emperors' arrival. The author begins by reproducing the standard protocol template: the entrance of the dignitaries, the itinerary followed by the emperors through the various rooms, corridors, and chapels of the palace on their way to the private apartment of the Magnaura, where they changed garments, and their entry into the *triklinos*. From this point on, the text departs from the regular form of the protocols and continues with a complex description that combines actions and sounds. This part of the ritual includes the dignitaries' gestures in presenting the ambassadors to the emperors seated on Solomon's throne, the behaviour recommended to the foreign dignitaries, the words exchanged, and the movement and sounds of the mechanical lions and birds that adorned the throne.[12] The section concludes with the departure of the emperors towards the Chrysotriklinos.

Michel Spieser, ed. A. Cutler and A. Papaconstantinou (Leiden, 2008), pp. 81–112. The political context of the Arab embassies and of Olga's visit is fully discussed by C. Zuckerman, "Le voyage d'Olga et la première ambassade espagnole à Constantinople en 946," *Travaux et Memoires* 13 (2000), 647–72, and O. Kresten, "*Staatsempfänge*" *im Kaiserpalast von Konstantinopel um die Mitte des 10. Jahrunderts. Beobachtungen zu Kapitel II 15 des sogenannten Zeremonienbuches* (Vienna, 2000), pp. 3–43. I follow their dating of all the embassies to 946. See, however, M. Featherstone, "Olga's Visit to Constantinople in *De Cerimoniis*," *Revue des Études byzantines* 61 (2003), 241–51, and idem, "Δι᾽ ἔνδειξιν," pp. 76–77, 79, and 106 n. 211, who argues in favour of the traditional dating of Olga's visit to 957. List of events in Featherstone, "Δι᾽ ἔνδειξιν," pp. 80–81; cf. Zuckerman, "Le voyage d'Olga," pp. 647–48.

12 Tenth-century sources originating from Constantine's milieu stress the role of King Solomon as a model for emperors; cf. S. Tougher, *The Reign of Leo VI (886–912): Politics and People* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 125–27 (with bibliography). On the throne of Solomon, see G. Brett, "The Automata in the Byzantine 'Throne of Solomon'," *Speculum* 29 (1954), 477–87; further literature in Tougher, *The Reign of Leo VI*, pp. 124–25, with nn. 101–4. Cf. G. Dagron, "Trônes pour un empereur," in *Βυζάντιο, κράτος και κοινωνία. Μνήμη Νίκου Οικονομίδη*, ed. A. Avramea et al. (Athens, 2003), pp. 186–89.

This section may have been compiled during the reign of Constantine; it might also have been seen as the endpoint of the ceremonies associated with the emperor's reception of foreign guests.[13] Be that as it may, the author recorded here all the elements concerning the relevant etiquette applied to the successive audiences granted to delegates and distinguished guests by Constantine and Romanos; he does not return to the issue later in the chapter. This section also constitutes a topographical marker that designates one end of the reception area, the other being the Chrysotriklinos, at the opposite end of the divinely protected imperial palace.[14] The audience template established, the following sections of the chapter present step by step the furnishing and arrangement of items and people across the halls, the buildings, the passages, and corridors that lead from the Chalke Gate and the Magnaura to the Chrysotriklinos, from the higher to the lower palace, from the outer public spaces to the inner, imperial apartments. Once the description of the setting is complete, the main characters enter the scene; they move across the space, among the furniture and the hangings, they stand or are seated at the particular place designated for them.

The wording employed to describe audiences, receptions, and banquets in the subsequent sections of the chapter implies that several elements, such as attire, decoration, and the order of ceremonies, reproduced established norms.[15] Moreover, the author notes the variations in the protocols he had already recorded. Thus, when in early June the emperor again received the delegates from Tarsus in the Chrysotriklinos, the decoration

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13 Featherstone, "Preliminary Remarks," pp. 465, 473, reiterated in idem, "Olga's Visit," pp. 241–43, and idem, "Δι᾽ ἔνδειξιν," pp. 78–79, suggests that the first section of the chapter was compiled during the last years of Constantine's reign. It would represent the last "finished" chapter of the *De cerimoniis*, whereas the subsequent sections of *De cerimoniis* 2.15, especially the section on Olga's receptions, were composed after 959. For a further indication of the first section's particularity, see below, n. 16. Until the Paris project completes its edition and commentary of the *De cerimoniis*, a convenient chronological synopsis is provided by M. McCormick, "De Ceremoniis," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. Kazhdan 3 vols. (New York and Oxford, 1991), 1:596–97.

14 On the plan of the Great Palace, see E. Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Il gran palazzo degli imperatori di Bizanzio* (Rome and Istanbul, 2002), pp. 24, 28–33, 85; cf. the articles of J. Bardill, "Visualizing the Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors," and J. M. Featherstone, "The Great Palace as reflected in the *De Cerimoniis*," in *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft. Fruhmittelalteriche Residenze—Gestalt und Zeremoniell*, ed. F. A. Bauer, BYZAS 5 (Istanbul, 2006), pp. 5–45, 47–61.

15 The expressions κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός and κατὰ τὸν τύπον occur in the *De cerimoniis* 2.15 thirteen times: ed. Reiske, pp. 572, l. 15; 573, l. 18; 580, ll. 7, 9; 581, l. 2; 583, l. 22; 584, l. 9; 585, l. 7; 590, ll. 4, 9; 591, ll. 1–2, 17; 592, l. 1–2; 594, ll. 4–5.

installed for their former reception in the same room had been removed. This time a different adornment was arranged with a limited number of objects on display.[16] On 30 August 946, a second audience with the Tarsiotes took place in the Magnaura. The relevant passage refers to the event "as described earlier," namely in the first section of the chapter. Still, this time a limited number of dignitaries attended the ceremony and the emperors sat on the golden *sellia* instead of Solomon's throne.[17] For the formal audience with the emir of Amida, ambassador of the Ḥamdānid lord Sayf al-Dawla, which followed immediately after the Tarsiotes withdrew, the emperor changed garments, put on the white crown, and sat on Solomon's throne.[18]

The feast of the Transfiguration (6 August) was celebrated while the Arab delegates were still in Constantinople. The order of ceremonies to be observed on the feast is recorded in the first book of the *De cerimoniis*, which details the processions held whenever the emperor attended religious services at Hagia Sophia.[19] On that particular date, however, because the procession took place in the presence of the Arab guests, special garments were chosen for the emperors and the dignitaries of the court. In addition, certain other arrangements were made to give the parade an exceptional magnificence. The text records that on this particular occasion Hagia Sophia was adorned with items that were usually displayed only on Easter Sunday: chains and chandeliers transferred from the Nea Ekklesia and other churches, imperial crowns, gold crosses decorated with precious stones, and a variety of fine objects of art.[20] On 9 August the Tarsiotes had a second dinner with the emperor, this time not in the Chrysotriklinos, but in the *triklinos* of Justinian. In honour of the occasion, the set of repoussé silver plates was brought out of the Karianos and a ritual dance was performed.[21]

The gender-styled receptions of the Russian princess Olga were accorded particular attention. She was invited to the audience hall of the Magnaura, but no banquet at the Chrysotriklinos was offered to honour her. Instead, she met with the empress in the *triklinos* of Justinian where the throne of Theophilos was placed on a platform covered with purple silks.

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16 *De cerimoniis* 2.15, ed. Reiske, pp. 586, l. 15–587, l. 15.

17 *De cerimoniis* 2.15, ed. Reiske, p. 593, ll. 1–15. Featherstone, "Δι᾽ ἔνδειξιν," pp. 80 and 104, corrects the date to 13 August.

18 *De cerimoniis* 2.15, ed. Reiske, p. 593, ll. 18–21.

19 *De cerimoniis* 1.1, ed. Vogt, 1, p. 17.

20 *De cerimoniis* 2.15, ed. Reiske, pp. 590–92.

21 Ibid., p. 592, l. 7; see Featherstone, "Δι᾽ ἔνδειξιν," p. 103 n. 197.

She had dinner in the same hall in the company of female members of the imperial family, while an after-dinner family party, which also included the emperors, was arranged for her in the Aristeterion where dessert was served on the gold table.[22]

For the series of foreign dignitaries' receptions "maximum use of the buildings and spaces of the newer and older palace" was made "with a view to ostentatious displaying."[23] Thus its meticulously described sequence of rooms, buildings, and spaces renders chapter 2.15 an important document for the reconstitution of the ground plan of the imperial palace and the architectural form of a number of its parts. Moreover, by Byzantine standards, the text allows rare insights behind the scenes of imperial magnificence. In other words, far from the usual rhetorical discourse that surrounds any manifestation related to the court, the chapter's content introduces into the discussion of ceremonial practices two unexpected factors—realities and practicalities. Indeed, it is an accurate picture of the huge enterprise of designing, organizing, handling, and realizing receptions in the palace. It also reveals aspects of the functioning of the imperial palace, such as the limits of its resources and the ability of its staff to deal with ceremonial activities.

In composing the records, the author opted for a complex construction of units, for which he took into account the various buildings and other parts of the palace, the textiles and decorative elements, the way in which they were arranged, and the storerooms from which they were transferred. He also recorded the positioning of the court along the route: civil and military dignitaries and soldiers were placed according to rank and specific attire. It seems as if the text represents the final directions for the staging of great performances, which relied on annotations that were made on a detailed map of the palace and were supplemented on the spot with additional marginalia.[24]

As a rule, the description of the enclosed spaces begins with the ornamentation of the upper zone and continues down to floor level. The staging is completed with the secondary characters who participated in the performance. Mute as they were, their presence was nonetheless important,

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[22] *De cerimoniis* 2.15, ed. Reiske, pp. 594–98; cf. Zuckerman, "Le voyage d'Olga," pp. 651 and 661. The manuscript tradition of the section on Olga comprises a number of difficulties, thoroughly discussed by Zuckermann, "Le voyage d'Olga," pp. 651–54, Kresten, "*Staatsempfänge*" *im Kaiserpalast*, pp. 6–13, and Featherstone, "Olga's Visit," pp. 244–51.

[23] Featherstone, "Δι᾽ ἔνδειξιν," p. 76.

[24] Cf. ibid., p. 77.

for they conferred the necessary pomp on the event. They also represented additional "ornaments", which enlivened the space and enhanced the splendour of the room with their glittering garments. The artful combination of the individual components was designed to present an aesthetically perfect image and convey a powerful impression of imperial magnificence.

The description of the furnishings of the great *triklinos* of the Magnaura and the Chrysotriklinos is an eloquent example of the author's working method. In the Magnaura, fourteen chains were equally distributed on the right and the left of Solomon's throne; four more chains were suspended(?) from the pillars[25] and one chain was hung from the apsidal entrance to the hall. All the chains came from the church of Sts. Sergios and Bakchos, notes the text. Nineteen chandeliers from the Nea Ekklesia were suspended from these chains,[26] heavy *bela* (curtains or hangings) were brought from an unspecified storeroom to cover the walls, and rose petals were spread on the floor. The golden organ was placed between the pillars on the right side "in front of the *bela*," whereas the silver organ of the Blues stood "above it" towards the east "on the right" (of the golden organ?), and the silver organ of the Greens was on the left (of the golden organ?).[27] Royal standards and multicoloured banners were suspended on either side of the throne, before the apse, and in front of the heavy curtains of the main entrance.

Four categories of people attended the ceremony. The bearded servants of the emperor and the court eunuchs were positioned according to their rank behind and beside the throne. The imperial guard, who held processional, gold, silver, and brass weapons, stood along the walls. All wore ceremonial garments appropriate to their rank or office, of various colours—gold, white, purple, red, and reddish-green—, embroidered or plain. They also wore the insignia of their rank. Lastly, the representatives

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[25] *De cerimoniis* 2.15, p. 570, l. 20: εἰς τὰ δ´ μεγάλα κιόνια.

[26] It is almost impossible to understand the arrangement of the brass chains from which the πολυκάνδηλα (chandeliers) were suspended. Most surviving Byzantine chandeliers are round, which requires space for them to be suspended correctly. One may imagine either chains linking the pillars or elongated supports attached to the pillars from which the chains were suspended. A tentative sketch of the great *triklinos* of the Magnaura is found in J. Kostanec, "Studies on the Great Palace of Constantinople. II. The Magnaura," *Byzantinoslavica* 60 (1999), 177, fig. 7.

[27] *De cerimoniis* 2.15, ed. Reiske, p. 571, ll. 3–7: ἐν μὲν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει μέσον τῶν μεγάλων κιόνων τὸ χρυσοῦν ὄργανον ἔξω τῶν ἐκεῖσε κρεμαμένων βήλων, καὶ ἄνωθεν αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀνατολήν τὸ τοῦ Βενέτου ἀργυροῦν ὄργανον, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ μέρει τὸ τοῦ Πρασίνου ἀργυροῦν ὄργανον. The disposition of the organs depends on the perspective of the viewer/author.

of the Factions and the cantors took their places on high stools, ready to acclaim the emperor or sing the ritual hymns.

At the other end of the itinerary, the decoration of the Chrysostriklinos was modeled on the version employed for Easter.[28] The ceremonial hall, in which the emperor received high dignitaries of the Church and state and other distinguished guests, was adorned with the most sumptuous furniture, objects, and garments, all transferred there from the Treasury and the rooms adjacent to the emperor's private apartments. Selected from among the great treasures of the court, these furnishings were meant to provide an exquisite impression of splendour. From the sixteen openings of the dome 112 silver plates were suspended, the rest of the set, consisting of large and medium-sized platters and bowls, having been hung from the cornice and the windows of the side arches.[29] In these same side arches there were also suspended crowns. The sparkling of the precious metals and stones was enhanced by the light provided by chandeliers. Silk imperial garments of various designs and colours were placed above the doors. The heavy curtains of the main entrance were held up, when raised, by two silver supports; various costume accessories were suspended from the great central chandelier. The enigmatic *pentapyrgion*—a gilt structure with five compartments—was fixed to the walls and marriage belts were wrapped around its supports.[30] Each of its inner compartments was furnished with various ornamental artefacts. Beneath it, a gold table and golden couches were placed, in view of the emperors' dinner with the delegates from Tarsus.[31]

Between the two main audience halls, every space across which the foreign guests were due to proceed was splendidly adorned. Silver chandeliers illuminated the route, brass chains reflected their light, colourful silk

[28] *De cerimoniis* 2.15, ed. Reiske, p. 580. Another record of the decoration of the Chrysotriklinos on Easter Sunday is found in the *Escorial Taktikon* (971–975): Oikonomidès, *Listes de préséance*, p. 275. On the architectural details of the Chrysotriklinos, see M. Featherstone, "The Chrysotriklinos Seen through *De Cerimoniis*," in *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie. Beiträge zur byzantinischen Kulturgeschichte*, ed. L. Hoffmann (Wiesbaden, 2005), pp. 845–52.

[29] Perhaps the same set that was used for the 9 August banquet; see above, p. 471.

[30] Attested also as πεντακουβούκλιον and πεντακουβούκλιν. On this, see G. Dagron, "Architecture d'intérieur: le pentapyrgion," *Travaux et Mémoires* 15 (2002) = *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Sodini*, 109–17.

[31] Gold furniture and other items of gold were removed from the Karianos on Good Friday to be used in the Chrysotriklinos during the ceremonies of Easter Week (*De cerimoniis* 1.43[34], ed. Vogt, 1, p. 167). At Pentecost, a small gold table for the emperor and a larger one for the ambassadors were prepared in the Chrysotriklinos (*De cerimoniis* 1.9, ed. Vogt, 1, p. 64).

garments and fabrics covered the walls, flowers and plants diffused colours and scents. It was as if the ornamentation deployed in Constantinople for the triumphal procession of an emperor was transposed within the walls of the palace.[32] Similarly, the processions within the palace involved the presence and activity not only of the Factions, but also of the city guilds. The latter's participation in the project was coordinated by the City Prefect, who also directed the processions of the emperors through the city.[33]

The *De cerimoniis* 2.15 records two categories of professionals: the *pastopoioi*, who transformed the *anadendradion* of the Magnaura into an archway and, probably, also provided the necessary materials as they did for the processions,[34] and the *argyropratai*, who supplied the court with gold, enamelled, and silver artefacts.[35] The chapter also indicates that the City Prefect was entrusted with the transfer of precious objects from various churches and charitable foundations of Constantinople to the palace; he also supervised the supplies provided by the guilds, and the decoration of specific buildings.[36] Another court dignitary, the *sakellarios*, was responsible for the transfer of decorative items that were kept in the Chrysotriklinos or in other storerooms of the palace to various places. The official responsible for the imperial ceremonial, the master of ceremonies (ἐπὶ τῆς καταστάσεως),[37] is mentioned only once, in the first section of the *De cerimoniis* 2.15, whereas another dignitary, the *praipositos* (πραιπόσιτος),

[32] Cf. the description of the decoration of Constantinople for the triumphs of Theophilos and Basil I in *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, ed. and trans. J. Haldon (Vienna, 1990), pp. 140, ll. 737–41, 146, l. 831–148, l. 834. Cf. also M. McCormack, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 205–7.

[33] *De cerimoniis* 1.1, ed. Vogt, 1, pp. 3–4.

[34] The παστοποιοί were in charge of the arrangement of the bridal chamber in the palace, but also of the decoration of the city and the palace with textiles: Haldon, *Three Treatises*, pp. 287–88. They are expressly recorded as using σενδές in transforming the ἀναδενδράδιον into an archway. On σενδές and the ἀναδενδράδιον, see below, p. 478 and n. 46.

[35] On the guild of the ἀργυροπρᾶται, see the tenth-century *Book of the Eparch* 2, ed. and German trans. J. Koder, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 84–88. Koder translates the term as 'Juweliere' which corresponds to the content of the chapter, while Featherstone, "Δι᾽ ἔνδειξιν," p. 87, renders ἀργυροπρᾶται as 'money-dealers'. On the multiple functions of the ἀργυροπρᾶται as described in tenth-century sources, see Haldon, *Three Treatises*, pp. 266–67.

[36] *De cerimoniis* 2.15, ed. Reiske, p. 572. The City Prefect was responsible for the decoration of the façade of the Stable of the Mules and of the First Schole, both decorated with objects transferred from the city's charitable foundations or provided by the guilds. He also supervised the decoration of the Tribounalion κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς τῆς προελεύσεως.

[37] *De cerimoniis* 2.15, ed. Reiske, p. 567, l. 14. On the office and the duties of the master of ceremonies, see Oikonomidès, *Listes de préséance*, p. 309.

assumed a double function: he co-operated with the master of ceremonies during the preparations of the *triklinos* of the Magnaura, and he directed the hierarchical entrance of the dignitaries during the formal ceremonies of the audience and the reception of Olga by the empress in the *triklinos* of Justinian.[38]

The ceremonies mobilized almost all members of the palace staff. The *papias* (παπίας) and his subordinates had to provide the necessary quantity of oil for the illumination of an impressive amount of lighting devices; they were also in charge of selecting the imperial garments, and the precious objects from specific storerooms.[39] The personnel of the imperial wardrobe (βεστιάριον) had to prepare the outfits for the dignitaries, to take into account stock shortages, and to resolve any resulting problems quickly.[40] The positioning of various items of furniture, the fashioning of the *pentapyrgion*, the covering of the walls with textiles and suspending artefacts from them, and the artful arrangement of flowers and plants demanded numerous skilled workers.

De cerimoniis 2.15, indeed, gives a lively and unique image of the feverish activity demanded for the preparation and the unfolding of audiences, receptions, and banquets in the imperial palace. The order of ceremonies, the decoration, the choice of outfits and colours were not invented for the events it describes. In fact, the use of a cross-reference system between this particular chapter and others in the *De Cerimoniis* suggests that the author had a profound knowledge of the established tradition in its final form.[41] In addition, he was aware of a "parallel" tradition, which had not been recorded until the 950s and 960s, and he was keen to record innovations introduced to the ceremonies during the reign of Constantine Porphyrogennetos.[42] In this regard, his work responds to Constantine's

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38 *De cerimoniis* 2.15, ed. Reiske, pp. 567, ll. 14, 18; 568, ll. 1, 3, 5, 12; 570, l. 1; 595, l. 24; 596, l. 9. On the office and duties of the πραιπόσιτος (*praepositus sacri cubiculi*), who belonged to the eunuchs' group of court dignitaries, see Oikonomidès, *Listes de préséance*, p. 300.

39 On the office and duties of the παπίας, who belonged to the eunuchs' group of court dignitaries, see Oikonomidès, *Listes de préséance*, pp. 131–33, 309.

40 Such as those recorded in *De cerimoniis* 2.15, ed. Reiske, pp. 574, ll. 15–16, 18–19, 22–23; 575.9–10.

41 In developing his argumentation on the composition of *De cerimoniis* 2.15, Featherstone, "Δι᾽ ἔνδειξιν," pp. 77–79, suggests that the chapter was compiled by or under the supervision of Basil Lakapenos or Nothos. On Basil, see W. Brokkaar, "Basil Lacapenus. Byzantium in the Tenth Century," in *Studia Byzantina et Neohellenica Neerlandica* 3, ed. W. F. Bakker (Leiden, 1972), pp. 199–234, and C. Angelidi, "Basile Lacapène," in *Mélanges offerts à P. Odorico* (forthcoming).

42 The expression Ἰστέον ὅτι followed by a verb in the present tense denotes an established procedure. It is used in the first section of chapter 2.15—a supplementary indication

own preliminary remarks, which stress the need to commit "orally transmitted traditions" at risk of being forgotten to written form.[43] The choice of particular ceremonies would have been dictated by the wish to present a model for the reception of foreign guests and the intention was surely to keep alive the memory of remarkable events. Furthermore, the precision of the chapter's descriptions implies the acute faculty of observation of an eye-witness, who was gifted enough to arrange the material in organized sections and who succeeded in providing a realistic vision of imperial magnificence.

of the section being in its "final" form on which see above n. 13—and is the regular formula used in the protocols for recurrent ceremonies in Book 1 of the *De cerimoniis*. In sections 2 to 5 of the chapter the expression Ἰστέον ὅτι is combined with verbs in the aorist tense, which suggests an one-off event. A similar use is recorded in the chapters of dated "historical protocols," such as the triumphs of Emperors Basil and Theophilos (Haldon, *Three Treatises*, pp. 140–51), and ceremonies from the reigns of Herakleios, Michael III, and Basil I (*De cerimoniis* 2.27–38, ed. Reiske, pp. 627–38); cf. also the protocols of accessions from Leo I to Justinian I, reproduced from Petros Patrikios (*De cerimoniis* 1.91–95, ed. Reiske, pp. 410–33).

43 *De cerimoniis* 2, ed. Reiske, p. 516.

APPENDIX 1

THE FURNISHING OF THE PALACE FOR THE AUDIENCE AND RECEPTION OF THE AMBASSADORS FROM TARSUS (DE CERIMONIIS 2.15, ED. REISKE, PP. 570, L. 11–588, L. 14)[44]

1. Lighting devices
   1.1. Chains (ἁλυσσίδια)
      a 48 brass (ἀσπρόχαλκα) from the churches of Sts. Sergios and Bakchos and the Nea Ekklesia
      b 35 brass (ἀσπρόχαλκα) from the Theotokos of the Pharos
      c an unspecified number of brass chains (ἀσπρόχαλκα) from various storerooms
   1.2. Chandeliers (πολυκάνδηλα)
      a 86 silver chandeliers from the Nea Ekklesia and the Theotokos of the Pharos
      b one silver chandelier of great size (μέγα πολυκάνδηλον) from the Blachernai Church
      c more chandeliers from the Nea Ekklesia and other churches

2. Textiles
   2.1. Hangings and curtains:
      a silk/linen textiles (σενδές)[45] for various uses. They were also employed to transform the *anadendradion* of the Magnaura into an archway.[46] *Skaramangia* were attached to them.

[44] The list includes exclusively moveable, ornamental items. Fixed furniture, such as the Magnaura throne and the baldachin (καμελαύκιον) placed in the *triklinos* of Justinian, are not mentioned. In addition, the chapter is a most valuable source for the outfits and insignia of the emperor, dignitaries, and soldiers. However, only those items employed for the decoration of palace spaces are listed here.

[45] Haldon, *Three Treatises*, p. 214, interprets the term as 'silk cloths or sheets.' Whether woven from pure silk, flax, or mixed yarn, the σενδές must have been strong enough to support the weight of the items suspended from them.

[46] The *De cerimoniis*, the only source that attests it, places the ἀναδενδράδιον in two locations: the Magnaura (as in chapter 2.15) and the palace of Hieria (*De cerimoniis* 1.87[78]). The interpretation of the term, often confused with ἀναδενδράς, remains an open question. Reiske, in *De cerimoniis* 2.15, p. 571, renders it as "arboretum vel atrium triclinii arboribus obsitum"; Vogt, in *De cerimoniis* 1.87(78), p. 174, translates it as "treille", and Featherstone, "Δι᾽ ἔνδειξιν," p. 86, n. 57, understands it as an "alley". The author of the section

b silk hangings (βλαττία), red, purple, and of various other colours
c coverings (ἁπλώματα), [47] some of them red (? βλαττία), used to cover walls
d curtains (βῆλα), plain and embroidered; curtains shot with gold thread; heavy purple curtains kept in the Chrysotriklinos

2.2. Garments
a *skaramangia*[48] suspended from the *sendes* (σενδές) in the *anadendradion* of the Magnaura; used to decorate passages and corridors (διαβατικά)
b imperial garments suspended in the Chrysotriklinos
1 the emperor's golden *chlanidion platanion* (χλανίδιον πλατάνιον) embroidered with pearls, from the chapel of Saint Peter
2 the *chorosanchorion* (χοροσαγχόριον), from the chapel of Saint Theodore
3 one mantle with a griffin-and-lion pattern (γρυπολέων), from the Aristeterion
4 one mantle, either with a little griffin pattern or a short (small size?) mantle with a griffin pattern (γρυπάριον),[49] from the Aristeterion
5 one three-coloured *platanion* (πλατάνιον τριβλάττιον),[50] from the Pantheon
6 one mantle with a rider pattern (καβαλλάριος), suspended from the vault of the Aristeterion

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was not interested in clarifying its shape or explaining how it was transformed into an archway. Thus, the phrase Ἔνθεν δὲ κἀκεῖσε τῶν κιονίων ἀπὸ τῶν σενδὲς μέχρι τοῦ ἐδάφους ἐκρεμάσθησαν σκαραμάγγια may be interpreted in several ways: (a) the σενδές covered the alley's tree trunks so as to transform them into columns, (b) small "columns supporting a trellis … [were] … covered with textiles from which objects could be hung" (as Featherstone, "Δι' ἔνδειξιν," p. 86, n. 57), (c) a double line of wooden bars supporting any kind of climbing plants that could easily be transformed into a τροπική (arch).

47 Literally 'spreads', but in this context any kind of covering.

48 The term does not refer exclusively to a long-sleeved silk tunic (on this, see e.g. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3:1908); given the various uses of *skaramangia* in the *De cerimoniis* and other sources, it would seem that the term also designated a variety of decorated silks. Cf. Haldon, *Three Treatises*, p. 275.

49 The diminutive form γρυπάριον may be understood in both senses. Two more mantles are designated by the same grammatical form: ταώνιον and ἀετάριον (see below).

50 On the τριβλάττιον, cf. Haldon, *Three Treatises*, p. 141, and D. Jacoby, "Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84/85 (1991/1992), p. 458.

7 the empress's *mandion heplesion*,[51] suspended from the vault of the Aristeterion
8 the empress's *mandion* with a peacock pattern from the Diaitarikion
9 the *kaisarikion* (καισαρίκιον) with a rider pattern (καβαλλάριος), suspended from the silver doors on the western side of the Chrysotriklinos[52]
10 one mantle, either with a pattern of small peacocks, or a short (small size?) mantle with a peacock pattern (ταώνιον), suspended from the silver doors on the western side of the Chrysotriklinos
11 one mantle, either with a pattern of small eagles, or a short (small size?) mantle with an eagle pattern (ἀετάριον), suspended from the silver doors on the western side of the Chrysotriklinos
12 the golden *sagion*, called the *kaisarikion*, suspended above the silver doors of the Chrysotriklinos

3. Costume accessories kept in the Phylax as ornaments of the Chrysotriklinos
 a marriage belts adorned with pearls and precious stones, used to wrap the wooden supports with which the *pentapyrgion* was fixed to the walls
 b two filigree belts (? διακοπταί), a bridal one and another one, suspended from the central chandelier
 c two imperial, women's prependoulia or necklaces (κατασειστά), suspended from the central chandelier
 d two imperial, women's chokers (? πνικτάρια), suspended from the central chandelier
 e two imperial, women's ornamental breastplates (? στηθοκαράκαλα), suspended from the central chandelier

51 The term †*heplesion*† is an *hapax*. Reiske, *De cerimoniis* 2.15, p. 581, translates it as "heplesium vel tapetum." Kresten, *"Staatsempfänge" in Konstantinopel*, p. 55, conjectures a *lacuna* in the text between ἤ and πλησίον, whereas Featherstone, "Δι᾽ ἔνδειξιν," p. 94 and n. 137, suggests that this is indeed an actual term not attested in any other source.

52 Featherstone, "Δι᾽ ἔνδειξιν," p. 94, distinguishes the *kaisariki*(*o*)*n* from the καβαλλάριος-pattern mantle. For the term καισαρίκιν, designating a type of diadem, see Haldon, *Three Treatises*, p. 278. In this particular context, however, I understand the term καβαλλάριος to indicate the pattern on a caesar's mantle.

4. Objects
   - a imperial silver from the palace (?)
   - b silver repoussé objects from hospitals, homes for the elderly, and city churches
   - c gold and silver objects, some in repoussé, provided by the guild of the *argyropratai*
   - d enamelled objects (χειμευτά) from the palace, and others provided by the guild of the *argyropratai*
   - e decorative artefacts (ἐργομούκια) kept in the chapel of Saint Demetrios and in the Phylax to adorn the compartments of the *pentapyrgion* and Hagia Sophia
   - f the green crown[53] kept in the palace chapel of the Holy Apostles, suspended in the Chrysotriklinos
   - g the blue crown kept in the Pharos Church, suspended in the Chrysotriklinos
   - h the blue crown kept in the palace chapel of Saint Demetrios, suspended in the Chrysotriklinos
   - i eight crowns suspended in the Chrysotriklinos
   - j other(?) crowns displayed in Hagia Sophia on the feast of the Transfiguration

5. Furniture
   - a Arkadios's throne (Chrysotriklinos)
   - b Saint Constantine's throne (Chrysotriklinos)
   - c Theophilos's throne (*triklinos* of Justinian)
   - d two golden beds (Chrysotriklinos)
   - e two silver beams for attaching curtains (? ἱστοπόδια)[54] (Chrysotriklinos)
   - f golden table (Chrysotriklinos, Aristeterion)
   - g *pentapyrgion* (Chrysotriklinos)

[53] The use and variety of imperial crowns, and the symbolism of their colours is discussed in G. Dagron, "Couronnes impériales. Forme, usage et couleur des stemmata dans le cérémonial du X^e siècle," in *Byzantina Mediterranea: Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. K. Belke et al. (Vienna, 2007), pp. 157–74, esp. pp. 168–69.

[54] Featherstone, "Δι' ἔνδειξιν," p. 98, n. 172, suggests a (fixed?) rolling system, such as a warp-beam. However, this interpretation is not etymologically satisfactory and ἱστοπόδιον more likely refers to an upright, fixed pole. The curtain might well have been raised using a cable activated by a pulley.

6. Vessels
   - a the set of silver vessels in repoussé of the Karianos, used as tableware in the *triklinos* of Justinian, suspended in the Chrysotriklinos,[55] and comprising
     - 1 large platters
     - 2 medium plates
     - 3 112 small plates
   - b three gold platters, suspended in front(?) of the *histopodia* in the Chrysotriklinos
   - c silver washing sets in repoussé (χερνιβόξεστα)
   - d two golden bowls (σκουτέλλια) encrusted with precious stones and containing *miliaresia* given to the delegates from Tarsus
   - e enamelled bowls (σκουτέλλια χειμευτά) encrusted with precious stones and containing *miliaresia* given to the delegates from Tarsus

7. Musical instruments[56]
   - a the imperial golden organ (Magnaura and Chrysotriklinos)
   - b the silver organs of the Factions (Magnaura, Chrysotriklinos, *triklinos* of Justinian
   - c wind instruments (*triklinos* of Justinian)

8. Plants
   - a rose petals spread on the floor of the great *triklinos* of the Magnaura
   - b laurel and ivy spread on the floors of the *diabatika* (passages or porticoes?)
   - c laurel crowns and crosses on the balustrades and around the columns of the corridors and passages

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[55] According to the reconstruction of the Chrysotriklinos, advanced by Featherstone, "The Chrysotriklinos," pp. 847 and 848 (C. Mango's sketch), the vault windows and the cornice openings were situated in the upper and upper-middle zone of the building. The reflections from the shiny silver vessels would thus have provided supplementary light and sparkle to the space.

[56] On the organ in the imperial court, see N. Maliaras, *Die Orgel im byzantinischen Hofzeremoniell des 9. und des 10. Jahrhunderts. Eine Quellenuntersuchung* (Munich, 1991); see also idem, *Βυζαντινά μουσικά όργανα* (Athens, 2007), pp. 267–432 and 573 (pls. 197–98) for the organ, pp. 290–99, 311–17, 321–22 for the wind instruments, and pp. 347–48 for the musical instruments related to Olga's receptions.

d seasonal flowers on the balustrades and around the columns of the corridors and passages

e myrtle and rosemary spread on the floors of the emperor's apartments (οἰκειότερα)

f rose petals, myrtle, and rosemary spread on the floor of the Chrysotriklinos

9. Floor coverings

a luxurious Persian silk rugs (? ἁπλώματα περσικὰ πολύτιμα) on the ground of the *anadendradion* of the Magnaura and the platform (πούλπιτον) leading to the great *triklinos* of the Magnaura

b purple silks (ὀξέα δινίσια βλαττία) on the platform of the *triklinos* of Justinian

APPENDIX 2

A NOTE ON THE AFTER-DINNER TREAT (MONDAY, 31 MAY 946)

For the ambassadors of Sayf al-Dawla, Monday, 31 May, was indeed a long day. First, they were granted a magnificent audience at the great *triklinos* of the Magnaura with the emperors. Then they were guided through several buildings and passages to the *triklinos* of Justinian where they changed into new clothes sent by the emperor and received the dignitaries of the court. Later, that same day they dined with the emperors in the Chrysotriklinos.[57] Afterwards, they were escorted back to the *triklinos* of Justinian for the dessert, where they were served

> ... οἰνάνθια (l. οἰνάνθινα?) καὶ ῥοδοστάγματα, γάλαιά τε καὶ λοιπὰ μυριστικά καὶ διὰ τῶν προευτρεπισθέντων ἐκεῖσε ἀναγλύφων χερνιβοξέστων νιψάμενοι καὶ διὰ πολυτίμων χειρομάκτων (l. χειρομάκτρων) ἀπομαξάμενοι καὶ τῶν μυριπνόων καὶ εὐωδῶν σταγμάτων καὶ ἀλημάτων (l. ἀλειμμάτων) ἀφθόνως ἐμπλησθέντες ...[58]

The passage has been translated by Michael Featherstone thus:

> ... vine-blossom and rose-water, and *galaia* and other perfumes. They washed using the hand-basins in repoussé which had been prepared there and dried themselves with handtowels of precious fabric, and anointed themselves abundantly with the sweet and fragrant perfumes and unguents ...[59]

In my view, the translation does not accurately render what was offered to the guests. Indeed, the passage comprises several terms that cannot be easily interpreted, and the translation may confuse the reader. Therefore, I propose the following alternative translation:

> [Seated on stools (σκαμνία) in the *triklinos* of Justinian the Arab guests were presented with an assortment of products. They were treated with]
>
> ... a wild-vine decoction,[60] rose water, *galaion*[61] and other fragrances. Repoussé silver washing sets were prepared for them; they washed and

[57] *De cerimoniis* 2.15, ed. Reiske, pp. 584, l. 15–585, l. 19.
[58] Ibid., p. 586, ll. 2–6.
[59] Featherstone, "Δι᾽ ἔνδειξιν," p. 97.
[60] Dioskorides, *De materia medica* 1.46. and 5.25, ed. M. Wellmann, *Pedanii Dioscuridis nazarbei De materia medica libri quinque, Crateuae, Sextii Nigri Fragmenta, Dioscuridis liber De simplicibus*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1907), pp. 44, l. 20–45, l. 2, and vol. 3 (Berlin, 1914), p. 21, ll. 8–21.
[61] *Galaion* seems to designate a composite fragrance, which may have been used as an alternative to musk: Achmet, *Oneirocriticon* 26, ed. F. Drexl (Leipzig, 1925), p. 19,

> dried themselves with handtowels of high quality, and these (*sc.* the Arab guests) were abundantly filled with those fragrant and sweetly smelling perfumes and ointments ...[62]

Interestingly enough, the Russian dignitaries, who escorted Olga and had dinner with the emperor at the Chrysotriklinos,[63] were not offered a comparable treat of fragrances. Instead, they were invited to have dessert in the Aristeterion with Olga, her female escorts, and the imperial family. Could this alternative be an indication of the way ceremonies were adapted to the different traditions of foreign guests?

ll. 3–6: Ἐκ τῶν Ἰνδῶν περὶ μόσχου καὶ συνθέτου εὐοσμίας. Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κατ᾽ ὄναρ ὅτι ἠλείψατο μόσχῳ ἢ γαλαίῳ πρὸς τὸ εὐωδεῖν.... The dream is auspicious for both the king and common people.

[62] The ritual was repeated after the dinner of the Tarsiotes in the *triklinos* of Justinian, on 9 August (*De cerimoniis* 2.15, ed. Reiske, p. 592, ll. 15–17); cf. Featherstone, "Δι᾽ ἔνδειξιν," p. 103.

[63] *De cerimoniis* 2.15, ed. Reiske, p. 597, ll. 7–10.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

TENTED CEREMONY: EPHEMERAL PERFORMANCES UNDER THE KOMNENOI

Margaret Mullett

Studies of Byzantine ceremony focus almost exclusively on the court in Constantinople. Yet campaigning emperors spent as much or more time away from Constantinople than in it, and some of that time was spent under canvas. Can anything be said about the ceremony of the court on campaign? This chapter will concentrate largely on the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with tenth-century prescriptive texts, and insights from outside the empire as well as from within.

Tents in the Texts

The Comnenian emperors were no strangers to this idea of a mobile court. As Emperor John II says in Niketas Choniates, "I remained but little in the palace. Nearly my whole life was lived out of a tent, and I have always diligently sought the open air."[1] We think of him as a soldier-emperor, travelling with his army. But what we might forget is that with the emperor went his household; he travelled *panoiki.*[2] The Anonymous *On Tactics* has it all laid out:

> The imperial tent should be pitched in the middle with a courtyard around it. Let an empty space be marked off large enough to allow the men remaining on duty at night to move about and to allow people to enter the courtyard during the day. Outside this space off to the left the tent of the protovestiarios would be pitched and to the right of it the epi tes trapezes. Behind the tent of the protovestiarios should be that of the guard and then

[1] Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J. L. van Dieten, 2 vols., Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 11 (Berlin and New York, 1975), p. 43; *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. H. Magoulias (Detroit, 1984), p. 25.

[2] Nicholas Kataskepenos, *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ μερικὴ θαυμάτων διήγησις τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κυρίλλου τοῦ Φιλεώτου* 47.1 (hereafter Kataskepenos, *VCyrilPhil*), ed. E. Sargologos, *La vie de saint Cyrille le Philéote, moine byzantine (+1110)*, Subsidia Hagiographica 39, (Brussels, 1964), p. 225.

> in order the chamberlains, the hebdomaries and the rest of those engaged in the personal service of the emperor. In this way the three sections, the right, the left and the west will be filled up. Then on the side to the east, in front of the courtyard, erect the archontareion. In front of this the officers in charge of the stable should be stationed, along with the imperial horses. The manglavitai, in turn should be placed to the left, in front of the tent of the protovestiarios. Farther east off to the right are the pantheotai of the epi tes trapezes. The proximos and the count of the trumpets would be stationed with the manglavitai. The doukatores should be located with the proximos or with someone else in who the holy emperor has full confidence. After the officers of the stable and the constables are situated, then the great hetaireia should encamp to the east. To the north the logothete of the great hetaireia, the protasekretis and their subordinates should encamp. To their south should be the officers of the Imperial Men.[3]

Constantine Porphyrogennetos tells us what had to be brought on campaign by the *minsourator*. For a start, two pavilions[4] and double the number of tents, so that, within the empire at least, an advance party can get ahead and set up.

> The minsourator must also have folding benches, long enough for three men to sit on each; likewise folding tables of the same length, utensils and napkins sufficient for the imperial table; also thick tufted rugs for reclining upon; thick and thin double-bordered cushions for reclining on [...] other flax-blue cushions with their pile combed up, each of 30 pounds, for invited guests, and goats' hair mats in accordance with the numbers of invited guests. When the emperor marches into Syria [...] the minsourator also brings a Turkish bath called in Scythian tzerga with a hide cistern of red leather, 12 3-measure pitchers. 12 grates for the bath, bricks for the hearth, folding couches, an imperial chapel with sacred furniture—note that the primikerios of the vestiarion should transport the latter.[5]

This does not include food, vessels encased in purple leather, robes, gift-robes, or books (liturgy, military manuals, siegecraft, histories, an *oneirokritikon*, a book of chances and occurrences, weather-lore, treatise on thunder, treatise on earthquakes). There were to be eight silver coolers for scented wine, rose-water and water, copper pails, sacred vessels for the chapel, a medicine chest of theriac, serapium juice, antidotes against

[3] *Three Byzantine Military Treatises: Text, Translation and Notes*, ed. and trans. G. T. Dennis, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 25, Dumbarton Oaks Texts 9 (Washington, D.C., 1985), pp. 250–52.

[4] The word is "κόρτη". "Tent" renders "τέντα", usually synonymous with "σκηνή".

[5] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, Text C, ed. and trans. J. F. Haldon, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 28 (Vienna, 1990), pp. 104–6.

poisons, oils and unguents and ointments, two chairs for the cortege, chairs for the chamberpot (metal gilded with beaten gold, plus two silver equivalents for guests), chalices, swords, perfumes, incense, mastic, frankincense, sugar, saffron, musk, amber, bitter aloes, cinnamon; silken sheets, linen blankets, towels, patchworks covers, and towels.[6]

Tents in general figure in the *taktika*. Where to place them, how to organise them (rations in the middle of the tent, spears in the ground right at their feet), where the captain's awning goes on a boat, who should share tents (a file should eat and sleep and prepare to die together). In the *taktika* of Leo VI the strategos has his own entourage including the domestic of the theme and the *komes tes kortes autou*, the count of his tent.[7]

Tents, eastern and western, also figure in representations of warfare, notably in the *Madrid Skylitzes*, a Sicilian view of what eastern and western tents might look like. As so often in this manuscript, tents participate in a formulaic set piece: no siege is complete without the tents of the besieging army.[8] Another formula is of diplomatic exchange, so the letter-exchange between Caliph al-Maʾmūn and the emperor Theophilos starts and ends in a tent.[9] But we also have a sense of the social world of a camp. We see tents in the context of a camp.[10] We see courtly retinues in a camp.[11] And we see ritual activity in camp with tents, for example Byzantine soldiers taking an oath before battle.[12] Events play out inside tents, hard though it is to represent, so Romanos Argyros receives Arab envoys from Aleppo at Azazion (Aʿzāz), and in 873 the Arab sultan besieging Benevento and Capua interrogates a messenger.[13]

And in the richer narratives of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, tents also house major events. The account in Michael Psellos's *Chronographia*

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[6] Ibid., pp. 106–8.

[7] Leo VI, *The Taktika of Leo VI* 4.32, ed. G. T. Dennis, Dumbarton Oaks Texts 12 (Washington, D.C., 2010), p. 55.

[8] Like those of Nikephoros Phokas at Crete, fol.140r, see V. Tsamakda, *The Illustrated Chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid* (Leiden, 2002), fig. 339, and Mopsuestia, fols. 151r and 151v, Tsamakda, *Illustrated Chronicle*, figs. 381–82; Carthaginian Arabs besiege Messina, fol. 214r, Tsamakda, *Illustrated Chronicle*, fig. 507, and Byzantines besiege Chelidonion, fol. 229r, Tsamakda, *Illustrated Chronicle*, fig. 543.

[9] Fol. 75v, Tsamakda, *Illustrated Chronicle*, fig. 184.

[10] Fol 217r, Tsamakda, *Illustrated Chronicle*, fig. 512.

[11] Fol. 11r bottom, Tsamakda, *Illustrated Chronicle*, fig. 4.

[12] Fol. 121r, Tsamakda, *Illustrated Chronicle*, fig. 281.

[13] Fol. 201v, Tsamakda, *Illustrated Chronicle*, fig. 479; fol. 92r top, Tsamakda, *Illustrated Chronicle*, fig. 217.

of the embassy to Isaac I Komnenos and the transition to power is seen entirely in terms of Psellos and his fellow ambassadors entering tents.[14]

> One after another the leaders of his army came up and addressed us in the pleasantest manner. Kissing our head and hands, they protested with tears that although they wore on their brows the garlands of victory they were weary of shedding the blood of fellow-countrymen and of bringing destruction upon their kinsfolk. Then putting us in their midst they escorted us to the tent of their general (for he too was encamped there, like us, in the open air). After dismounting themselves they made us do likewise and bade us wait outside. Permission was then given for us to enter the tent alone, for the sun had already gone down and Isaac was unwilling to allow a big assembly in the imperial tent.[15]
>
> He greeted us as we came in, seated on a high throne, with a small bodyguard in attendance. He was dressed not so much like an emperor as a general. He rose slightly as we entered and told us to sit. No questions were asked about the purpose of our visit but after a few brief remarks in explanation of his own campaign, and after sharing a drink with us, he allowed us to retire to our own tents, which had been pitched very near his. We went out in amazement.[16]

But this was only the beginning. Isaac was about to up the stakes considerably.

> While we were engaged in these discussions, day broke and the sun crept up over the horizon and was up in the sky, shining brightly. But it was not long before the leading counselors arrived and summoned us to his presence. [...] We found him in a bigger tent this time, big enough for an army and its mercenary forces as well. Outside and all around stood a great multitude of men, not at ease or mingled together but drawn up in ranks in a series of concentric circles with a short interval between each group. Some were armed with swords, others with the heavy iron romphaia, others with lances. Not a sound was heard from any of them. [...] when we had drawn near, the captain of the emperor's personal bodyguard told us to stand at the entrance while he himself went inside the tent. After a short pause he came out again, and without a single word to us, threw open the tent door, suddenly. The sight that met our eyes within was astonishing. It was so unexpected, and truly it was an imperial spectacle, capable of overawing anyone. First our ears were deafened by the roars of the army, but their voices were not all raised at once: the front rank acclaimed him first, then the second took up

[14] Michael Psellos, *Chronographia* 7.20–25, ed. and trans. E. Renauld, *Michel Psellos Chronographie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1926), 2:94–98; tr. E. R. A. Sewter, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: The Chronographia of Michael Psellus* (Harmondsworth, 1966), pp. 286–90.

[15] Psellos, *Chronographia* 7.20, ed. Renauld, 2: 94; trans. Sewter, pp. 286–87.

[16] Psellos, C*hronographia* 7.21, ed. Renauld, 2:94–95; trans. Sewter, p. 287.

the cry, then the next rank and so on. Each rank uttered its own cry with a different intonation from the rest. Then after the last circle had shouted there was one united roar which hit us almost like a clap of thunder.[17]

When they eventually became quiet, they gave us leisure to observe what was inside the tent, for we had not immediately entered when the door was thrown open, but stood at some distance waiting for the signal to go in. I will describe the scene. The emperor himself was seated on a couch decorated with two head rests. The couch was raised on a high platform and overlaid with gold. Under his feet was a stool. A magnificent robe gave him an air of great distinction. Very proudly he held up his head and puffed out his chest while his eyes, with the far away gaze showed plainly that he was thinking profoundly and wholly given up to his own meditations. Then the fixed gaze relaxed, and it was as if he had come from troubled deeps to the calm of some heaven. All around him were circles on circles of warriors.[18]

In *Timarion*, Romanos Diogenes is envisaged as groaning in his tent.

> I stole quietly up to the tent like a thief and peeked through the entrance flap to see what was inside and who it was making that deep and melancholic moaning. Lying there on the ground was a man whose eyes had been gouged out with iron. He was propped up on his left side and elbow with a Spartan rug spread out under him. He was a big-framed individual, sinewy rather than fleshy with a broad chest [...] Another old man squatted beside him, trying to lighten the great burden of his suffering with conversation and words of encouragement. But he appeared not to want to listen, constantly shaking his head and pushing the old man away with his hand, whilst all the time poison kept oozing down from his mouth.[19]

In *Digenes Akrites* the Emir is presented as being based in his tent on a high inlaid throne with hosts of men around him.[20] The brothers searching for their sister are told to "search the tents" and then to come to his tent. They lift up the flap, find a couch strewn with gold, and on it the girl.[21] But tents are not regarded as Arab equipment only, though the description serves to indicate the standing and wealth of the Emir. Digenes has his own tent, a wedding present from the *strategos*, the Kore's father,

17 Psellos, *Chronographia* 7.22–23, ed. Renauld, 2:95–96; trans. Sewter, pp. 287–88.
18 Michael Psellos, *Chronographia* 7.24–25, ed. Renauld, 2:96–98; trans. Sewter, pp. 288–89.
19 Pseudo Luciano, *Timarione, Testo critico, introduzione, traduzione, commentario e lessico* 20, ll. 514–28, ed. and trans. R. Romano, Byzantina et Neohellenica Neapolitana 2 (Naples, 1974), p. 68; *Timarion, Translated with Introduction and Commentary*, B. Baldwin (Detroit, 1984), p. 56.
20 *Digenis Akritis* 1.93–96, ed. and trans. E. Jeffreys, Cambridge Medieval Classics 7 (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 8–9.
21 Ibid., 1.310–12, pp. 20–21.

> A beautiful tent, very large, embroidered with gold
> Decorated with multiform shapes of animals
> And the ropes were of silk and the poles of silver.[22]

And when he and the Kore are living on the frontier, they live in their tent, two serving girls in another and his *agouroi* in a third.[23] 6.15–44 describes how they arrive in a meadow, put up the tent and a couch, arrange plants around it, with peacocks, parrots, and swans, how they burn spices around their bed and sprinkle rosewater upon it.[24] The Kore spots the Philopappous gang arriving and runs to the tent to warn Digenes; he goes to the tent to change before his duel with Maximou.[25] This life coexists with his settled life at the great palace on the Euphrates and the porphyry tomb. An indicator of the balance of power in the *Integrierte Fürstenspiegel* (Emperor's visit) episode might be that the emperor has a throne but no tent is mentioned.

In the *Alexiad*, the emperor most certainly has a tent. Alexios's court was characteristically one on the move. Alexios was a campaigning emperor, and it was important for him to be seen as a campaigner, who did not use a looking glass or go to the baths and come out looking like a bridegroom.[26] There is a wonderful description of his army on the march in his last Turkish campaign

> On the way to Iconium he marched in a disciplined way, keeping in step to the sound of the flute, so that an eyewitness would have said the whole army, although it was in motion, was standing immobile and when it was halting was on the march. In fact, the serried ranks of close locked shields and marching men gave the impression of immovable mountains; and when they changed direction the whole body moved like one huge beast, animated and directed by one single mind. When the emperor reached Philomelion after rescuing prisoners everywhere from the Turks, the return journey was made slowly, in a leisurely way and at an ant's pace with the captives, women and children and all the booty in the centre of the column. Many of the women were pregnant and many men were suffering from

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22 Ibid., 4.908–10, pp. 120–21.

23 Ibid., 4.960–63, pp. 122–23.

24 Ibid., 6.15–44, pp. 152–55.

25 Ibid., 6.133–43, pp. 160–61; 6.522–24, pp. 182–83.

26 M. Mullett, "The Imperial Vocabulary of Alexios I Komnenos," in *Alexios I Komnenos, 1. Papers*, ed. M. Mullett and D. Smythe, Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations 4.1 (Belfast, 1996), pp. 359–87 at pp. 388–89; issues of masculinity are addressed in M. Mullett, "Bohemond's Biceps: Male Beauty and the Female Gaze in Anna's *Alexiad*," in *Byzantine Masculinities*, ed. D. C. Smythe, Studies in Byzantine Cultural History 1 (Aldershot), forthcoming.

> disease. When a woman was about to give birth the emperor ordered a trumpet to sound and everybody halted; the whole army at once stopped wherever it happened to be. And hearing that a child had been born he gave the general order to advance by another and unusual trumpet blast.[27]

When someone dies, the column waits for burial; at meal-times

> All women and men who were worn out with sickness or old age were invited to the emperor's table; most of his rations were set before them and he incited his retinue to follow his example in giving.

Interestingly the meal was without music:

> It was a veritable banquet of the gods with no musical instruments, no flutes no drums no music at all to disturb the feasters.[28]

And the Augousta went too.

> She took what money she had in gold or in other precious metal and certain other personal possessions when she left the capital. Afterwards on the journey she gave liberally to all beggars, clad in goat's hair cloaks or naked; no one who asked went away empty-handed. And when she arrived at the tent set apart for her and went inside it was not to lie down at once and rest, but she opened it all up and the mendicants were allowed free access. To such persons she was very approachable and showed herself ready to be both seen and heard. Nor was it money alone that she gave to the poor; she also dispensed excellent advice.[29]

Interestingly Zonaras's account allowed Michael Angold to deduce that she went along because Alexios did not want to leave her in Constantinople to plot, a precedent for a later journey of the *Sebastokratorissa* with Manuel I.[30]

Some events happen in tents by design. For example, in February 1094 Alexios was staying at Pentegostis near Serres with the co-emperor Constantine Doukas enjoying the cold drinkable water, apartments large enough to receive an emperor as guest, baths and banquets in Constantine's

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[27] Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 15.7.1–2, ed. B. Leib, 3 vols. (Paris, 1937–1945), 3:213–14, ed. D. Reinsch and A. Kambylis, 2 vols., Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 40/1–2 (Berlin, 2001); *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (Harmondsworth, 1969), p. 491.

[28] Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 15.7.2, ed. Leib, 3:213–14, ed. Reinsch, pp. 481–82, trans. Sewter, pp. 491–92.

[29] Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 12.3.9, ed. Leib, 3:63–64, ed. Reinsch, pp. 367–68, trans. Sewter, pp. 377–78.

[30] John Zonaras, *Epitome historion* 18.26.4; 26.9, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1897), 3:752–53; M. Angold, "Alexios I Komnenos: An afterword," in *Alexios I Komnenos*, pp. 404–5. For the *sebastokratorissa* see below at n. 104.

country house. Nikephoros Diogenes was caught on the verge of undertaking a coup. He fled to Christopolis, to one of the estates of the ex-*basilissa* (Maria of Alania), having the cheek to ask her son the co-emperor for the loan of a horse. And Alexios dealt with the crisis. His brother Adrian was entrusted with the interrogation of Diogenes in his tent; and Alexios called a general meeting in his, imperial, tent.

> All his relatives, by blood or marriage, were present (those that is who were really devoted to him) and all the family servants. When the sun peeped over the horizon and leapt into the sky in glory all those members of the imperial retinue not infected with Diogenes's pollution led the procession to his tent; some wore swords, others carried spears, others had heavy iron axes on their shoulders. At some distance from the throne they arranged themselves in a crescent-shaped formation, embracing him as it were in outstretched arms. Near the throne stood the emperor's relatives, and to right and left were grouped the armour bearers. Alexios, looking formidable, took his seat, dressed rather as a soldier than an emperor. Because he was not a tall man he did not tower over the rest but it was an impressive sight, for gold overlaid his throne and there was gold above his head.[31]

Anna's concern for body language in the emperor's court in the imperial tent is matched only by Bohemond's anxieties as she describes them in the talks about talks before the treaty of Devol in 1108.

> "I ask for a full assurance that my reception by the emperor will be in no way dishonourable; that six stades before I reach him his closest blood relatives will come to meet me; that when I have approached the imperial tent, at the moment when I open its door, the emperor shall rise from his throne to receive me with honour; moreover I ask that the emperor shall take my hand and set me at the place of honour; that I shall after making my entrance with two officers shall be completely excused from having to bend my knee or bow my head to him as a mark of respect." The envoys listened. They refused his demand that the emperor should rise from his throne, saying that it was presumptuous. The request that he should not kneel or bow to the emperor was also vetoed. On the other hand they accepted that some of the emperor's distant relatives should go a reasonable distance to meet and escort him when he was about to enter the emperor's presence, as a ceremonial mark of respect; he could moreover, enter with two officers; also (and this was important) the emperor would take his hand and seat him in the place of honour.[32]

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[31] Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 9.9.2, ed. Leib, 2:181, ed. Reinsch, p. 277, trans. Sewter, p. 287.

[32] Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 13.9.4, ed. Leib, 3:118–19, ed. Reinsch, pp. 408–9, trans. Sewter, p. 419.

This measured diplomatic compromise is rather different from the vision of St. Cyril Phileotes, as described by his hagiographer Nicholas Kataskepenos.

> When the most pious and all-blessed emperor lord Alexios went out with God to wage war on the Franks, I mean that arrogant and boastful Bohemond, and some were saying that the emperor would defeat him and some were saying that he would retrieve victory, I was sitting with the holy man, and said to him: "Abba, who is in truth worthy to know how this present campaign of the emperor's will turn out?" And he said, "The worthiness and the truth are God's, but some days ago I saw this, whether it came from God or from demons, and I'll tell you. After I finished my nightly doxology, having the custom of remembering the emperors in my prayer, I the unworthy, I began to offer a supplication to God with tears and pain of my soul for him. And who is it who does not pray for such a man? And so saying the trisagion and completing my psalm, 'The emperor shall joy in thy strength, O Lord', sitting on my rush mat, continuing, as is natural, to preoccupy myself with him. I fell asleep for a little and I saw that I was marching/travelling into a place which was level and all lit up. And looking around me, I see on my right hand an imperial tent with the shape of a church, and a crowd of soldiers around it, and inside the emperor sitting on a high and imperial throne. Looking around, on the left hand side I see a terrible sea with many little boats on it being smashed and cast up against the shore. And there was there lying down a huge dog, black, having blood-red eyes looking towards the emperor. There was some dignitary holding him tied up with a chain. Then I saw after a little the same brilliant soldier violently dragging the dog and going up, throwing him at the feet of our most blessed emperor. And as it seems to me this is how he will subject him. And with God's help this is what happened. But this is how it was."[33]

Diplomatic body-language is also at stake in Niketas Choniates's account of the passage of the Third Crusade in 1189, when Frederick Barbarossa's expedition at Philippopolis took exception to the emperor's treatment of their envoys

> When the emperor was finally persuaded to let the envoys return to the king, and the king saw them and learned that the emperor had not offered them seats but that they had been made to stand before him in the same servile fashion as the Romans and furthermore that they had not been considered worthy, as bishops or relatives of the king, of any special benefit, he was vexed and cut to the quick. When our own envoys came to him, he compelled both them and their servants to sit beside him, forbidding even

[33] Kataskepenos, *VCyrilPhil* 36, ed. Sargologos, p. 154.

> the cook or grooms or bakers to stand to the side. When they protested that it was not right and proper that servants should sit with a mighty emperor (for it is sufficient that their lords should sit in council with him) he would not back down even a little from his purpose and, against their will, he sat them down with their masters. He did this to mock the Romans and show that there was no distinction among them in virtue or family, but just as the swineherds herd all the hogs into a sty without separating the fat ones and allow them all to mingle, in like manner all the Romans stood together.[34]

Tents are the venue for very undiplomatic events, as well, like the coup of Alexios Angelos in 1195 which allowed Alexios Angelos to have himself acclaimed emperor by the conspirators while his brother was three stades away from the tent hunting.[35]

All this we knew. Tents were essential equipment for war, an essential backdrop for events of state. But what we might perhaps have overlooked is their courtly role.

The Tent and the Court

It has long been thought that the court culture of the Komnenoi reflects their military life both before they rose to power and the frequency of the emperor's absence on campaign during their reigns. Some change in court culture was certainly visible in Constantinople: the predominance of members of the Komnenos family, Anna's stress on the change in the court under her grandmother Anna Dalassene as becoming more like a monastery.[36] Similarly the move from the Great Palace to the Blachernai palace which was the single most significant change in Comnenian court culture has been interpreted as a Kastamonu[37] in the City, a castle rather than a palace.[38] Simultaneously it became clear that, as the emperor was a campaigning emperor, certain courtly and ceremonial functions travelled

[34] Niketas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, p. 410, trans. Magoulias, p. 225.

[35] Niketas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, pp. 450–51, trans. Magoulias, p. 247.

[36] Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 3.8.2, ed. Leib, 1:125, ed. Reinsch, p. 105, trans. Sewter, pp. 120–21.

[37] On the ancestral home of the Komnenoi, see J. Crow, "Alexios Komnenos and Kastamon: Castles and Settlement in Middle Byzantine Paphlagonia," in *Alexios I Komnenos*, pp. 12–36.

[38] S. Runciman, "Blachernae Palace and its Decoration," in *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice*, ed. G. Robertson and G. Henderson (Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 277–83, at pp. 278–79.

with him so that camps and tents have to be taken into account as well as built structures in the way that we characterize that court culture.

Byzantine court culture[39] was unlike other courtly societies in its strong sense of *taxis* but also of an open meritocracy,[40] in its early development of a city-based bureaucracy,[41] in its lack of a tightly restricted textual community,[42] in any sense of *courtoisie*,[43] but above all in the strong role of Constantinople.[44] It was like other medieval court societies[45] in its espousal of hunting,[46] jousting,[47] but also of polo and chariot-racing,[48]

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[39] For all that follows, see H. Maguire, ed., *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, (Washington, D.C., 1997); R. Morris, "Beyond the *De ceremoniis*," in *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference*, ed. C. Cubitt, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 3 (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 235–54; L. Rodley, "The Byzantine Court and Byzantine Art," *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 255–73; M. Mullett, "Did Byzantium Have a Court Literature?," in *The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture. Papers from the Second International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*. Istanbul 21–23 June 2010, ed. A. Ödeken, N. Necipoğlu and E. Akyürek (Istanbul, 2013), pp. 173–82.

[40] For a view of court society as a means of controlling elites, see N. Elias, *The Court Society* (Oxford, 1983), and critique in J. Duindam, *Myths of Power: Norbert Elias and the Early Modern Court* (Amsterdam, 1994), pp. 1–34. For social mobility in Byzantium, see H. Ahrweiler, "Recherches sur le société byzantine au Xie siècle: nouvelles hierarchies et nouvelles solidarités," *Travaux et Mémoires* 6 (1976), 99–124; J. Haldon, "Social Elites, Wealth, and Power," in *A Social History of Byzantium*, ed. J. Haldon (Oxford, 2009), pp. 168–211.

[41] Fr. Carl von Moser, *Teutsches Hof-Recht*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1754–55), and discussion in J. Adamson, *The Princely Courts of Europe* (London, 1999), p. 10. For the development of Byzantine bureaucracy, see J. Haldon, "Structure and Administration," in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. E. Jeffreys with J. Haldon and R. Cormack (Oxford, 2008), pp. 539–53.

[42] J. L. Nelson, "Was Charlemagne's Court a Courtly Society?," in *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 39–58, at pp. 49–50; for the literacy of the bureaucracy, see R. McKitterick, *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe* (Cambridge, 1990); C. Holmes and J. Waring, eds., *Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond*, (Leiden, 2002).

[43] C. S. Jaeger, *Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939–1210* (Philadelphia, 1990).

[44] P. Magdalino, "In Search of the Byzantine Courtier: Leo Choirosphaktes and Constantine Manasses," in *Byzantine Court Culture*, pp. 141–65.

[45] For comparisons with what follows, see *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages*, the publications of the International Courtly Literature Society, e.g. E. Mullally and J. Thompson, eds., *The Court and Cultural Diversity*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1997); M. Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe* (Oxford, 2001).

[46] H. Maguire, "Gardens and Parks in Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000), 251–64.

[47] L. Jones and H. Maguire, "A description of the Jousts of Manuel I Komnenos," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 26 (2002), 104–48.

[48] A. Bryer, "Byzantine Games," *History Today* 17 (1967), 453–59.

feasting[49] and bathing (or not bathing),[50] its residential court, the *oikos*,[51] with the coexistence of departments of government,[52] as a venue of ceremonial.[53] The way in which rulers tried to control elites through preferment,[54] the existence of aristocratic competition,[55] the practice of a shared ritual,[56] the locus of decision-making[57] can be seen in Byzantium as in other courts. But its similarity is also precisely because it was for a large part of the year on the move.[58]

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[49] L. Brubaker and K. Linardou, eds., *Eat, Drink, and Be Merry (Luke 12:19): Food and Wine in Byzantium. Papers of the 37th Annual Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, in honour of Professor A. A. M. Bryer*, Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies 13 (Aldershot, 2003); W. Mayer and S. Trzcionka, eds., *Feast, Fast or Famine: Food and Drink in Byzantium*, Byzantina Australiensia 15 (Brisbane, 2005); S. Malmberg, *Dazzling Dining: Banquets as an Expression of Imperial Legitimacy* (Uppsala, 2003).

[50] A. Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 27 (Munich, 1982); P. Magdalino, "The Bath of Leo the Wise and the 'Macedonian Renaissance' Revisited: Topography, Iconography, Ceremonial, Ideology," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 42 (1988), 99–118; on not bathing, Mullett, "Imperial vocabulary," pp. 388–89.

[51] P. Magdalino, "The Byzantine Aristocratic Oikos," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX–XIII Centuries*, ed. M. Angold, BAR International Series 221 (Oxford, 1984), pp. 92–111.

[52] J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century with a Revised Text of the Kletorologion of Philotheos* (Oxford, 1911).

[53] A. Cameron, "The Construction of Court Ritual: The Byzantine *Book of Ceremonies*," in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. D. Cannadine and S. Price (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 137–80; *Travaux et Mémoires* 13 (2000).

[54] P. Lemerle, "Roga et rente d'état au Xᵉ–Xiᵉ siècle," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 25 (1967), 77–100.

[55] P. Magdalino, "Byzantine Snobbery," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, pp. 58–78.

[56] Book 1, chapters 1–46 (37) of the tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies* of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos are arrangements for processions, feasts, and acclamations for Christmas, Epiphany, Palm Sunday and Holy Week, Easter and Easter Week, Ascension, Pentecost, St. Elijah, St. Demetrios, St. Basil, the Elevation of the Cross and the unity of the church, ed. A. Vogt, *Constantin Porphyrogénète, Le livre des cérémonies*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Paris, 1967), 1:1–179.

[57] For decision-making, see Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, 3.8.2, ed. Leib, 1:125, ed. Reinsch, p. 105, trans. Sewter, pp. 120–21 on Anna Dalassene's court, which had set times for everything.

[58] Not all emperors were campaigning emperors, and those who were not tended not to move very much, but the Komnenoi did. On the move, who moves? Text B envisages the *sakellarios*, *protovestiarios, minsourator* and *domestikos tes ypourgias, komes tou stablou* and *logothetes ton agelon* as preparing to travel. (*Three Treatises*, Text B and Text C) envisages the *epi tes trapezes, domestikos tes ypourgias, oikeiakos basilikos kellarios*, the *minsourator*, the *pronotarios*, the *protovestiarios, sakellarios, eidikos*, imperial eunuchs including *protospatharioi*, *magistroi,* and *patrikioi,* as travelling. There are twelve *koitonitai*, forty table attendants, two-hundred men of the *Hetaireia*, two *stablokomites*, forty attendants of saddlehorses, the *saphramentarios*, the *dekanos* (with the imperial documents), four priests, the *droungarios* of the Vigla, the *koubouklion, kandidatoi, spatharioi, domestikos ton scholon, imperial esquires, tent-attendants, hebdomarioi of the eidikon*, cooks, the *protostrator*, the *stablokomes, ethnikoi* attached to the Hetaireia, the *praipositos*, together with

Tents were a standard of medieval court culture, wherever kings campaigned, but also sometimes closer to home. The concept of "movable palaces" or "tents as castle" is found in many court cultures, and the "tent city" amazed travellers to the east in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and inspired imitation even in the British raj.[59] Partly what amazed was size, cities of 20,000 tents,[60] individual tents that could accommodate a hundred or more persons,[61] or the numbers of camels needed to transport a tent;[62] partly it was the luxurious nature of the ephemeral structures. Yet this is not a strange exotic phenomenon, to be discovered by Byzantines and westerners only at the crusades: tents were familiar elements, essential to greater or lesser degrees, in Egyptian,[63] Greek,[64] Ptolemaic,[65] Seleucid,[66] Roman,[67] Achaemenid,[68] Sasanian,[69]

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the *strategos, tourmarchai, merarches, komes* of the tent, *chartoularios* and *domestikos* of the local *thema*.

59 See C. Stone, "Movable Palaces," *Saudi Aramco World*, 61.4 (2010), 36–43; on Timur's tent city, see Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane 1403–1406*, trans. G. le Strange (London, 2009), pp. 238–39; on Queen Victoria's coronation *shamiana* (ceremonial tent) as Empress of India in 1876, see Field Marshal Lord Roberts, "When Queen Victoria Became Empress of India," in *The World's Story: A History of the World in Story, Song and Art*, II: *India, Persia, Mesopotamia, and Palestine*, ed. E. March Tappan (Boston, 1914), pp. 184–90.

60 Stone, "Movable Palaces," 39.

61 Alexander the Great had a marriage tent for one hundred; Ibn Battuta in Morocco saw several hundred men at prayer; Sayf al-Dawlah's held five hundred; Ögedei's trellis tent held a thousand.

62 Six hundred camels in 1673 for the sultan's two campaign tents, A. J. S. Spawforth, "The Court of Alexander the Great between Europe and Asia," in *The Court and Court Society in Ancient Monarchies* (hereafter, *Ancient Monarchies*), ed. A. J. Spawforth (Cambridge, 2007), p. 96.

63 K. Spence, "Court and Palace in Ancient Egypt: The Amarna Period and Later Eighteenth Dynasty," in *Ancient Monarchi*es pp. 267–328, at p. 302.

64 Spawforth, "The Court of Alexander the Great," pp. 82–120, and especially his appendix: *Alexander's State Tents*, pp. 112–20.

65 I. S. Moyer, "Court, Chora and Culture in Late Ptolemaic Egypt," in *Classical Courts and Courtiers*, ed. D. Potter and R. Talbert = *American Journal of Philology* 132.1 (2011), 15–44.

66 See papers, e.g. by L. Capdetrey and P. Ceccarelli, at the conference on "The Hellenistic Court" at Edinburgh in February 2011, to be published by A. Erskine and L. Llewellyn Jones.

67 See papers by J. Patterson and R. Smith in *Ancient Monarchies*, and by D. Potter, G. Sumi, K. Acton, and R. Smith in *Classical Courts and Courtiers*.

68 M. Brosius, "New out of Old? Court and Court Ceremonies in Achaemenid Persia," in *Ancient Monarchies*, pp. 17–57.

69 J. Wiesehofer, "King, Court and Royal Representation in the Sasanian Empire," in *Ancient Monarchies*, pp. 58–81; L. Bier, " 'The Sasanian Palaces and Their Influence'," in *Pre-modern Islamic Palaces*, ed. G. Necipoğlu = *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993), 57–66.

Hunnic,[70] Umayyad,[71] Abbasid,[72] Fatimid,[73] Ayyubid,[74] Seljuq,[75] Safavid,[76] and then especially Mamluk,[77] Mongol,[78] Ilkhanid,[79] Ottoman,[80] and Mughal[81] court societies. The single most impressive use of tents was surely that of Alexander the Great, who appears to have used his father Philip II's hundred-seater dining tent, and elaborated it for use in Persia with more exotic hangings and use as a dining-tent, reception-tent, and wedding-tent to institute new "eastern" ceremonial and state-building to hold together two very different, Persian and Macedonian, constituencies.[82] And, as many commentators have noticed, and we have seen also of Byzantium, he chose to use a tent even when Persian palaces were still standing.[83]

70 See Pohl, above, pp. 67–86.

71 Articles by Stefan Heideman, Hugh Kennedy, and Christian Müller in *Court Cultures in the Muslim World, Seventh to Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. A. Fuess and J.-P. Hartung, SOAS Studies on the Middle East 13 (London, 2011), pp. 30–79, 93–104; O. Grabar, "Umayyad Palaces Reconsidered," in *Pre-modern Islamic Palaces*, pp. 93–102.

72 H. Kennedy, *The Court of the Caliphs: When Baghdad Ruled the Muslim World* (London, 2005), and see p. 143 on Manṣūr's and Mahdī's practice of holding court in a tent inside a built palace; N. M. El Cheik, "Court and Courtiers: A Preliminary Investigation of Abbasid Terminology," in *Court cultures in the Muslim World*, pp. 80–90.

73 P. E. Walker, "Social elites at the Fatimid court," in *Court Cultures in the Muslim World*, pp. 105–22.

74 Papers by Brentjes, Leder, van Hees in *Court Cultures in the Muslim World*, pp. 326–56, 359–69, 370–82.

75 S. Redford, "Thirteenth-Century Rum Seljuq Palaces and Palace Imagery," in *Pre-modern Islamic Palaces*, pp. 219–36.

76 W. Kleiss, "Safavid Palaces," in *Pre-modern Islamic Palaces*, pp. 269–80.

77 A. Fuess, "Between *dihliz* and *dar al-adl*: Forms of Outdoor and Indoor Royal Representation at the Mamluk Court in Egypt," in *Court Cultures in the Muslim World*, pp. 149–67, at pp. 149–59; N. Rabbat, "Mamluk Throne Halls: *Qubba* or *Iwan*?," in *Pre-modern Islamic Palaces*, pp. 201–18; van Steenbergen, above, 227–76.

78 B. O'Kane, "From Tents to Pavilions: Royal Mobility and Persian Palace Design," in *Pre-modern Islamic Palaces*, pp. 249–68, specifically on compromises between nomadic and urban life.

79 S. S. Blair, "The Ilkhanid Palace," in *Pre-modern Islamic Palaces*, pp. 239–48.

80 G. Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1991); B. Özgüven, "Ottoman Encampment and Urban Settlement: A Comparative Evaluation," in *Papers for the Amasya Symposium, 24–27 Sept. 1996* (Ankara, 1998); P. Mansel, "Travelling Palaces," *Halı* (1988), 30–35; N. Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun: The Ottoman Tent Complex* (Istanbul, 2000).

81 E. Orthmann, "Court Culture and Cosmology in the Mughal Empire: Humayun and the Foundations of din-i ilahi," in *Court Cultures in the Muslim World*, pp. 202–20; C. B. Asher, "Sub-imperial Palaces: Power and Authority in Mughal India," in *Pre-modern Islamic Palaces*, pp. 281–95.

82 Spawforth, "The Court of Alexander the Great" and appendix.

83 P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (Winona Lake MN, 2002), p. 258, quoted by Spawforth, "The Court of Alexander the Great," p. 97.

In contrast—though Plutarch, *De cohibenda ira*, 461F, tells the story of Nero's opulent octagonal tent—the emphasis in Rome concentrated on the palatial buildings in the capital rather than military camps on campaign. If Potter and Paterson are right in arguing for the growth of the Roman court out of the Republican aristocratic *domus*, differentiated largely by religious charisma, Sumi's argument for the new political culture of the Principate, grounded in new architecture, strengthens the Roman base.[84] And it is notable that Vespasian, who was similar to Alexios I Komnenos in his inculcation of a new, simpler, more frugal, more military, more relaxed (though unlike him in more open) culture, did not create a dispersed court, no further from the Palatine than the Gardens of Sallust.[85] What we can see, as the Roman court was transformed with the Tetrarchy, was the simultaneous adoption of oriental court styles, and the maintenance of a moving court, which was wherever the tetrarch happened to be. Even with Constantine the contrast between *palatium* (which stayed put) and the *comitatus*/*stratopedon* (which moved) brought the court across the empire, though the tetrarchic legacy of personal palaces survived, creating of Split a *castrum* with audience hall, dining hall, baths, terraced belvedere at least until the end of the fourth century when emperors ceased to be on the move in the same way. It is calculated that six thousand people travelled with the *comitatus*, bringing the imperial treasury and officials as well as the personal household, the palace guard and the "sacred" consistory.[86] But there is no emphasis in the sources on the courtly use of tents in the journeys of Late Roman rulers, nor in that of the Sassanians or (some) Umayyads, though we know of the plunder of royal tents.[87] Hārūn

[84] D. Potter, "Holding Court in Republican Rome," in *Classical Courts and Courtiers*, pp. 59–80; J. Patterson, "Friends in High Places: The Creation of the Court of the Roman Emperor," in *Ancient Monarchies*, pp. 121–56; G. Sumi, "Ceremony and the Emergence of Court Society in the Augustan Principate," in *Classical Courts and Courtiers*, pp. 81–102.

[85] K. Acton, "Vespasian and the Social World of the Roman Court," in *Classical Courts and Courtiers*, pp. 103–24.

[86] R. Smith, "Measures of Difference: The Fourth-century Transformation of the Roman Imperial Court," in *Classical Courts and Courtiers*, pp. 125–51; idem, "The Imperial Court of the Late Roman Empire, c. AD 300–c. AD 450," in *Ancient Monarchies*, pp. 157–232.

[87] *Book of Gifts and Rarities* 6, trans. G. al Hijjawi al-Qaddumi, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs 229 (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), pp. 225–26. Note however that A. Christys, "The Queen of the Franks Offers Gifts to the Caliph al-Muktafi," in *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. W. Davies and P. Fouracre (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 149–70 at p. 164, regards a silk tent sent from Bertha, daughter of Lothar, in 906 to Caliph al-Muktafi as "conventional enough."

al-Rashīd not only himself owned a "pure black silk tent" but also gave a multi-coloured one (as well as the elephant) to Charlemagne.[88]

Tents are not excluded by the existence of luxurious built structures, as could be read into Richard Talbert's contrast between travelling courts in Asia and the way Habsburgs moved between palaces.[89] Louis XIV was only one of many monarchs to adapt tents to a highly sophisticated palace-based court, the Ottomans being the most obvious parallel.[90] And tents maintained a ceremonial function after nomads moved in from the steppe to a settled life: birth,[91] death, feasting and other ritual occasions.[92] Sometimes they were incorporated in built structures, often in a palace garden, important in the public representation of the ruler.[93] Or they massed as a tent city for military expeditions into Syria, or for processions in Cairo to reveal the ruler, or enabled the setting-up of a ceremony ahead of time.[94] Fuess and Hartung suggest that there was a tension in Islamic court societies between nomadic and urban Muslim culture, but Fuess's own account of Baybar's gift (1261) implies that "a Muslim ruler needed a royal tent."[95] And it was often (though not exclusively) when a military ethos prevailed that tents became the locus for courtly activity: hence Saladin's invitations to eat in his tent,[96] but also the arrogance of

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[88] For al- Rashīd's own tent, see *Book of Gifts* 355, trans. al Hijjawi al-Qaddumi, p. 233; for Charlemagne's, see *Annales regni francorum*, ed. F. Kurze, MGH Script. rer. Germ., in usum schol. 6 (Hanover, 1895), p. 123 (s.a. 807).

[89] R. Talbert, "Introduction," in *Classical Courts and Courtiers*, pp. 1–14, at p. 7. I am very grateful to him for a lively discussion on tents and courts, and for the reference to Stone's work.

[90] B. H. Dams and A. Zega, *Pleasure Pavilions and Follies in the Gardens of the Ancien Regime* (New York, 1995), esp. pp. 118–19 and p. 141 for a Chinese tent and a Tartar tent commissioned by the comte d'Artois and François Racine de Monville respectively (subjects followed suit) and the blog, *Noted*, for 7 July, 2011 "Garden Tents," http://architecturalwatercolors.blogspot.com/2011/07/garden-tents.html; Atasoy, *The Ottoman Tent Complex*.

[91] Stone, "Movable Palaces," p. 37, refers to paintings of an eleventh-century Song empress giving birth; the special delivery tent was surrounded by forty-eight smaller ones. Stone notes that the custom of giving birth in a tent survived in Siberia into the twentieth century.

[92] Stone, "Movable Palaces," p. 36; Atasoy, T*he Ottoman Tent Complex*, pp. 16–18.

[93] Fuess, "Between *dihliz* and *dar al-adl*," pp. 149–67; for Abbasid Baghdad and medieval Iran, see D. P. Brookshaw, "Palaces, Pavilions and Pleasure-Gardens: The Context and Setting of the Medieval Majlis," *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6.2 (2003), 199–223.

[94] Fuess, "Between *dihliz* and *dar al-adl*," pp. 149–67; C. Werner, "Taming the Tribal Native: Court Culture and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Shiraz," in *Court Cultures in the Muslim World*, pp. 221–34.

[95] Fuess, "Between *dihliz* and *dar al-adl*," p. 151.

[96] S. Leder, "Royal Dishes: On the Historical and Literary Anthropology of the Near and Middle East," in *Court Cultures in the Muslim World*, pp. 359–69.

his scholar client Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Maṭrān, who set up a tent of the same scarlet as Saladin's but more luxurious.[97] The Byzantines could have been inspired by tales of Alexander's capacious tents, but more likely by Arab tents encountered in the constant warfare on the eastern frontier, when in the tenth century tents and competition were harnessed.

A story is told about Sayf al-Dawlah Abū ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamdān (944–966) who possessed a brocade tent that accommodated five hundred persons. "Once he made a truce with the Byzantine emperor stipulating that he could enter the latter's country with a tent (khaymah) and this was the tent [he brought]."[98] There is no way of knowing whether the tent is the same as the one described in his client al-Mutanabbī's poem, "Your faithfulness is like the abode,"

> Better than the lost freshness of youth altogether,
> is the water of the lightening cloud in a tent upon which I fix my hopes; [i.e. the patron]
>
> Upon it [i.e. the tent] are gardens which no cloud has created [lit. = woven],
> And branches of tree upon which no doves sing;
>
> And upon the margins of every two-sided fabric,
> there is a string of pearls which have not been bored by their arranger;
>
> You see pictures of animals that upon it have come to a truce,
> an enemy fights his opponent, and makes peace with him;
>
> If the wind strikes it, it undulates,
> as if its old horses travel round and its lions stalk pray;
>
> In the picture of the Byzantine with a crown, there is obeisance [lit. = humiliation],
> to the one of shining visage who wears no crowns but his turbans; [the patron, Sayf al-Dawlah]
>
> The mouths of kings kiss [the hem of] his shroud,
> for his sleeve and fingers are too exalted,[99]

97 S. Brentjes, "Ayyubid Princes and their Scholarly Clients from the Ancient Sciences," in *Court Cultures in the Muslim World*, pp. 326–56.

98 *Book of Gifts* 95, trans. al-Qaddumi, p. 113.

99 Al-Mutanabbi, *Ekphrastic Passage describing the Tent of Sayf al-Dawlah*, trans. M. Pomerantz, ll. 18–24 (unpublished), between an opening lament of lost love and youth (ll. 1–18) and a concluding section on praise of the patron (ll. 25–42). For a reading of the poem, *Dīwān al-Mutanabbī* (Beirut, 1994), pp. 256–60, see M. Larkin, *Al-Mutanabbi* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 35–41. I am very grateful to Maurice Pomerantz for allowing me to use his translation, and to him and to Sharon Gerstel and Margaret Larkin for (independently) pointing me in this direction.

but either way, there is no doubt that the Byzantines did not need to wait to be impressed by Ayyubid, Mongol, or Ottoman tents to create their own tently court.

It is worth considering the ways in which this Byzantine movable court resembles that in Constantinople. Does a tent replicate the *oikos* or palace, and the camp with its *cardo* and *decumanus* the city? Or is a tent the microcosm of a reception hall, and a camp the microcosm of a court or palace? In either case—and perhaps the tent encompasses both part and whole—it also entertains a microcosm of ceremony.

In this tent city, in which the *korte* was the palace and *skenai* the equivalent of aristocratic *oikoi*, the emperor was not the only person who held court, or the only focus of ceremony. But that there was a recognizable imperial tent is clear from Psellos's account of the accession of Isaac Komnenos; as well as a crown, exercising power with the emperor, sharing in the appointment to offices, and an amnesty for his supporters, "a special imperial tent will have to be set aside for his use and a noble bodyguard must be allowed for his protection."[100] For the Komnenoi who went on campaign with the head of their family, the emperor, just as they had a family house with perhaps their own monastery,[101] and their own household, so their tents were smaller derivative versions of the emperor's, smaller in that there were limitations on what could be carried in the baggage-train,[102] but no less splendidly.[103] And lesser aristocrats maintained their own *systema* (establishment) as best they could.

Two sets of Byzantine tent poems show us these glamorous mobile palaces in use. In 1994 Michael Jeffreys and Jeffrey Anderson published an article entitled "The decoration of the *sebastokratorissa*'s tent."[104] In

[100] Psellos, *Chronographie*, 7.33, ed. Renauld, 2:103, trans. Sewter, p. 295.

[101] M. Mullett, "Refounding Monasteries in Constantinople under the Komnenoi," in *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, ed. M. Mullett, Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations 6.3 (Belfast, 2007), pp. 366–78, at pp. 368–69, 371–73, 374–77.

[102] For the loads, Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *Three Treatises*, text C, ll. 371–394, ed. Haldon, pp. 118–19.

[103] M. Jeffreys, "Manuel Komnenos' Macedonian Military Camps: A Glamorous Alternative Court?," in *Byzantine Macedonia: Identity, Image and History*, ed. J. Burke and R. Scott, Byzantina Australiensia13 (Melbourne, 2000), pp. 184–91.

[104] Manganeios Prodromos, 145, to the sebastokratorissa, ed. and trans. M. Jeffreys in J. C. Anderson and M. J. Jeffreys, "The Decoration of the Sebastokratorissa's Tent," *Byzantion* 64 (1994), 8–18. See also A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 245, describing it as "mentioning graces, cupids and their like in virtually every line with an almost suffocating effect," and M. Mullett, "Whose Muses? Two Advice Poems Attributed to Alexios I Komnenos," in *La face cachée de la littérature byzantine: le texte en tant que*

it Jeffreys published two poems of Manganeios Prodromos relating to the time when the *sebastokratorissa* Eirene accompanied her brother-in-law Manuel I *eis to taxeidion*, on campaign, and Anderson attempted a reconstruction of her tent.

> *On her tent which had different animals depicted on it*
> My lady, Muse of Muses, akropolis of beauty,
> The porch of your tent is filled with delights.
> Cupids are plucking strings and quietly strumming the kithara,
> Satyrs seem to play, centaurs gambol,
> The Muses join in the dance, the Nereids are leaping,
> Birds fly above, while others hunt
> the golden birds of India which fly together.
> The gold-feathered parrot, jewel of beauty,
> vies with the golden emerald of the peacocks,
> And with those proud birds and the circle of their feathers
> contrasts and makes comparisons together
> with the freshness of the gold upon their backs.
> Cunning foxes, abandoning their wiles,
> devote themselves to the lyre, dance to the kithara.
> Who then could look at this porch and curtain
> and not be amazed, in fact dumbfounded?
> For if the delights in the entrance are so great,
> How great must be the marvel of delight inside the tent,
> She who is absolutely unique and first of the Graces?
> Cupids play outside while inside there are other cupids
> submitting with bent necks on bended knee to their mistress,
> taking on a more servile aspect.
> And thanks be to your brilliance and the virtues that adorn you.
> You were born Cupid of Cupids and Grace of Graces,
> you have become Siren of Sirens, you have proved Muse of Muses.
> You cannot be compared with mortal women.
> I revere you with the Muses, I honour you with the Sirens,
> I do reverence to you with the Graces, I link you with the Hours,
> with Hera, with Thetis, with the immortals.
> Greetings, Grace and Siren and Muse Kalliope![105]

This is a neat and highly structured little poem with quite sophisticated ring composition. The first half deals with the tent, the second with its lady. The poem carefully frames a vision of the Lady in state, a lady attended by immortals and golden birds, by dance and music. She is the lady of

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message immédiat, ed. P. Odorico, Dossiers Byzantins 11 (Paris, 2012), pp. 195–220; eadem, "Reading the Byzantine Tent" forthcoming, for a reading of all four poems.

105 Manganeios Prodromos, *To the Sebastokratorissa*, ed. and trans. Jeffreys, pp. 11–13.

love, Thetis, whose celebrity wedding attracted all the immortals, and the mother of a warrior-hero, but she is also Hera, queen of the Olympians, wife of Zeus. It is a very imperial vision, with the tableau of *proskynesis* at its heart. It is a safe vision, in that it is peopled by the prancing hybrids and scampering cupids who signal frivolity and lack of seriousness in narrative, rhetorical, and satirical texts of the period, but it makes its own claims, perhaps comforting to a lady compelled to accompany the emperor on campaign.

But the poem is one of a pair. And comfort—though perhaps not safeness—disappears if we read the follow-up poem:

> *By the same on the same*
> These tents which are now pitched, whenever I see them
> Lying collapsed on the ground and repositioned,
> I think of the temporary sojourn of human life
> And the mutability of the tent of the earthly body.[106]

Pomp gives way to a proper appreciation for the temporary nature of earthly life and power. Just as Romanos in his *First Nativity* plays off the eternal and earthly aspects of imperial ceremony,[107] as the Magoi with their *systema* bow at the court of a heavenly and eternal king born in temporary accommodation and utter poverty, so the Mangana poet is able to show totally orthodox thinking while converting a punitive exile into a claim of queenship. A retinue or reception of mortals would be a far more dangerous matter to represent in such an imperial poem, and at the same time less daring than the comparison with Hera enabled by the skittish hybrids.

But there is another pair of twelfth-century tent poems, which also has dangerous issues to skirt. Theophylact's poems 11 and 12 are addressed to a most learned Aaron, identified as Radomir Aaron by Gautier. This is again an imperial relative with a possibly seditious past and indeed future, and reception is again the issue.

> 11 *From the archbishop of Bulgaria to the most learned Aaron who received him in his tent*
> Aaron presided over a tent of old,
> a priest covered in blood from sacrifices
> but now a new Aaron has set up his tent,

[106] Manganeios Prodromos, To the Sebastokratorissa, ed and trans. Jeffreys, pp. 12–13.
[107] Romanos, *I Nativity*, X.9.4, ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode, Hymnes* II, Sources Chrétiennes 110 (Paris, 1965), p. 58.

where, summoning all those who need a roof
he offers his philanthropia, a pure sacrifice
which gives life to, rather than killing, those it brings together.
For the Word/learning has given him anointing,
and no one anointed by learning/the Word is a murderer.

12 *Other verses*
Aaron of old took his fleshly origin
From Abraham the hospitable.
Our modern Aaron, who in his own hospitable way
brings everyone together in his tent,
has obtained from Abraham a better place.[108]

Here the first poem plays with the idea of seditious threat, but decides instead for *philanthropia*; the second poem sanitizes the picture, no blood, no sacrifice, and emphasizes even more *philoxenia*, the hospitality of Abraham, and of the modern Aaron who will be rewarded by a place in the bosom of Abraham. It may be, as Anderson suggests for the Mangana poem, that the second poem is designed to be embroidered on the tent, the first to be delivered in the tent.

This might appear to be an area in which Byzantine courts had more in common with other court cultures than in palace or urban ceremonial, but there is also something distinctively Byzantine about the rituals of campaign, where ceremony was just as much at home in a tent as in the grand structures of the City.

Ceremony in Tent and Camp

Campaigns began and ended in Constantinople. We are familiar with the idea of triumph, and of *profectio bellica*, and both of these are firmly rooted in the ceremonial spaces of the City.[109] But in between there was also scope, and indeed need, for ceremony. I am using "ceremony" to indicate what Philippe Buc calls "solemnities" but in a court context. I do not distinguish whether these are transformative or confirmatory in Victor Turner's distinction, or as in Gluckman's distinction, whether they

[108] *Théophylacte d'Achrida: discours, traités, poesies*, ed. P. Gautier, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 16.1 (Thessalonica, 1980), pp. 366–67.

[109] Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *Three Treatises*, Text B, ll. 80–91, ed. and trans. Haldon, pp. 86–89; Text C, ll. 5667–884, ed. and trans. Haldon, pp. 136–51; see M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1987).

are transcendental (religious) or not (half of the supposedly secular *Book of Ceremonies* is about processions on feast days). I include under this both occasions (peace treaty, marriage, preparation for battle, diplomatic embassy) and the building blocks of ceremonial (reception, gift-giving, liturgy, procession, acclamation, feast). I assume encoded formality, invariant (or negotiated) repetition, and performance.[110]

Some ceremony of course could not travel, notably anything which depended on architecture, and more particularly the city-planning of Constantinople. If we look at the *De cerimoniis*, processions to a particular church, hippodrome celebrations, celebrations of the birthday of Constantinople, anything requiring the patriarch or the *augousta* (if she did not travel) and the more elaborate contributions of the Factions (dances) would have been difficult to manage. On the other hand, there were ceremonies specific to the court on campaign: the greeting by the local theme officials of the imperial party, and the dialogue provided: "Well met! How are you? How are my daughters-in-law, your wives, and your children? How did you get on during the march? Strive, soldiers of Christ and my children…"[111] Others, like many of the promotions of the second part of Book 2 of *De cerimoniis*, could be adapted for use away. Some later ceremonies which appeared simply untransferable, like the *prokypsis*, which depended on the concept of a crowd waiting for a revelation, were in fact performed on occasion before a non-Constantinopolitan audience.[112] Yet others might take on a different shape. Procession and the presence of relics and icons on campaign allows for another kind of

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[110] P. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton and Oxford, 2001); V. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaka, N.Y., 1967); M. Gluckman, "On Drama, Games and Athletic Contests," in *Secular Ritual*, ed. S. Moore and B. Myerhoff (Amsterdam, 1977). For useful distinctions between ritual, ceremony, theatre, game, see R. A. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity*, Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology 110 (Cambridge, 1999), at pp. 23–68. As well as Buc's concern about the lack of identity between medieval and modern concepts of *caerimonialia*, see on the difficulties in dealing with Byzantine ceremony—where we have no direct evidence of performance, no evidence of oral interpretation, and only visual and textual evidence, neither of which is innocent—M. McCormick, "Analyzing Imperial Ceremonies," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 35 (1985), 1–20. For a warning against assuming that what is so has always been so, see E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), esp. D. Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the Invention of Tradition, c. 1820–1977," pp. 101–64.

[111] Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *Three Treatises*, Text C, ed. and trans. Haldon, p. 124.

[112] M. Jeffreys, "The Comnenian Prokypsis," *Parergon* n.s. 5 (1987), 38–53; R. Macrides, "Ceremonies and the City: the Court in Fourteenth-century Constantinople," in *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*, ed. J. Duindam, T. Artan, and M. Kunt

ceremony in terms of procession from the familiar routes up and down the Mese; as early as Herakleios texts portray the army in transit more like a religious procession than a march—and there were strict rules for the ordering of these processional armies.[113]

When the army was stationary in camp other transformations of familiar ritual took place. The veneration of relics had a place. In an image in the *Madrid Skylitzes* recounting the Byzantine response to the capture of Adrianople by the Bulgarians in 917, soldiers surrounded by four circular-shaped tents and a mass of kite-shaped shields in turn support a figure on his knees before a portable altar, faced by a cleric pointing to the altar and Leo Phokas and his entourage.[114] Skylitzes says, "the *protopappas* of the palace was sent with the relic of the True Cross, and all men were obliged to venerate it, swearing that they would die for each other";[115] the caption indicates "the *protopappas* of the palace with the holy pieces of wood, preparing the people to swear."[116] Rhetoric had its place, though not in the palace: we have harangues surviving from 950 to praise a successful disbanding defensive force and from 958 to inspire a large expeditionary force, both against Sayf ad-Dawla. They were in the name of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, without any sense of occasion or setting.[117] Perhaps a tent setting would be difficult to manage, but hymns and services[118] are attested, and so from Constantine on are church-tents like the "imperial chapel with sacred furniture" in Text C,[119] or of course the two most famous gift-tents: the scarlet one in Joinville with gospel imagery that St. Louis sent to the Tartars, and the one decorated with scenes from hagiography in Pachymeres, which Michael VIII sent with his illegitimate

(Leiden, 2011), p. 234 and n. 103; eadem, "The Citadel of Byzantine Constantinople," in *Cities and Citadels*, ed. N. Ergin and S. Redford (Leiden, 2012), forthcoming, at notes 117–18.

113 George of Pisidia, *Expeditio Persica*, 1.139–151, ed. A. Pertusi, Studia Patristica et Byzantina 7 (Ettal, 1959), pp. 84–136, at p. 91.

114 Fol. 121r, Tsamakda, *Illustrated Chronicle*, fig 281.

115 John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 5 (Berlin and New York, 1973) p. 204; *A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811–1057*, trans. J. Wortley (Cambridge, 2010), p. 197.

116 Fol 121r bottom; see Tsamakda, *Illustrated Chronicle*, fig. 276, and p. 157.

117 E. McGeer, "Two Military Orations of Constantine VII," in *Byzantine Authors: Literary Activities and Preoccupations: Texts and Translations Dedicated to the Memory of Nicolas Oikonomides*, The Medieval Mediterranean 49 (Leiden, 2003), pp. 111–38.

118 G. Dennis, "Religious Services in the Byzantine Army," in *Eulogema*: *Studies in Honor of Robert Taft* (Rome, 1993) = Studia Anselmiana 110 (1993), 107–17, at pp. 110–11 on tent-chapels and p. 113 on blessing of flags.

119 See above, at note 5.

daughter Maria to the Mongols.[120] Services for the eve of battle,[121] and hymns in honour of the fallen have survived,[122] not from the Comnenian era but from the late ninth or mid-tenth century.[123]

As well as this mass funerary commemoration, individual death rites were performed, like those for John II and his sons, Alexios and Andronikos, who were shipped back "having completed the obsequies" from Mopsuestia to Constantinople.[124] And presumably baptism and marriage ceremonies were also necessary if we take seriously Anna's account of Alexios's army on the march;[125] for marriage the closest to imperial we may be able to find is the account in the Sathas anonymous of the arrival, when Alexios was on campaign in 1095, of Piroska Eirene to be betrothed to the future John II.[126]

When regime change happened on campaign, as we saw with the treatment in Psellos of the revolt of Isaac I Komnenos, acclamations took place in tents.[127] And Choniates tells us of how John II addressed his son Manuel and gave him sound advice, and "crowned him with the imperial fillet and put on him the purple-bordered paludamentum." Present were kinsmen, friends and all the dignitaries and officials (i.e. the court)[128] and then "the troops were assembled, and they proclaimed Manuel emperor of the Romans, and each of the nobles with his retinue standing apart, loudly acclaimed the new sovereign. Thereupon, when the Holy Scriptures had been brought forth, everyone confirmed on them his goodwill and loyalty to Manuel."[129]

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120 Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, 29, 93, ed. A. Pauphilet (Paris, 1952), pp. 235 and 311, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, *Chronicles of the Crusades* (Harmondsworth, 1963), pp. 198, 282–83; George Pachymeres, *Relations historiques* 3.3, ed. A. Failler, trans. V. Laurent, 1. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 24/1 (Paris, 1984), p. 235.

121 A. Pertusi, "Una acolouthia militare inedita del X secolo," *Aevum* 22 (1948), 145–68.

122 T. Detorakis and J. Mossay, "Un office byzantin inédit pour ceux qui sont morts à la guerre, dans le cod Sin.gr. 734–735," *Le Muséon* 101 (1988), 183–402.

123 On the dating, see P. Stephenson, "About the Emperor Nikephoros and How he Leaves his Bones in Bulgaria: A Context for the Controversial *Chronicle of 811*," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 60 (2006), 87–109, at pp. 107–9. On thanksgiving after battle, see Leo VI, *Taktika* 16.2, ed. and trans. Dennis, p. 346.

124 Niketas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, p. 50, trans. Magoulias, p. 30.

125 See above at n. 26–28.

126 Sathas Anonymous, in *Mesaionike Bibliotheke*, ed. K. Sathas, 7 vols. (Venice, 1872–1894), 7:181–82.

127 See above at n. 17.

128 Niketas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, p. 41, trans. Magoulias, p. 24.

129 Niketas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, p. 46, trans. Magoulias, pp. 26–27.

But what we hear about over and over again in the narratives, and can see in manuscript illuminations, is the appropriateness of the tent for reception, whether of an embassy complete with gifts,[130] a less illustrious letter-bearer,[131] a defeated enemy ready to make terms,[132] a household poet or a wandering bishop,[133] or family presenting a united front after revolt.[134] In all cases, the appropriate body-language is used (or transgressed or demanded), the customary behaviour observed or negotiated. In many cases these rituals of reception were accompanied by gift-giving and/or banquets. The Constantine Porphyrogennetos text makes it clear that both tailored and untailored textiles were brought for gifts to foreigners: *skaramangia* and leggings with eagles or hornets on them, tunics, undergarments, red leather boots,[135] and the *Book of Gifts* shows that counter-gifts were made to Byzantines.[136] They may not have managed the hundred-seater dining tent of Alexander the Great, but in addition to the normal table service of the tenth-century emperor, requiring eighty pack animals as well as the *minsourator*'s fifty and the *vestiarion*'s thirty, four solid gold plates, two gold vases, and two solid gold jugs were taken

[130] See the chapter of W. Pohl in this volume, at n. 60 on Menander's account of the honouring of Roman envoys to the Turkish khagan Sizabulos in three successive tents, each more lavishly furnished with treasures than the previous one. Also note the story of an ambassador (of Capua and Benevento to the Arabs) interrogated in a tent and then killed, Madrid Skylitzes, fol. 97r top, see Tsamakda, *Illustrated Chronicle*, fig. 217; Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 150, trans. Wortley, pp. 145–46.

[131] Like the messenger from al-Ma'mūn to the emperor Theophilos, fol 75r, see Tsamakda, *Illustrated Chronicle*, fig. 184; both al-Ma'mūn and Theophilos are in tents.

[132] See above the case of Bohemond, at note 32.

[133] See above the tent poems, at notes 91–94.

[134] See above at note 31, for the Comnenian show of strength after the Diogenes plot.

[135] Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *Three Treatises*, Text C, ll. 225–49, ed. and trans. Haldon, pp. 108–10.

[136] E.g. *Book of Gifts* 31, trans. al-Qaddumi, p. 77: "One of the Byzantine emperors sent a gift to al-Mamoun bi-Allah. Al-Mamoun said: 'send him a gift a hundred times greater than his so that he realizes the glory of Islam and the grace that Allah has bestowed on us through it.' When the gift was ready he said, 'What do they value most?' They answered, 'Musk and sable.' Al-Mamoun said, 'Send them additionally two hundred *ratls* of musk and two hundred sable pelts.' " For sage advice on how to read this text, Christys, "The Queen of the Franks"; recently, as well as *The Languages of Gift*, ed. Davies and Fouracre, see M. Grünbart, ed., *Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft: Gabentausch und Netzwerkpflege im europäischen Mittelalter*, Byzantinistische Studien und Texte 1 (Berlin, 2011); and A. Cutler, "Les échanges de don entre Byzance et l'Islam (IX^{e}–XI^{e} siècles)," *Journal des Savants* (1996), 51–66; idem, "Gifts and Gift-exchange as Aspects of the Byzantine, Arab and Related Economies," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001), 247–78; idem, "Significant Gifts: Patterns of Exchange in Late Antique, Byzantine and Early Islamic Diplomacy," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38 (2008), 79–101. We look forward to his *The Empire of Things: Gifts and Gift Exchange Between Byzantium, the Islamic World, and Beyond.*

specifically for foreign guests eating with the emperor, doubtless reclining on the flax-blue patchwork cushions.[137] Metropolitan aims of impressing the enemy were easily translated into the field. In the European camps of the Comnenian emperors[138] aristocratic competition for the best tent must have been rife. And it is notable that the poems about Eirene the Sebastokratorissa and Rodomir Aaron are concerned with this kind of courtly reception. Tents are places where people hold court and receive clients, and if on campaign may be settings for alternative receptions, alternative, that is to an imperial levee. When the tent is peopled, it is peopled with entourage or visitors, the first to emphasise the importance of the central figure (as in the Mangana poem), the second to be impressed by him or her with generous hospitality (as in the Theophylact poem).

We know that the liminal area between the field and the city (or City) was also endowed with tented ceremony. Manuel I's *adventus* at Antioch in 1159 makes mention of furnishings, rugs, decorations of fresh-cut sprays, flowers, but not tents,[139] but the provision for *adventus* in Text C provides for tents to be set up in the meadow by the golden gate for deposition of the booty of war (as in the example of the return of Basil I in 879);[140] and a pavilion (*korte*) to be prepared on the meadow where the hippodrome horses were exercised (as in the example of the return of Theophilos in 831 or 837).[141] And we know from the *Eiseterioi* of Marie de France that it was the practice for imperial women to receive foreign brides in the Philopation in stunningly elegant tents before bringing them into the city.[142] This dispels any illusion that tents in Byzantium automatically

[137] Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *Three Treatises*, Text C, ll. 275–80, ed. and trans. Haldon, pp. 112–13. On feasting, see n. 49 above.

[138] Jeffreys, "Glamorous court."

[139] Niketas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, p. 108, trans. Magoulias, pp. 61–62.

[140] Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *Three Treatises*, Text C, ll. 742–47, ed. and trans. Haldon, pp. 140–43. See McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp. 155–57.

[141] Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *Three Treatises*, Text C, ll. 825–29, ed. and trans. Haldon, pp. 146–47. See McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp. 146–49.

[142] On the text, M. Jeffreys, "The Vernacular *Eiseterioi* for Agnes of France," *Byzantine Papers: Proceedings of the First Australian Byzantine Studies Conference, Canberra* Byzantina Australiensia 1 (Canberra, 1981), pp. 101–15; on the manuscript and the illuminations, see C. J. Hilsdale, "Constructing a Byzantine *Augusta:* A Greek Book for a French Bride," *Art Bulletin*, 87 (2005), 458–83. See also H. Maguire, "The Philopation as a Setting for Imperial Ceremonial and Display," in *Byzantine Thrace: Evidence and Remains. Komotini 18–22 April 2007: Proceedings*, ed. Ch. Bakirtzis, N. Zekos, and X. Moniaros = *Byzantinische Forschungen* 30 (2011), 71–82. I am grateful to my colleague Gudrun Bühl for reminding me of the scene in Sofia Coppola's *Marie Antoinette* (2006) where the princess en route from Austria to Versailles stops at the border and is escorted into a tent by female members of the French royal house.

represented either a nomadic or a military image; in this context they were quite simply courtly.[143]

Conclusion

Medieval images, allied to the texts and poems we have examined, and what we know about Ottoman tents, encourage us to believe that the campaigning tents of the Comnenian emperors and their relatives may have looked more like an Ottoman imperial tent[144] than the *Vienna Genesis*'s idea of patriarchal wandering in deserts.[145] Surviving campaign tents, like those preserved in Central Europe of the hundred thousand captured at the siege of Vienna in 1683,[146] argue for something not unlike the elegance of the Sebastokratorissa's temporary residence, which makes the glamorous Philopation tent or the hunting tent of the pseudo-Oppian[147] not so very far from the kind of tent that appeared on campaign with Comnenian emperors. Tents do not automatically suggest nomadic origins;[148] they read in Byzantium as temporary and versatile elegance, a compressed and portable imperial or aristocratic household with its own rules of access and body language, an ephemeral palace appropriate to the ephemeral nature of ceremony. Snow represents wind in silk.[149] All this suggests a court on the move, which brings Byzantine courts, for all the marble and mosaic and the textually transmitted ceremony we normally associate with them, much closer both to the western medieval concept of court and to their oriental neighbours.

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143 I am grateful to Scott Redford for discussion on this point.

144 Atasoy, *Ottoman Tent Complex*.

145 Fols. 10r, 10v, 13v, see B. Zimmermann, *Die Wiener Genesis im Rahmen der antiken Buchmalerei*, Spätantike-Frühes Christentum-Byzanz: Kunst im Ersten Jahrtausend, B, Studien und Perspektiven 13 (Wiesbaden, 2003), Abb. 19, 20, 26, showing dark ridge tents.

146 Atasoy, *Ottoman Tent Complex*, pp. 239–87. I am grateful to Lioba Theis for finding ever more enticing images for me and planning expeditions to see the originals.

147 For images, see I. Spatharakis, *The Illustrations of the Cynegetica in Venice: Codex Marcianus Graecus Z 139* (Leiden, 2004), fig. 4; Hilsdale, "Constructing a Byzantine *Augusta*," fig. 11.

148 On this, see Atasoy, *Ottoman Tent Complex*, pp. 17–18.

149 For the characterization of power as wind, ceremony as snow, see D. Cannadine, "Introduction: Divine Rites of Kings," in *Rituals of Royalty*, p. 1.

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